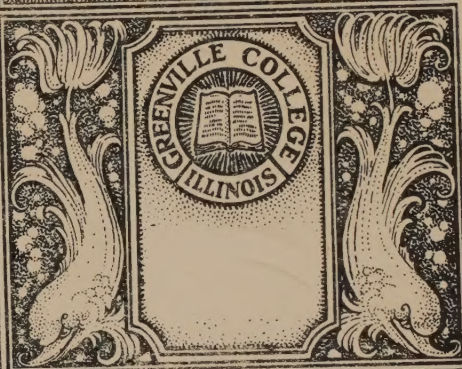


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MODERN TURKEY



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MODERN TURKEY

A POLITICO-ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION, 1908-1923
INCLUSIVE, WITH SELECTED CHAPTERS BY
REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITIES

BY

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Armenia and Transcaucasia

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1924

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Set up and electrotyped.
Published December, 1924.

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FOREWORD

MARK LAMBERT BRISTOL, U. S. N.

The lack of frequent and reliable communications between Turkey and the United States of America has made it difficult for either country really to know the other. Relatively few Americans visit Turkey, and even fewer Turks cross the Atlantic. Histories, descriptions of travel, and books describing the crimes and atrocities committed in Turkey have been written, but these often cause a strange misconception due to the absence at home of any adequate knowledge of truthful conditions. In the same way, it is not surprising that Turkish subjects regard America as a "land flowing with milk and honey," where poverty, underfeeding, unemployment, and internal strife are unknown and where its peoples pause in their mad chase for money only long enough to toss about their easily acquired gains.

The author of this volume has realized, after months of residence in Turkey as a government official, the necessity for a book giving reliable and up-to-date practical information regarding Turkey, especially of that Turkey which was embraced within the boundaries as they existed in 1914.

To accomplish this, he has been successful in securing as collaborators for certain chapters persons who are recognized as among the best informed and most qualified to write upon the particular subjects. Like all writers, they are human and give a personal touch, but at the same time they have endeavored to be fair to their audience. The subjects of the chapters have been so selected that the knowledge contained therein should serve equally for

the statesman, the financier, the merchant, the missionary, the educator, and the student of affairs in general. The economic and business experience of the author, Mr. Eliot Grinnell Mears, together with his naturally observing and analytical mind, have enabled him to plan and carry out exactly the kind of book which is most needed now. Mr. Mears, whom I knew well in Constantinople, has had an exceptional opportunity to study Turkey in transition. His prior residence in Greece (a country which was a part of Turkey less than a century ago), his investigations in the Caucasus and Armenia as a member of the Harbord Mission, and his position as commercial attaché to the American High Commissioner in Turkey with his office in the American Embassy at Constantinople, have given him a perspective and an insight into the situation at first hand.

At this time when peace is being established in Turkey, many changes are being made regarding nationalities formed from the old Turkish Empire; the reconstruction of the country must be carried forward. This volume contains the information properly brought together for those who are charged with or will be interested in the future developments in the Near East. It is appalling to know that a knowledge of the true situation has been deliberately suppressed by sentiment and censorship, and that the world in general has been led into accepting specially prepared literature as fact. Few foreigners, indeed, realize that in the Turkish Empire as it existed in 1914, the Arabs were as numerous as the Turks, that the Armenians formed less than ten per cent of the total population, and that the Arab and Kurdish Mohammedans were hostile to the Turkish Mohammedans. Unless the foreigner, whatever his nationality, approaches in a spirit of fair-minded studiousness the intricate overlapping questions of race, religion, and nationality in their peculiar Oriental setting, he must fail to grasp the

distinction between fiction and reality, between things as he thinks they are and things as they really are.

The efforts of Mr. Mears in this volume will be appreciated by all readers. The book contains much that is new and not to be found in any other published work. The diversity of information and the convenient form in which it is set forth make it very helpful for reference. It is, moreover, unique, interesting, and comprehensive—valuable to all students interested in the problems and welfare of Turkey.

FOREWORD

By MARK LAMBERT BRISTOL, U. S. N.¹

¹Born in New Jersey, 1868. Graduate U. S. Naval Academy, 1889. Designated as Captain, 1913; temporary Rear Admiral, 1918; Rear Admiral 1921. Sea duty in all parts of the world. In charge aeronautical development of the Navy, 1913-16. Commander *North Carolina* and *Oklahoma*, 1917-18. Commander U. S. Naval Base, Plymouth, England, 1918-19. Member of International Armistice Commission in Belgium, November, 1918. Commanding U. S. Naval forces in Turkey, January-August, 1919. Member, Interallied Commission of Inquiry into Greek occupation of Smyrna, September-October, 1919. Appointed United States High Commissioner to Turkey, August 12, 1919, and January 1, 1920, retaining duty as Commander of U. S. Naval forces in Turkish waters. LL.D. Constantinople Woman's College, 1921. Delegate of the U. S. Government at both Lausanne Conferences, 1922-1923.

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MODERN TURKEY

MODERN TURKEY

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

By ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS¹

Before I finish writing of the confused memories I have of the commencement of my life I wish to speak of another ray of sunshine—a sad ray this time—that has left an ineffaceable impression upon me, and the meaning of which will never be clear to me.

Upon a Sunday, after we had returned from church, the ray appeared to me. It came through a half-open window and fell into the stairway, and as it lengthened itself upon the whiteness of the wall it took on a peculiar, weird shape.

Years passed; I became a man, and after having been among many people and experienced many adventures I lived for an autumn and winter in an isolated house in an unfrequented part of Stamboul. It was there that every evening at approximately the same hour, a ray of sunshine came in through the window and fell obliquely on the wall and lit up the niche (hollowed out of the stone wall) in which I had placed an Athenian vase. And I never saw that ray of sunlight without thinking of the one I had seen upon that Sunday of long ago; nor without having the same, precisely the same sad emotion, scarcely diminished by time, and always full of the same mystery.

—PIERRE LOTI, "Story of a Child."

"Modern Turkey" is interpreted by the author to commence in July, 1908, when the terrible power of the

¹Born in Worcester, Massachusetts. A.B., Harvard College; M.B.A., Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Secretary and instructor, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1912-1916. United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, 1916-1920, in capacity of chief, trade commissioner division; chief, commercial attaché division; American trade commissioner in the Near East; acting chief, European division. Member, American Military Mission to Armenia and Transcaucasia. Commercial attaché to American High Commissioner in Turkey. Director-at-large, American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant. Permanent secretary, Pan-Pacific Commercial Conference. Lecturer and acting professor in economics, Stanford University, since 1920.

Ottoman Sultans was broken, when the palace spy system was overthrown, when the pernicious influences of the Imperial Harem were destroyed, when Moslems and non-Moslems faced the future with joy and hope. The following decade and a half, the period covered in this volume, was full of unlooked-for momentous events, of which the most important were the Italo-Turkish War (1911-1912), the two Balkan wars (1912-1913), the World War (1914-1918), subsequent wars in Asia Minor notably between the Kemalists and the Greeks, the birth of the Nationalist Movement (1919), and the establishment of a Turkish Republic (1923) under the all-powerful government of the Grand National Assembly at Angora, which chose as the first Turkish President, His Excellency Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha. In no way can the reader follow more clearly the internal and external events which affected Turkey during the years 1908-1923, inclusive, than by a frequent reference to the Chronology of Events which appears at the end of the volume. In an effort to forget even the recent past, the leaders of the Turkish Republic have tabooed the word "Ottoman." "The Ottoman Empire is dead," they cry, "Long live Turkey!"¹

The purpose of this volume, "Modern Turkey", is (1) to set forth the contemporary problems in as simple a fashion as possible, and (2) to give that kind of a perspective on the conflicting factors underlying the politico-economic life of Turkey which may serve to reveal both their relative values and their interrelation. Numerous writers dealing with the Levant have been propagandists

¹ The name "Turk" is supposed to originate from "Turku" (helmet), used to designate a hill in Kan-Suh, a northwestern province of China not far from the city of Shan-Tau, the home of the nomadic ancestors of the Turks. The name Tu-Kiue is first mentioned by the Chinese in recording the revolt of these people from the Jyen-Jyen in A.D. 545.

In the Turkish language there is no word equivalent to "Turkey." The Young Turks have made efforts to popularize the Levantine form "Turkia." Formerly the official title of the Empire was the "Exalted State" although the Arabic term for the "Ottoman Lands" was frequently used.

and stylists, who have devoted their efforts in the presentation of such well known subjects as Byzantine history, race, origin and development, religions of Asia, war operations, atrocities, harems, dogs, mosques, and cemeteries. They have been informative intermediaries in helping to explain the East to the West. It is true that many of these writers have allowed their passions or enthusiasm to keep them from presenting sober, thoughtful judgments of subjects of their particular interest, especially in the failure to give a sense of proportion and balance. Naturally the specialist cannot treat his specialty adequately and at the same time present within the book covers adequate supplementary data. The same observation applies to the stylist; while as to the avowed propagandist it may be asserted with perfect fairness that he adopts in addition the tactics of diverting attention to extraneous or relatively unimportant topics, of interfering with a reader's perspective through the use of illogical comparisons, or of making the subject unnecessarily complex.

For both writer and reader to attain that simplicity which alone can bring out an understanding of Turkey's problems, fairness of spirit and honesty of intellect are prerequisite. These latter characteristics, however, are rare on the part of either natives or foreigners. It is too much to expect that any racial groups in Turkey can divorce their human, pent-up feelings and their fervid beliefs. Few foreigners in Turkey or elsewhere can maintain a real disinterestedness. While no one wishes to be considered "faultily faultless, icily regular, splendidly null," there are millions of people in the world, of whom the Americans and Englishmen are leading types, who have achieved a well deserved reputation for fair play. This book is intended for these and other persons who are interested in the truth and are willing to reach conclusions only after both sides of each question have

been presented. Thereafter, if the reader asserts that Christians are better than Moslems, he should give reasons. If he states that Turks or Turks only are "unspeakable," he should submit evidence. If he should refrain from making a distinction, applying to the past, between the typical Ottoman official and the Anatolian peasant, he should justify his stand. If, in sifting the evidence, he accepts all that is evil and shuns all that is good, his mental and moral attitude is plainly deficient. It is most important to remember that in Turkey as elsewhere there are Christians and "Christians," Jews and "Jews," Moslems and "Moslems." That brilliant orator Edmund Burke, in his plea for a conciliation between the Mother Country and the American Colonies, admitted his inability to indict a whole people. No one yet has been successful in accomplishing such a feat.

The present need for "Modern Turkey" can be traced to two distinct causes; namely (1) Turkey's problems almost without exception are international as well as national, and (2) an unsatisfactory world knowledge and understanding of existing affairs. Of the many reasons why what we should normally regard as a country's domestic affairs take on world importance are the following: the presence and ill treatment of active minorities, geographical position, undeveloped natural resources, and a religious and historical interest in the lands which have produced Christianity, Judaism, and Mohammedanism.

Referring again to propaganda, with censorship an ally, there is a spreading of plain misrepresentation and also a lack of adequate information. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, the first president of Robert College, in his illuminating book, "Among the Turks" (1878), wrote of the organization of a propaganda bureau in London which had for its object the foreign dissemination of all news prejudicial

to the Turks. He stated that the onslaught of this one-sided and unreliable information about any people would, after a period of years, stir up a hostility and hatred that could not be easily overcome. He added, "Whenever I pick up a paper of eastern news I pray, 'Oh Lord, endow me with a suitable sense of unbelief.' " The effect of the continuous stream of misinformation has come to such a point that most people are more than ordinarily unwilling to believe what does not accord with their personal views. It may be recalled that Mr. Walter Lippmann in "Public Opinion" tells the interesting story, that when General Joffre was being photographed it was thought necessary for the purpose to tack up several maps on the wall. The unwillingness of the portrait taker in this simple incident to make a likeness of the great French general in the true atmosphere illustrates, in a minute degree, the difficulties involved in portraying Eastern happenings in their real light.

The plan followed in "Modern Turkey" has been to select subjects of far-reaching importance and then assign the writing of certain of them to representative authorities. Without exception, the writers have been in Turkey and most of them have lived there. A unique feature is the number of Turks who have contributed willingly to a book of this character: furthermore, their chapters were the first ones received and in each case without even a suggestion of financial compensation. None of the contributors placed any restrictions upon the author regarding manuscript changes or time of publication. Because of great distances and the need for condensation, the author, as editor, has taken many liberties for which he stands ready to express his apologies to both readers and contributors. Publication was deemed inadvisable during the turmoil of 1920-1922: hence the contributed articles, all of which with the exception of Government

were written in 1920, are provided with a special introduction designed to provide subsequent information and to promote inter-chapter unity.

The General Introduction (Chapter I) gives a brief digest of (1) information not discussed elsewhere and (2) information of a general basic character. The Foreword, written by a distinguished American political and naval officer who has occupied a most difficult position with great credit to himself and his country, gives in a word the merits of the book. The Chronology of Events, Select Documents, Appendices, Bibliography, and maps are timely and serviceable for purposes of reference.

Among the many persons to whom the author owes a debt of gratitude in the preparation of "Modern Turkey" are past and present members of the American High Commission to Turkey, especially Rear Admiral Bristol, Consul General Ravndal, and Financial Attaché Cumberland; members of the American Military Mission to Armenia and Transcaucasia, notably Major General J. G. Harbord, Brigadier General F. R. McCoy, and Col. Lawrence Martin; Ahmed Emin Bey; Fuad Kiamil Bey, Turkish Director General of Industry; Osman Bey, former Ottoman Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Halideh Edib Hanum; Ali Haydar Midhat Bey; Prof. G. H. Huntington; Rev. E. C. Moore; Rev. G. E. White; Sir Adam Block; Mr. S. Bilinski; M. Kerestegian; Dr. J. A. Robertson; Prof. W. L. Westermann; and Sir W. M. Ramsay. For permission to reproduce in abstract form an article on Religions taken from "Reconstruction in Turkey," the author is indebted to Prof. W. H. Hall of the American University of Beirut. For help in procuring, translating or assisting on manuscript, much credit is due to Miss Gertrude E. Knox, Miss Mary C. Lambros, Mrs. H. A. Davidson, Prof. Richard Jones, and Fazil Niazi Bey. The staff of the Stanford University Library, in particular Miss Nina Almond, Miss Alice M. Hays,

and Miss Minna Stillman, has been helpful. Acknowledgment is made of the distinct usefulness of the resources of the Hoover War Library of Stanford University, with a collection of source materials relating to the World War unequaled in America and rivaled only in the two great European collections at Paris and at London. In no instance, it should be added, has the author capitalized his official or professional connections for the disclosure of secret information.

This book, therefore, in its purpose, scope, and needs stresses the politico-economic factors of the Turkey of 1908-1923, inclusive. Difficulties that arise in spanning even these few years are many, since boundaries, peoples, and governments are continually changing. The author has taken the Near East to include the lands of the Ottoman Empire in 1914 plus the Balkan States, the Middle East to include Moslem Asia south of the present Turkish Asiatic boundary, the Levant to include the present European and Asiatic Turkey plus the Middle East, Asia Minor or Anatolia to include the Asiatic provinces of the Republic, Iraq to be synonymous with upper and lower Mesopotamia (although the historical Persian Iraq, "Iraq-i-Ajami," is larger than "Iraq-Arabi"), Syria to exclude Palestine, the geographic boundaries to follow the "Statesman's Yearbook" and the map in this book, and the "war" to mean always the World War (1914-1918) unless otherwise stated.

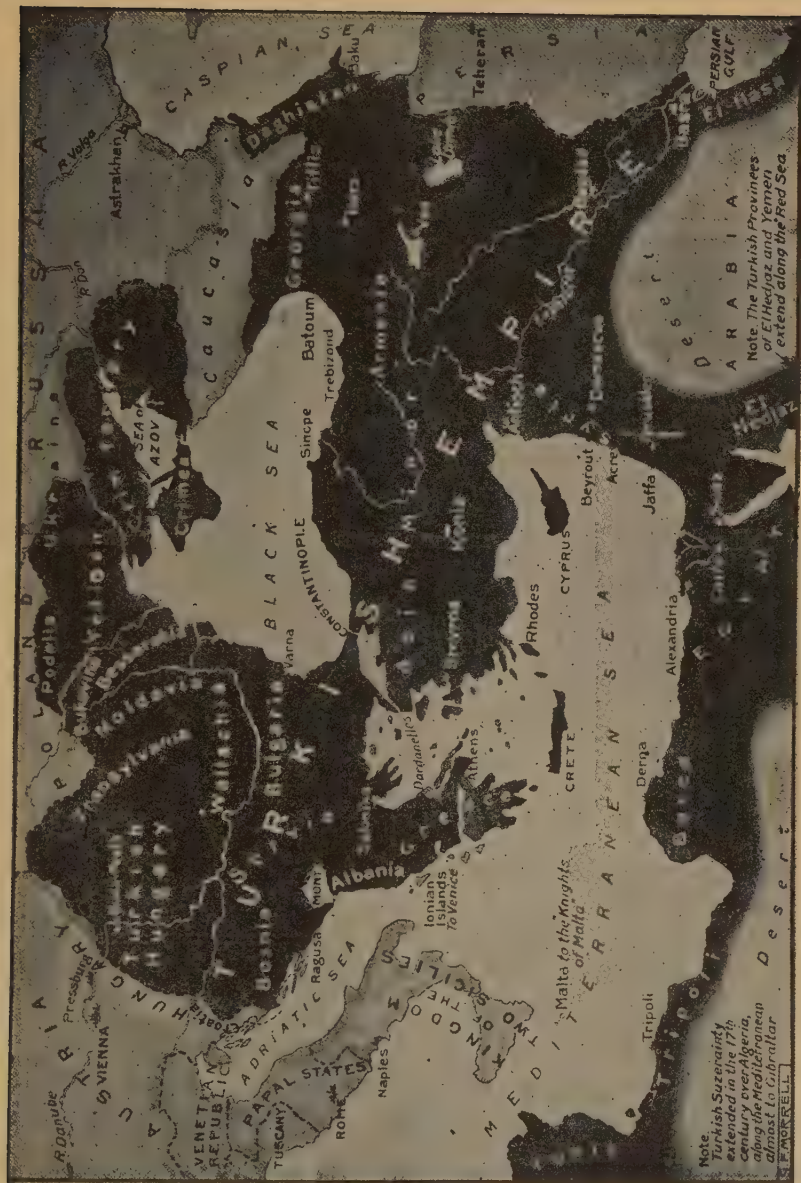
II

At the height of its power, the Ottoman Empire owed its commanding position to the martial qualities of the hardy and fearless invaders and to the strong character of the early Sultans. "For ten generations," wrote Lord Eversley in "The Turkish Empire," "the Othman family produced men capable of leading their armies in the

field to victory, and almost equally remarkable as administrators and statesmen. This succession of a single family, father and son, for ten generations without a break, culminating in the greatest of them, Suleiman the Magnificent, is quite without precedent or example in history. The Othman family were pure Turks in their origin. But the Turkish blood was very soon diluted. The mothers of future Sultans were either captives taken by corsairs or slaves bought on account of their beauty."

Chief among the causes for the decline of the Ottoman Empire may be reckoned the degeneracy of the later Sultans and the unhealthy harem influences. In the accustomed sense, the Sultan did not marry. The female members of the harem were slaves, therefore there were no Turkish women among them for no Turk can be slave. Four inmates, after bearing a child to the Padishah, might be accorded the title of *Kadin*, or full wives: and the mother of the first child was called *Bash Kadin Efendi*, or chief wife. The Sultan's mother, the *Valideh Sultan*, has occupied a special position in the harem above that of any of his wives. No pure Turkish aristocracy was possible since the ruler's mother was never a Turk. This mixture of races may have had nothing to do with the deterioration of the reigning house, but certain it is that the Sultans of the past few hundred years, who succeeded the early able sovereigns, have been with rare exception weak, profligate, and tyrannical, giving themselves over more largely to the pleasures of the harem than to the performance of duty. Along with the Sultan, the harems themselves have been run by favorites and cliques who instigated corruption and intrigue in every branch of private and public life.

A second reason for the Ottoman decline has been the lack of any large benefits conferred by the descendants of the conquering Turks, who have ruled by the sword. Little thought has been given to the building of public



Adapted from London Graphic.

The Ottoman Empire at its Supremacy.

roads, the establishment of schools, or the improvement of urban and rural life. Wherever the Ottoman Government has had an opportunity to exercise authority, decay, destruction and desolation have resulted. The main contributions of the nomad Turks to Western civilization have been a religion which is Arabic rather than Turkish, and an exemplary military prowess. The British and Arabs in the late Great War have testified repeatedly to the clean fighting and bravery of Turkish soldiers, who respected every truce, but whose record as captors was far less to be admired.

In most ways the Turks have been imitative. Their language, literature, art, and costumes have been borrowed mostly from the East but now increasingly from the West. They have failed to respond to the progress of world civilization. Despite the fact that the fall of Constantinople is generally regarded as the close of the Middle Ages, the spirit of the Middle Ages has remained with Turkey to this day.

Thirdly, Turkey has decayed because few Turks remain. Anatolia has a sparse population with a considerable majority of females. The young men have suffered heavily through war and disease. Knowing Turks have told me that the most serious feature of the Turkish State was the deficiency of Moslems capable of maintaining their government or of helping develop the rich resources of Turkey through the natural agencies of agriculture and commerce. The writer has been informed upon good authority that of the 3,800 Moslems living in Mersivan who responded to the first call to arms in the Great War, only six returned within a few weeks after the armistice.

A fourth reason for Turkey's decline was the lack of intellectual stimulus. The educational facilities available to Turkish children were grossly inadequate. The vast majority of the population of Anatolia is unable to read or write. Practically the only foreign books at all widely

read are modern French novels. The rigorous censorship maintained by Sultan Abdul Hamid poisoned the peoples' minds and thoughts. For example, the Sultan forbade the words "Macedonia" or "Armenia" to be spoken publicly or to appear in any printed matter circulating through the Empire. A Scotchman, who had ordered an English geography, discovered that the customs officials had ripped out all pages mentioning the name Armenia. The inability of the helpless population in Turkey to become educated proved a serious handicap to the maintenance of the Empire.

Lastly, the absence of family life cannot be overlooked. The husband and wife lived in separate rooms known as the *selamlık* and the *harem*. Each member maintained a degree of privacy under which there exists no mutual helpfulness of companionship. The children were brought up in the harem where they led an idle, uninspiring existence in an atmosphere which was decidedly unwholesome. The children lacked the guidance of the father who was usually somewhat better educated than the mother and who also enjoyed greater contact with the outside world. An educated Turk, referring to the education of young Moslem children, said, "I do not believe in your religion nor do I think much of mine, but your religion allows your girls and women to be trained in family life. They become intelligent, and their influence upon the children is good. Ours are left to run about the harem, to hear all the base talk of women and servants." The hopes for a rejuvenated Turkey rest largely upon the training and guidance of the coming generations.

To know or understand the Turkey of the present as well as of the past, a person must be sensitive to the sharp, yet inexplicable contrasts between the Orient and the Occident. In its essence Turkey is the Orient, the home of races and cultures leading back into the midst of prehistoric times whence many traditions and every day

customs can be traced until they become lost. Familiarity with classical, mediæval, and modern history is an essential. "There is nothing in our private and public life," said Sir Mark Sykes, "which is not directly or indirectly influenced by some human movement that took place in this zone." Leaving out of all account the temporary influence of large parts of Europe in the sixteenth century and disregarding the tenure of Egypt and of Northern Africa, at the outbreak of the World War the Turkish Empire controlled Mesopotamia, the cradle land of early Biblical history and of civilizations which had left their impress on earliest western culture; it controlled Syria and Palestine, the birthplace of two great religions and one of the most important centers of Hellenistic civilization; it controlled the land called Armenia in the north and large parts of Arabia in the south both of which have had their share in building the foundations of western civilization; and finally, it included Anatolia, commonly known as Asia Minor, the largest contributor of all to our own culture and institutions. These "trial grounds" of European religious beliefs, of western democratic social institutions, and of those principles of art which have had the greatest influence upon western taste have been for nearly five hundred years in the possession of a race which came out of central Asia and has had little interest in or respect for the relics of those earlier civilizations which were the direct antecedents of western culture. Thousands of years have made relatively little mutation in these venerated lands. Were the Great Christian Teacher to return to the Holy Land and make his dwelling there, the configuration of land and sea as well as the crude agricultural tools would be familiar sights. Likewise Cyrus, Alexander the Great, Constantine, and Khalif Harun-al-Rashid would observe surprisingly little change. The passing of time has brought about a certain amount of imitation and adaptation but

the geographic environment has changed little. The surroundings are those of the East.

In an Oriental land there is bred an atmosphere of fatalism, of intrigue, of suspicion, of personal motives especially on the part of foreigners, and of a desire to please. What counts is not what an Oriental says but what he thinks; but what he thinks is generally not communicated. An amusing incident occurred during the World War which involved a friend of mine, a young lady who was travelling through central Europe in 1916 en route to Constantinople. She was detained at one of the frontiers by a German customs officer who asked her her name, her destination, and her purpose in travelling at that particular time. She stated that she was on her way to Constantinople where she had been engaged to teach psychology in one of the American schools. The German was dumbfounded. "Teach psychology to the Turks?" She responded in the affirmative. Thereupon amid a roar of laughter from his listeners, the officer granted the desired visé, ejaculating, "Any one who could teach psychology to the Turks should certainly be encouraged—we gave up the attempt long ago." Fatalism is a trait which is associated with most Orientals. Certainly it applies with great force to Mohammedans, yet persons living in the Levant even for a few weeks cannot escape its influence. "In Islam, the doctrines of pre-ordination, or fore-knowledge, of fatalism have taken away or at least lessened the desire for knowledge and the thirst for inquiry." In order to attain her position among nations and perhaps indeed in order to live, Turkey has reached out for western ideas which have become irregularly grafted on an Oriental state and people. Thus two forces meet. Turkey cannot accept the new order without discarding much of the old. The eventual working out of mixed cultures, civilizations, and ideals presents a most interesting study.

Turkey is primarily an agricultural and pastoral country. Among her famous products are figs, raisins, oranges, tobacco, opium, cotton, silk, rugs, mohair and wool. Her Angora goats and her Arab horses are highly prized. Among the many experts who have surveyed at first hand the economic possibilities of the country, not one has a dissenting opinion relative to the potential agricultural wealth. They testify unanimously to the rich possibilities in the production of many articles, notably tobacco, cotton, and fruits and vegetables of nearly every description. Minerals, which have been justly famous since antiquity, are still being worked on a limited scale. There remain unworked valuable deposits of copper, lead, silver, gold, coal, emery, meerschaum, and petroleum. In this age of foreign commercial exploitation it is not surprising that outside peoples have shown a never-ending desire to explore the hidden wealth of the land.

By virtue of geographical location, the Ottoman Empire could not well escape western influences. Her lands have served as the leading means of communication between the East and the West. Their strategic, political and economic importance has been notable. "The importance and value of Asiatic Turkey," wrote Mr. J. Ellis Barker in 1917, "can scarcely be exaggerated, for it occupies undoubtedly the most important strategic position in the world. It forms the nucleus and center of the Old World. It separates, and at the same time connects, Europe, Asia, and Africa, three continents which are inhabited by approximately nine-tenths of the human race." In a eulogy of Constantinople, Commander D. G. Hogarth has stated, "No other site in the world enjoys equal advantages, nor perhaps ever will enjoy them . . . a dry, sloping site, a superb harbor, and admirable outer roadstead, easy local communication by way of the Bosphorus and inexhaustible water supply, and it is easy to agree that those who founded Chalcedon, but left Byzantium

to others, were indeed blind." Careful writers, including Rear Admiral A. T. Mahan, U. S. N., have testified to the great strategic importance of Constantinople and of western Asia.

Indeed, it is hard to avoid exaggerating the surpassing site of Constantinople. Prof. Archibald Cary Coolidge wrote in 1917 ("Claimants to Constantinople"), that "Never in all its history save perhaps when it fell into the hands of the Turks in 1453, has the fate of Constantinople meant more to the world than it does in the present struggle." In 1922, another American historian, Dr. A. L. P. Dennis, wrote in the *Independent* that "In 1914, the chief, real cause of the World War was the struggle for control at Constantinople." Without pretending that this was more than one of the primary war aims, the author has a due appreciation of the tremendous diplomatic moves which revolve about the City on the Golden Horn. It is possible that another war might bring about an entirely different alignment of powers, and the center of action might be far removed from Constantinople and the Straits. It is too early to know whether the peace terms signed at Lausanne, but not yet ratified, shall stand the test of many years. Their binding force depends upon the solution of Turkish foreign and internal problems, which are set forth briefly in sections III and IV of this General Introduction.

III

The international relations of Turkey have taken on vast importance within the past five hundred years, especially since the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774, exactly 150 years ago, when the Ottoman Empire lost its status as a virtual independent state, and Russia was established as a Black Sea power. It was the resulting weakness which made Turkey the cock-pit of foreign

intrigue. "The Eastern Question," wrote Viscount James Bryce in the *Contemporary Review*, January, 1920, "has been for a century or more the standing difficulty of European diplomacy. It would have been settled many years ago but for the jealousies of Russia, France, Britain, and latterly, of Germany also, each of which had what it deemed to be its special interests, interests which, in some points at least, we can now see to have been misconceived. It was probably a mistake of Britain to reject the overtures made by the Czar Nicholas I., so far back as 1852, for the Crimean war might have been avoided and a settlement reached better even for Britain, and certainly better for the Eastern Christians and the peace of the world, than that which was reached after that war, in the treaty of 1855. The war is now generally admitted to have been a mistake. It prolonged the miseries of the subject populations, and became a cause of the Russo-Turkish war of 1876-8, and of the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913." The admittance of the Empire to the "society of nations" in 1856, the overthrow of the Sultan's despotic rule, and the postwar revival are described in Chapters XVIII-XXV, inclusive, supplemented by the Select Documents and the Chronology of Events.

Turkey's foreign policies relate primarily to her relations with (1) Russia, (2) Western nations, (3) Balkan states, (4) Mohammedan lands, (5) minority population.

Russia still is the paramount factor in the determination of Turkey's own stand in international affairs. This fact is constantly glossed over; but without an appreciation of it, no one can attain any true measure of understanding. The question of the "preservation" of Turkey, whether she was more useful as a "weak" or "strong" power, has engaged the continual attention of European statesmen. Napoleon I strove for French control over Constantinople, declaring that "Constantinople was in itself worth half an empire." Russian foreign policies,

directed southward largely, have never overlooked the Euxine and the Straits. As early as 1808, according to Caulaincourt's report, the Russian Tsar stated to the French Ambassador: "*Constantinople est un point important, trop loin de vous et que vous regardez peut-être comme trop important pour nous. J'ai une idée pour que cela ne fasse pas de difficultés, faisons-en une espèce de ville libre.*"

On the common assumption that Ottoman rule in Europe was to end with the termination of the World War, in 1917 Mr. J. Ellis Barker ("The Great Problems of British Statesmanship") wrote that "the only country with a clear claim is Russia;" while in the same year, Prof. Archibald Cary Coolidge said: "The Russian claims to Constantinople are numerous and weighty. They are both sentimental and practical, they are based on historical traditions, on the national sentiment and aspirations of the Russian people and on geographical, political, and economic reasons of ever growing importance. . . . For the Russian people every Turkish war has been a crusade. To sum up then: from almost every point of view, the control, that is to say the possession, of these passages is of transcendent importance to Russia, and this her allies have realized, and have promised that if they are victorious she shall receive it."

On the other hand, Turkey has stood in incessant fear of the Muscovite giant. The war excuse made by her rulers in 1914, that Russian ships were bombarding Turkish ports (see Select Document 1), found a ready acceptance among the populace. No surprise was felt that Tsarist Russia demanded and was promised Constantinople as her price for entering the war (see Select Documents). And when the Russian revolutions overturned the existing order, no country was more affected thereby than Turkey. In fact, these epoch-making events of 1917 were responsible exceedingly for Allied changes in for-

eign policies; for, with a disorganized Russia, affairs in Persia, Afghanistan, India, and Turkey entered a new phase with more clearly defined colonial and semi-colonial spheres of influence. How this paper structure was shattered by the Eastern revolt under the inspiration of Turkish nationalist military and diplomatic successes, is told in this book. At the same time, we have had the recent spectacle of Turkey's sensational recovery assisted greatly by the Allied fear of some kind of a Russo-Turkish military alliance, by the Russian grants of moral and material support during the Turko-Greek military conflict, and by the presence of Russian representatives at the Lausanne conferences. Without the collapse of Tsarist Russia, and without Allied-Soviet Russian mutual hostility, the Kemalist Movement in any form doubtless would have been a mere bagatelle.

When the Soviet leader, M. Trotzky, was asked in December, 1922, about the "sentimental motives" of the Russo-Turkish alliance (consult Select Document 27), Mr. Arthur Ransome reports him to say: "Let me make a correction. It was not an alliance, but an agreement as to sentiments. These were natural sentiments of mutual sympathy between two countries threatened with destruction and slavery. Our enemies describe our friendship as endangering European civilization, etc." The inspired *Izvestiia* of Moscow has commented on how the Bolsheviks were "let down" by the Turkish Nationalists at Lausanne, and how unlikely it is that the seeds of a "world revolution" can be sown in Turkish soil. While the threat of an aggressive Russo-Turkish alliance is no longer regarded seriously by the Great Powers, an overshadowing Russia looms as large as ever in Turkish diplomacy.

Turkey occupies a sensitive position also because Russia is the historic Western outpost of Eastern civilization. With her forty million Mohammedan subjects, with

her domains extending over huge stretches of both Europe and Asia, Russia has many interests to conserve. Furthermore, India with her over six hundred native kings and chiefs are bound to Great Britain by treaty agreements which are scrupulously observed on both sides. To disturb this *status quo* would interfere greatly with the peace of the world.¹

Turkey's relations with Western Powers, a vast and intricate subject, receives attention in Friedrich Naumann's "Central Europe" (1916), from which the following suggestive passage is taken: "As things are today the Russian and German economic systems supplement each other wonderfully well. By a system of corn storage we can protect our agriculture from a glut in the supply, and for the rest we can make Russia the chief source of our food-stuffs and raw material, so far as the character of the country and the stage of development over there admit of it. Our capital will then quicken the further progress of Russian agriculture and the very promising increase in mining, trade and industry. Looked at purely from an economic standpoint the arrangement is the most productive of all for us if it is permanent in

¹ Lord Curzon of Kedleston, in a published address before the Philosophical Institute of Edinburgh, 1909, said: "If India were to remind us that in the British system she is the sole and veritable Empire, the pretension could not be denied. . . . Consider in the first place what a part India has played in the shaping of British policy and the expansion of the British dominion. It has been the determining influence in every considerable movement of British power to the east and south of the Mediterranean. The Eastern question of the Middle Ages was merely the recovery of the Holy Places from infidel hands. But once we had planted ourselves in India, the Eastern question, though it revolved round Constantinople, was in reality directed by considerations of the security of our Indian possessions. But for India, Lord Beaconsfield would not have bought the shares in the Suez Canal; and but for the Suez Canal, we should not now be in Egypt. The historic rivalry and struggles with Russia for nearly a century sprang from the supposed necessity of keeping her far away from the frontiers of India. Had it not been for India, we should never have seized the Cape or begun that career of South African expansion that has lately entered upon so remarkable and pregnant a phase."

character—but only if! But this is impossible so long as we are the opponents of Russia in Turkey, in the Balkans and in the Slav districts of Austria-Hungary. Herein lies the insurmountable obstacle placed by history. In such a case we barter our independent political future for a temporarily great economic advantage, for through this alliance our prosperity will indeed develop but so also will Russia's strength, until finally Russia will shake us off, because she no longer needs us."

The political problems of European Turkey are concerned mainly with the contiguous countries of Bulgaria and Greece. The failure of the Allies to accord Bulgaria an outlet to the Aegean Sea, in contravention of the Treaty of Neuilly, is an open sore. The much-sought city of Adrianople remains in Turkish hands; moreover the Karagach sector, another vital strategic center, has Turkish sovereignty with adjoining Bulgarian and Greek outposts. The special interest taken by France in the Balkan States, Poland, and Russia may help to keep alive the disorders in southeastern Europe.

With respect to the Moslem countries of western and central Asia (for example, consult the Treaty with Afghanistan), the Kemalist State was regarded as the natural leader and spokesman. Perhaps the sensational action of the Grand National Assembly in overthrowing the sultanate and in taking over certain prerogatives of the khalifate may result in radical changes in the Islamic world; but the prestige of the Turkish Nationalists is a mighty force to have and to hold. The ex-Sultan of Turkey, who asserts that he has not abdicated, is resting in Europe. While it is whispered that the Aga Khan, the Emir of Afghanistan, or the Sultan of Morocco is being groomed as the Padishah, a more likely choice would appear to be a member of the tribe of Khoreish whose representatives are widely-posted at Mecca, Am-

man, Mosul, and Baghdad. The Arabs, however, are interested in a political rather than a spiritual union—hence any agreement among them or for them has only a bare chance of success. The present khalif (who, incidentally, was reported in an interview in the *London Morning Post*, September 16, 1921, to say, “if England had expended in Turkey a small part of the efforts she concentrated on Russia she could have had Turkey as an unflinching Ally during and after the Great War”) is in a fortuitous position because he was the popular choice of the Angora Assembly and was the Heir-Apparent to the former Turkish throne.¹

The past plight of the Ottoman minorities has been the main reason for the intervention of outside powers in Turkish affairs. As one of the leading negotiators at Lausanne has written in a personal letter: “The Turks started out in the beginning resolved to have independence and sovereignty with no foreign interference in their internal affairs, and no capitulations, while at the same time doing everything they could to rout the foreigners out of Turkey. They looked upon the minorities simply as tools of the foreign nations and therefore wished to get rid of the Christian races.” The immediate test for the future comes when the Allied and Associated Powers consider the treaties and special agreements signed by their representatives at Lausanne.

In résumé, a remarkably clear and succinct statement

¹ With the decree of the Angora Assembly, March, 1924, in forcing the flight of their elected khalif—a series of events too late to be recorded in the main text of this volume—there is the unprecedented spectacle of residence in Christian Europe of this ex-Khalif Abdul Mejid Effendi, and also his predecessor, Mohammed VI, the last khalif-sultan, who claims that he has never abdicated. Truly the proud House of Osman is in exile! The leaders of the Turkish Republic have good reason to fear possible intrigues towards the restoration of the monarchy.

It is too early to analyze the silent forces behind this latest, and in some respects, most sensational drama in the Islamic world. Still it must not be forgotten, that the influence of the *khojas* (priests) far transcends in importance that of the chosen claimant to the title of Commander of the Faithful.

by Major General Lord Edward Gleichen appeared in the *Asiatic Review*, January, 1923:

Turkey has to be given frontiers inside which to develop her new national consciousness; she must be helped by unselfish European advisers and encouraged to trade with the world, yet without being exploited by one nationality more than another; she must be led to treat her Christian minorities with consideration, as long as they behave themselves and do not intrigue against her; she must lay down a system of justice which will be acceptable to all nationalities; and she must allow passage to trading vessels—at all events in peace time—through her Straits.

IV

Leading internal problems are those related to population, economic reforms, the location of the national capital, the republican form of government, and the nationalistic movement.

There remain in Turkey less than three hundred thousand Armenians, and a similar number of Greeks, both confined almost wholly to Constantinople and its European suburbs. The foreign element, always concentrated in a few cities, is smaller than in the prebellum days. In fact, various pretexts are being employed by the Turks to make living more difficult than before for minorities and foreigners. The Arab population in Turkey, segregated in a few towns along the southern border, may continue to cause local disturbances. The Kurdish problem on account of the diminished size of Turkey has come forward as one of the most perplexing State questions.

The relations between Kurds and Turks have never been friendly. The Turks have never been able to control these warlike, uncivilized people who have been,

moreover, the greatest persecutors of their Armenian neighbors. These Kurds, upon whom religion weighs lightly, are regarded as somewhat less friendly to the Arabs than to the Turks, and by preference have sent their representatives to the Angora Assembly. Rouf Bey, the late Turkish Premier, protested openly against the interference of other nations in Türko-Kurdish affairs—for example, the unsuccessful attempt made by the British authorities in Iraq during 1922 to establish a Kurdish government at Sulaimaniya. The unruly Kurds wish as much absolute independence as possible, an ideal more possible of attainment under an Oriental than Occidental régime. The shifting of the Turkish capital to the interior of Asia Minor has meant a closer study of these Moslem people. Turkey has cast off the Arab burden but has assumed, apparently with entire willingness, the not less difficult Kurdish load. In the *Times* (December 28, 1923), Premier Ismet Pasha is reported to have said that "The Kurds are included in the term 'Moslem majorities' of the National Pact. Turks and Kurds constitute one nation. The populations of both are taken into consideration as one element. It has been so in the past Mosul negotiations and will be so always."

Mosul, in the heart of the Kurdish country, has a local economic importance not less than that of Aleppo to Syria. The corn crop of Mosul and Erbil provides sustenance for a wide area extending nearly to Lakes Urumia and Van. The mountains situated above Mosul form a defensible military barrier that has not been pierced, some historians say, since Xenophon and his ten thousand marched from Mosul to Trebizond (Trapezium). The strategic position of this region threatening the security of lower Iraq and the mammoth oil pools, together make this region a bone of contention between the Turks, the Iraq Arabs and their supporters the British. The British and the Turks agree to settle the disposition of this disputed area within nine months after

the Treaty of Lausanne is ratified. Thus, upper Iraq, a predominantly Kurdish region, is being made the basis of international bargaining.

The racial characteristics of the varied peoples is described in Chapter II. The subject of literacy is treated in the chapter on Education. There is no more serious factor than the prevalence of disease, discussed to some extent in the chapter on Public Health. Practically no writers have paid much attention to the stationary population of Turkey; yet, although reliable statistics are nowhere available, it can be stated with a fair degree of assurance, that despite the number of large families, not over four out of ten offspring born to the Moslem Turks, Arabs, or Kurds survive childhood. The non-Moslems, (Armenians, Greeks, and Jews) have enjoyed a small, annual increase in their population which can be attributed more to health precautions than to fecundity. Some students claim that, strangely enough, polygamy (which is rare among the better educated Turks, although common among the peasants) does not result in large families. There are no reliable figures to tell us whether the Turkish Moslems, taken by themselves, are not steadily losing ground; but surely, it is safe to state that an increased population, so vital to the prosperity of Asia Minor, cannot come about unless the Turks apply modern methods of hygiene and sanitation or are able to bring about a large foreign immigration. The most momentous problem of Turkey, as of every country, is concerned with the number, virility, and capacity of her population.

Closely associated with the population question has been the millet form of organization whereby the racial minorities in Turkey have had a semi-independent political status on the basis of religion. The Greek patriarch at Constantinople, for example, has been regarded by Ottoman Greeks as their leader in political, in social, as well as in spiritual matters. The New Turks have been successful apparently in removing church dignitaries of

the minorities from non-religious activities. (Refer to Chapter III.)

Inseparably connected with the millet system was the capitulatory régime under which foreign nationals have enjoyed a more privileged position in the Ottoman Empire, even as they have in China and formerly had in Japan. The foreigner has believed that it was impossible to reside or to do business in Turkey unless special safeguards were accorded him. (Consult the chapter on Capitulations.) After a period of four centuries and a half, the Americans, British, French, Italians and all others have been obliged to relinquish entirely their rights of extraterritoriality. In a word, the New Turkey agrees to accord foreigners the same rights in Turkey as Turkish nationals enjoy in reciprocating countries. Admitted to "the society of nations" in 1856 but with certain reservations, Turkey has now attained an equal political position with the leading world powers. She is the first Moslem country to achieve this goal.

Every effort is being made by the new Turkish rulers to get away from the foreign, unwholesome atmosphere of diplomatic Constantinople. A sage of long ago has well said, "*Perturbabantur Constantinopolitani innumeralibus sollicitudinibus.*" There is no certainty that the Turkish capital at Angora may not be sometime transferred to Brusa, Sivas, Konia, Adrianople, or Constantinople. But Kemal and his group must be given credit for displaying a high degree of patriotism and self-denial in establishing themselves at Angora, a primitive, hilly, muddy town of the interior.¹ Not only was

¹ A graphic picture of recent conditions at Angora appeared in the *Times* (December 28, 1923) from its special correspondent at the Turkish capital. He reported that "Even the most chauvinistic Turks admit the drawbacks of living in a capital where half a dozen flickering electric lights represent the public lighting of the town; where running water is almost unknown in the houses; where a donkey or a horse is as often as not tethered to the railings of the little house which serves as the Foreign Office; where open drains run down the middle of the streets; where the modern fine arts are



Harbord Mission

Turkish Patriots at Sivas, 1919. Mustafa Kemal is Seated in the Center.



Harbord Mission

Anatolians.

that city visited by a severe conflagration a few years ago, but little has been done to improve living conditions since that date. Angora, called by the ancient Greeks Ancyra, "the Anchor," famous for the military exploits of Tamerlane (Timur the Lame), has now become the scene of non-military events of great significance. In the choice of the capital, Mustafa Kemal has given the closest attention to strategic location in order to place the Turks in a strong defensive military position and away from European diplomacy. This new departure causes dissatisfaction both among many Turks who prefer the "flesh-pots" of Constantinople and among practically all foreign diplomatic and consular officers. The residents of Constantinople complain regarding the prejudicial acts of the leaders at Angora. There is much heated discussion regarding the merits of Angora versus Constantinople as the more desirable capital.

The change in the form of government is described in a special chapter. The sultanate is now a memory. In the Republic, the governmental functions are vested in the Assembly at Angora, a single house which elects the President of Turkey. The Assembly elects the Khalif from the House of Osman but he has no temporal authority. This new situation does not harmonize with the Islamic ideal, but it is in conformity with the modern idea to make a definite separation between Church and State. As usual, Turkey lacks experienced administrators and technical experts. The future of the Assembly, as well as that of Turkey, depends to a marked degree upon the

confined to the manufacture and consumption of bad *raki* and the playing outside the Assembly each day for half an hour by a very moderate band of such masterpieces as "Tarara-Boomdehay" and "After the Ball Is Over"; where galoshes are more needed and used than razors; where the House of Parliament is no larger than many a public school cricket pavilion; where, in short, there is an almost perverse absence of every amenity and the presence of almost every conceivable disadvantage which could possibly hamper the rulers of a backward country which has to make up not only for the ravages of war but also for the neglect and stagnation of centuries."

wisdom shown in distinguishing between assistance from outsiders and tolerance of foreigners. Sixty years ago Japan had a pronounced antipathy towards other peoples; but her citizens applied themselves to the study of foreign methods and have freely employed foreign advisers. This broad-gauged policy has been largely responsible for the remarkable development of Nippon. Can Turkey profit by this example?

Economic, rather than foreign or military questions are engaging the chief attention of the Angora Assembly. Ways and means are being studied to improve the condition of the agriculturalist. The Government has arranged for the importation of American farm equipment and machinery and is planning agricultural expositions. To date nothing has been accomplished in decreasing the hardships of onerous taxation, but Prime Minister Ismet announces that this matter is being carefully considered in the budget of 1924-1925. The granting of the Chester and other concessions is clear evidence of the desire of the new rulers to modernize Turkey. Railways, port and harbor works, and mineral exploitation are among the new enterprises that have found favor.

At the close of the year 1923, there are few evidences that reconstruction has begun in earnest. The lack of needed funds and governmental reorganization are the prime reasons. Former flourishing enterprises in which foreign control has been strongly exercised have been depressed or shut down. For example, French interests in Cilicia have suffered through the closing of banks, mines, textile works, and schools; the tobacco *régie* may be suppressed at any time. The Angora authorities are confiscating the Galata Bridge tolls, pledged under the Constantinople loan of 1909 to British creditors. The "red tape" necessary to secure passports is interfering greatly with the tobacco and other businesses. The revival of the native needle handicrafts, so carefully nur-

tured by American missionaries and Near East Relief workers, has been seriously threatened by the emigration of the skilled workers. How unfortunate if an advanced industrialism should wipe out these artistic and characteristic products! Changes from a war to a peace State machinery, however, are slow. A most impressive demonstration of what the Turks can do has been their speedy and effective cleaning out of the "dives" in the "Christian" quarters of Pera and Galata across the Golden Horn from unchanging old Stamboul.

A most happy augury was the Economic Congress at Smyrna (February, 1923), a landmark in Turkish history, attended by several hundred delegates including the national political leaders. At this meeting, Kemal Pasha made a stirring address in which was sounded the keynote that Turkish prosperity had moved in cycles according to her relative economic situation. A reproduction of the "Economic Pact" (which, according to the *Agence d'Anatolie*, is to appear hereafter in all books published in Turkey) in an abbreviated form, is translated as follows:

(1) In the limits of its frontiers, Turkey enjoying complete independence constitutes an element of peace and progress in the world.

(2) The Turkish people, having obtained their national sovereignty at the price of their blood, will no longer suffer the least sacrifice in this respect. They will give their support always to the Assembly and to the Government which have for its foundation the popular sovereignty.

(3) The Turkish people are not factors of destruction.

(4) The people are trying to produce, as far as possible, articles for their consumption.

(5) From the point of view of natural resources and wealth, the Turkish people are conscious that they possess golden treasures.

(6) Theft, lying, hypocrisy, laziness—these are our

deadly enemies. A solid faith, free from all fanaticism, is the fundamental principle of our life. We shall adhere always to useful innovations.

(7) The Turk is the hearty friend of enlightenment and of the sciences.

(8) Our ideal is to insure the increase of our population (decimated by wars and privations of all sorts) and to safeguard our health.

(9) The Turk is always the friend of people who are not against his religion, his life, and his institutions. He is not the adversary of foreign capital. But in his country he entertains no relations with organizations incompatible with his laws and language. He draws from the springs of science and the arts everywhere. He repudiates every intermediary in his relations.

(10) The Turk loves to work freely and does not want any monopoly in business.

(11) In his consideration of class and profession, the Turk sympathizes with his compatriots.

(12) The Turkish woman and the Turkish schoolmaster mould the children in accordance with the precepts of the Economic Pact.

The establishment of law and order throughout the land would do more than anything else to give foreigners a feeling of confidence in the New Turkey. To bring this about requires thoughtful, progressive action by the government and the development of qualities of personal initiative in the individual Turk. The condition of absolute safety and freedom from all disorder is not to be expected either in the East or the West, but it is desirable that living conditions be made attractive as well as fairly safe. Contrary to the opinion expressed by a majority of writers, the policing of the country is not a difficult matter. The Turkish peasant wishes to be let alone and is troubled only when aggravated by public officials. Even brigandage is a much less important occupation than in many other countries. Foreign capital will flow in and in large volume provided the lenders are convinced

that their investments are free from dangers of confiscation, unbearable taxation, and crass prejudice.

Turkey of the present day owes its independent position to the genius of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Mohammedans are deeply stirred by a contemporary hero whose exploits they can understand. They expect the ruler to be arbitrary, to play favorites, but to be powerful always. He is expected to be accessible to rich and poor. "His crowning virtues are mercy, clemency, compassion; and it matters little what claims of justice go unrequited if a cry for mercy is kindly met. The rulers of the 'Arabian Nights' represent the ideal of monarchs of this character."

Mustafa Kemal Pasha has countless difficulties in his efforts to reconcile the varied political views of his own party, to say nothing about the other Turks, many of whom are in voluntary or forced exile. A coalition with the remnant of the Committee of Union and Progress (the rulers of "Modern Turkey" until the Kemalists took control) would appear not to be impossible, because both these liberal elements have no special scruples on the subjects of the conservatism of Islam or of female emancipation. The Turkish President is still the object of an intense, justly-merited hero worship, yet his continued influence remains a matter for speculation. It may not be inappropriate to repeat a Turkish proverb, "*Bir günün beyliyi beylik dir*" (One day of lordship is enough for me). The judgments of Allah are withheld from view. And typical of the East, human life is not taken too seriously, nor is a change of rulers outside the sphere of practical politics.

The fierce nationalism which is sweeping Turkey is neither Oriental nor anything novel. This patriotic fervor recalls to mind how Isocrates idealized Athens, how Virgil and later Dante proclaimed the supreme destiny of Rome. Did not Milton write that "God re-

veals Himself first to His Englishmen"? As one writer has expressed it, "Freedom" has ever been interpreted to mean the subjection of "your-Freedom" by "my-Freedom." This great impulse, in many respects noble, governs men's actions and men's lives in the age in which we are living. But it might be well for everyone to pause a moment, and to read the thoughts of that great interpreter of the East and the West, Rabindranath Tagore: "In political civilization, the state is an abstraction and relationship of men utilitarian. Because it has no root in sentiments, it is so dangerously easy to handle. Half a century has been enough for you (Japanese) to master this machine; and there are men among you, whose fondness for it exceeds their love for the living ideals, which were born with the birth of your nation and nursed in your centuries. It is like a child who, in the excitement of his play, imagines he likes his playthings better than his mother. . . . The past has been God's gift to you; about the present, you must make your own choice."

CHAPTER II

RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

By ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS

In a republic, to be successful we must learn to combine intensity of conviction with a broad tolerance of difference of conviction. Wide differences of opinion in matters of religious, political, and social belief must exist if conscience and intellect alike are not to be stunted, if there is to be room for healthy growth. Bitter internecine hatreds, based on such differences, are signs, not of earnestness of belief, but of that fanaticism which, whether religious or anti-religious, democratic or undemocratic, is itself but a manifestation of the gloomy bigotry which has been the chief factor in the downfall of so many, many nations.

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT, "Citizenship in a Republic," Sorbonne, 1910.

A student of Turkey should at some time or other have been a student in Turkey. It is an essential that he forget that he is a stranger or a visitor, for he must breathe the atmosphere of a country situated in Europe as well as in Asia providing he wishes to learn anything worthwhile of its distinction and its mysteries. He will be completely translated into the world of the Near East if he takes his cup of Turkish coffee, perhaps a Turkish cigarette, and with a native companion sits down in a café at the Stamboul end of the Galata Bridge which spans the Golden Horn. For here the moving crowd, composed of all creeds, races, and nationalities, presents a vast panorama of glowing colors. Close by the bridge hundreds of sailing vessels like white winged birds, their damp canvas spread to dry in the sun, rest in port after their fishing trips up into the Black Sea or the Sea of Marmara. The native owners move about over them, mending nets and ropes and singing as they work.

Out in the harbor lie the ships of all nations. Of the foreign flags, British, French, Greek and Italian predominate; but from where one sits, the American newcomer, "Hog Island, U. S. Shipping Board," close up against the bridge, a new touch in the scenery of the harbor, greets the eye.

But it is the people themselves that interest us most of all. By the Golden Horn, one may note a group of merchants from Pera or Galata, probably Armenians, Greeks, Jews, or that vague nationality, the Levantine, clad in conventional European costume except for the inevitable fez or newly-adopted kalpak, talking volubly about the latest political rumor or a lately-consummated bargain.

A Turkish peasant from the country, clad in bright colored costume with long flowing, baggy trousers, steers his goats through the passing crowd emitting at times a raucous warning of his approach while he himself narrowly escapes being run over by a smart French automobile which flies by. A porter, possibly a Kurd, bending low under his staggering burden with eyes to the ground calls out in Turkish, "Beware! Make way!" and narrowly misses the head of a passer-by with the corner of the bed which he is carrying. Two Greek priests, high-hatted and in flowing black symbolic of authority, brush elbows with green turbaned khojas from the mosques of the city. Towering above the crowd the figure of an Arab, picturesquely adorned in the garb of the desert, moves with slow stride and a dignity surpassing all. Always one gets the impression of the cosmopolitan character of the land, the intermingling of races in themselves not distinct, and through it all the suggestion of religious fanaticism, economic rivalry, ignorance, and superstition.

Still, one scarcely knows Turkey who has seen only Constantinople, for even in the heyday of the Ottoman Empire that city was more Byzantine than Turkish, and

more cosmopolitan than Byzantine. Despite the powerful and fearful influence of the former Capital, the coast and interior cities of Asia Minor are the best places for observation of what is really Turkey. The country and its people are better understood after a trip along the Black Sea Coast to a distant coast town of Anatolia. There, in the provincial city, one can jostle up against the crowd, or talk politics with the tobacco merchant in his *magasin*, while out of the window one watches the big lighters full of tobacco make out to the ships anchored a mile off shore. It is a liberal education to be in town on a market day, when from all the mountain villages around the sturdy peasants come to town to do their marketing, the women trudging along, with their men often riding behind them on donkeys. The more prosperous among them come from large tobacco villages, with donkeys heavily laden, and return with purchases of cheese, olives, and cloth; on prosperous days, with a bottle of wine in addition. One can see galloping through the town a band of mountain bandits, political outlaws of all races, wearing the picturesque *laz* headdress trimmed with gold, and with tight fitting black trousers with their narrow gold and colored stripes. Veritable travelling arsenals they are, with rows and rows of cartridges about their waists, with hand grenades of German origin dangling from their belts, and guns slung loosely from their shoulders. These are the men who guard the mountain villages in the guerilla warfare which is continually going on between the neighboring localities. Places seething with political unrest are the coast cities, where in the local coffee houses and bazaars one can pick up all the latest gossip from Constantinople about possible massacre, invasion, changing government and what not. And then, five times a day, the muezzin from his minaret call the faithful to prayer.

If a person is really adventurous he will negotiate for

a wooden cart, the *araba*, and will take the trip along the highway into the interior of Anatolia, past rich fields of grain and tobacco yielding their harvest almost without cultivation and in response to most primitive methods of agriculture. He will stop for a night or two in a little town by the roadside where he may spend the night in a khan where rival bedfellows make sleep difficult. The houses are mostly of mud without window glass. Tiny little shops which line the one street are the center of local activity, the life of the city, its political gossip, its racial jealousy, its petty bargaining. The houses are squalid without sanitation, the streets without lights. People live without hope or ambition, without any of the amusements or excitement of the coast towns.

An hour's climb over the circuitous mountain path will bring one to a tiny mountain village of which there are many tucked away; sometimes they are Turkish, sometimes Greek, sometimes Kurdish or Armenian, now mostly of Turkish population. Here it is usual to find women slaving in the fields, the men too in the harvest season when frequently all work throughout the night in the moonlight in order to satisfy the demands of the tax-collector. One such village the writer has in mind, far up in the mountains of Anatolia, where dwelt Albanians, rich in their hospitality as far as they could give, but literally working all night during the moon that they might pay their "twelfth." These peasants on the land, stolid, hard working, and (notably in the case of the Turks) hospitable, form the backbone of the country. They know little about what is going on on the outside. They ask only to be let alone to earn their living.

No understanding of the country and its problems is possible without some study of the intermingled races, which make up the problematic whole. The country known as the Ottoman Empire, or the Turkey of prewar days, was for centuries subject to repeated invasions

and conquests from the East and the West, and to shifting of population within its confines. This has led to an intermixture of populations which makes it impossible to draw any hard and fast racial lines. According to Sir Charles Eliot (1) [for this and succeeding quotations, consult references at end of chapter], the politico-geographical and the physical tests for racial classification are unsatisfactory. "A third and very important method of classifying mankind is based upon their languages.¹

¹Dr. Mary Mills Patrick has prepared for me the following lucid explanation regarding the influence of language upon race.—E. G. M.

"There was never a land richer in languages than the Near East. Here the student of philology finds fruitful fields of investigation, and abundant opportunity for practical study. An Oriental scholar in passing over the bridge across the Golden Horn, on one occasion, distinguished twenty-two different languages and dialects even in that short distance.

"Of the Mohammedan races, the Arabs, Kurds, Albanians, and Turks all speak different tongues. Of these the Arabic and Turkish bear the greatest resemblance to each other. Turkish is a Turanian language—Ural Altaic, and unlike any other language familiar to us has borrowed heavily both from Semitic and Aryan sources; namely from Arabic and Persian. The alphabet used in Turkish is Arabic, so difficult of acquisition that children are said to lose upwards of a year of time in learning it above that necessary in conquering easier alphabets. Even should they be taught to read by the sight method, a knowledge of the changing value of the letters is essential, especially as the alphabet contains practically no vowels. All the metaphysical and emotional words in Turkish are Arabic or Persian, from which languages Turkish has greatly increased its abstract and aesthetic possibilities.

"The Turkish language is very beautiful. A skillful use of its verbs, participles, and gerunds can produce shades of meaning peculiar to the subtle atmosphere of the East, and almost unknown in the direct thought of Western lands. Isolated words, even, have the power to create this atmosphere of subtlety, and occur often to the mind of the Westerner familiar with the Turkish language, as an illuminating mechanism of thought, capable of creating *nuances* before unknown to him. Turkish furnishes, furthermore, a fine medium of expression for the ever-present humor of the Turkish people. A shrug of the shoulders and the repeating of some familiar expression, will convulse a Turkish company with a sense of extreme but quiet humor.

"Turkish is the official language of Turkey, although the Koran and many other religious and legal works are written in Arabic. In towns and villages where Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews live side by side in adjoining houses or adjacent quarters, Turkish would be the common language of traffic. An extremely small vocabulary, however, suffices for that purpose, and the non-Turkish population, with the exception of men of affairs, are practically unable to read Turkish or to express

There are, of course, many and obvious exceptions to its accuracy: the negroes in America speak English, the themselves in it beyond the elementary act of bargaining or asking simple questions.

"In many parts of the country Greek vies with Turkish as a language in common use—furnishing a medium of thought less colored by Oriental subtlety than Turkish, but offering all the poetic beauty of expression that has been the heritage of the world from the Greek culture of the past ages of art and literature. It is true that the ignorant Greek peasant, for example, does not speak the Greek of cultured society. His vocabulary is small and more or less mixed with foreign words, but even in such cases the listener is often surprised by epigrammatic sayings that he little expected to hear.

"The difference between Ancient and Modern Greek is a matter of degree diminishing as education and culture increase. The language of the Greek press in Turkey as well as in Greece is being constantly purified and improved, and the influence of the fine Greek schools that exist wherever Greeks are found in the Ottoman Empire is strong in the direction of restoring the ancient beauty of the Greek language.

"The Armenian language differs totally from any of the others. It is also a very old language and is found in an ancient and modern form, and it belongs by general consent to a separate family of the Aryan languages. It was reduced to writing in the fourth century, A. D., and possesses a literature of some importance. The most flourishing period of this literature extends from the fourth to the fourteenth century, A.D. Its alphabet is difficult, comprising thirty-six characters. The Armenian press endeavors, as does the Greek, to restore the purity and greater richness of its ancient form, in which movement the influence of the more advanced Armenian schools is strong. Modern Armenian as it is spoken in regions distant from centers of culture often retains some expressions belonging to the ancient language that would not be heard elsewhere; but on the other hand, in regions where the Turkish population is numerous, many of the concise idioms of Turkish have been adopted in Armenian.

"The Kurdish language is also very old in origin, for at the dawn of history the mountains overhanging Assyria were held by a people named Gutu, signifying 'warrior' expressed in Assyrian by the synonym of Kordu, which means the same as the Greek name Karadakes, which Strabo, the geographer, used in the first century B.C. in speaking of the Kurds. It is an old Persian *patois* mixed with Chaldean and Turanian elements, which may be traced back to Babylonian times. It is not wholly without literature, but there are no books in common use for the people and no schools except in places where they have been established by missionary effort.

"The Arabic language is that of the Koran and holy to the Moham-medan races. As a means of expression, it abounds in those picturesque phrases, which truly represent the East. Arabic is a wonderful language, but is understood by few believers or non-believers.

"The last national language to be mentioned is the Albanian. This is considered by philologists as the only surviving language of the Thraco-

Jews of Salonika and Constantinople Spanish, and the Bulgarians a Slavonic tongue. But, making all allowances for such cases, similarity of language always implies contact at some period, and probably union in some kind of state or national organization. Languages in Turkey form, on the whole, the best criterion of race in the popular sense—that is to say, when we talk of Greeks or Bulgarians we mean people who speak Greek or Bulgarian. But some qualifications must be made. Mohammedans, particularly of the upper classes, who migrate from their homes in the provinces, generally drop their original languages, and in the second generation speak Turkish only. This is the case with many Albanians in Constantinople and elsewhere. Of such, it would be more correct to say that they *were* Albanians than that they *are* Albanians. Many districts, too, are bilingual; but it may always be assumed that Greek or Turkish is an acquired language, and that the second one gives the speaker's real race."

A fourth method of classification, he says, is that of manners and customs, the most important of which is religion. Bearing these principles of classification in

Illyrian group, but the lack of literature makes scientific statements regarding its development extremely difficult. A significant brochure which has recently appeared on the subject is the result of the scholarly research of M. Dako of Kortcha, Albania. A literary conference of leading Albanians was convened shortly before the present war to consider the choice of an alphabet for the new Albanian literature. The Latin alphabet was favorably considered, but no decision, of a permanent character, was reached.

"The Jews of Turkey speak Spanish, German, Italian, Russian, and sometimes other languages according to their nationality. Jewish papers are published in French and in Spanish, the latter in a modified Hebrew character, which is called Hebrew Spanish. There is a movement among the Jews at present to return to the use of the Hebrew language, and several women's clubs are working vigorously in pursuance of this purpose.

"There are those who consider that the absolute separation in thinking caused by using languages so widely different from each other, has intensified and crystallized the intense racial feeling in the Turkish Empire to an extent that no other force could have accomplished."

mind, certain racial groups stand out as having similarity of language and racial traditions. Of these, the most important in the old Ottoman Empire were the Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Kurds, Arabs, Jews and Syrians (the last-named in particular is a most inclusive term). Countless smaller racial groups there were, such as the Circassians and Lazes of Aryan origin and Mohammedan in religion, and numerous smaller tribes of Semitic extraction, sometimes Christian, sometimes Jewish, sometimes Mohammedan. In the present limited area of Turkey, which confines it practically to Asia Minor with only a bit of territory in Europe, the race problem is, of course, less complicated. Some understanding must be gained of the chief races, notably the ruling race, in order to have any real insight into the problems of the country. For the purposes of this chapter, the author has followed the scheme of quoting rather freely from the writings of leading authorities, including Sir Charles Eliot, Viscount James Bryce, Sir Edwin Pears, Dr. D. G. Hogarth, Sir Mark Sykes, and Sir W. M. Ramsay. The bulk of the testimony is British and purposely so, mainly because that Commonwealth produces thoughtful students of Turkey who combine direct written expression with independent judgment.

To apply the word Turk to all Moslem inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire is a common error. Jemal (Djemal) Pasha, a member of the famous "C.U.P." triumvirate, brought out the distinction in his memoirs when he wrote that he was an Ottoman, or Turkish citizen, but he prided himself upon being a Turk. "It is convenient," says Sir Edwin Pears (2), "to speak of the Moslem inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire as Turks. The name Osmanli is now officially applied to all subjects of the Sultan, whether Moslem or Christian. But the term Turk requires explanation. Among the Moslem subjects of the Sultan, there are Turks strictly so-called, that is, de-

scendants of the Turkish race which entered the country during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but also Arabs, Circassians, Albanians, Lazes, Pomaks, Yuruks, Kizilbashis and others."

Despite their Tartar and Mongolian origin, rarely does one find the purely Mongolian type, so mixed has the original race become with the native population. The reason is stated succinctly by Lord Bryce (3):

"Very little Turkman blood flows in the veins of the modern Mohammedan population of Asia Minor and Europe; hardly more perhaps than there is of Frankish blood in the modern French. That population is composed mainly of the descendants of those subjects of the Eastern Roman empire who embraced Islam as the tide of Seljukian and Ottoman conquest advanced westward and northward, partly also of the mongrel race which has sprung from the marriage of Osmanlis with the Greek, Georgian, Circassian, and Slavonic captives brought in by the perpetual slave trade; and of janissaries, the offspring of Christian parents seized in childhood, and brought up as Mohammedans. How little of the true Turk there is in the modern Ottoman may be seen by any one who will compare the heavy languid faces and flabby figures of the Turkish royal family for instance, with their drooping eyelids, smooth foreheads, and sensual rounded outlines, and the firm, hard, angular bony features, small, fierce, restless eyes and well-knit frames of the genuine Turkman or Tatar of the Aral or Caspian steppes."

Since the boundaries of the present Turkey are so limited as to make the Turk the leading Mohammedan race and to place the emphasis on Turkey for the Turks, the characteristics of the race as such are being very naturally discussed more and more and with great variance of opinion. On one point all authorities seem agreed, that the Turk has not adapted himself to business

as his Armenian and Greek neighbors, nor is he so industrious. (For further information, consult the chapter on Foreign and Domestic Commerce.) Sir Charles Eliot (1) says:

“All occupations except agriculture and military service are distasteful to the true Osmanli. He is not much of a merchant; he may keep a stall in a bazaar, but his operations are rarely conducted on a scale which merits the name of commerce or finance. It is strange to observe how, when trade becomes active in any seaport or along a railway line, the Osmanli retires and disappears, while Greeks, Armenians, and Levantines thrive in his place. Neither does he much affect law, medicine, or the learned professions. Such callings are followed extensively by Moslems, but they are apt to be of non-Turkish race. The true Turk has three spheres of activity. First, he is a Government official, a class of which I shall speak elsewhere. Secondly, he is an agriculturist and a breeder of animals. He does not rejoice in reclaiming barren land or in turning the mountain-side into fruitful vineyards. On the contrary, he has turned wooded countries into deserts by his improvident habit of cutting down trees for firewood and making no attempt to plant others in their place. But he has a keen appreciation of the simplest and most material joys of country life. He likes fine horses, fat sheep and cattle, good corn and olives, rich grass. He willingly goes out shooting, and some of the Sultans were mighty hunters. But more than all, he likes a good kitchen-garden, where he can grow fruit and vegetables, succulent pumpkins and cucumbers, and perhaps regale a party of friends with roast lamb in a little summer-house under the shade of his mulberry and walnut trees. Thirdly, the Turk is a soldier, not in the sense that Germans or Russians “make” good soldiers, but in the sense that the moment a sword or rifle is put into his hands, he instinctively

knows how to use it with effect, and feels at home in the ranks or on a horse."

This distinction between Turk and Turkmen has become an actuality in local terminology. According to Sir W. M. Ramsay (4):

"Many of the distinctions about which we speak are not recognized in government statistics, and the diverse races are summed up as Moslems or as Osmanli. This is the case with the distinction between Turkmen and Turk. . . . One of the first impressions made on the traveller when he leaves the railways and cities, and goes out over the Central Plateau, is the difference between two classes of population, who are called in ordinary expression Turks and Turkmen. The population of towns and generally of the settled villages consists of Turks, or, as they call themselves, Osmanli; and the distinction between them and the Turkmens is clearly marked. The Turkmen tribes used to claim ostentatiously to be and to be styled 'Turkmen', and repudiated the name 'Turk', while the Osmanli would have regarded it as an insult to be called 'Turkmen.' Formerly the usual account of this difference was that the Turks represent the tribes who overran Asia Minor in the years immediately following the great battle of Mantzikert in A. D. 1071 (which laid the whole country prostrate before the invaders from Central Asia), whereas the Turkmen belong to various successive waves of immigration which came in from Central Asia during the following centuries. On the other hand, an explanation which has been favored recently is that the Turkish population is the native Anatolian population Moslemized, while the Turkmen tribes are left unexplained, and it seems to be assumed that they are the conquering race. . . .

"There has never been any real affection between the Turks and the Turkmens, but rather a slight though distinct feeling of hostility; and for centuries even the

west Turkmen tribes (Asheret) maintained themselves practically in independence of the Ottoman Government, paying no taxes, treating great officials almost on terms of equality, and not serving as soldiers in foreign countries. The Turkmens were an unruly and even a dangerous element in the country. Peaceful merchants did not venture to travel along the roads except in large caravans, which had to be always on their guard against attack from the Nomads. The Seljuk Sultans in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries attempted to protect the great lines of communication by means of splendid khans. These khans are places of large size and military strength, built for defence with loop-holed walls of great thickness; and they could easily be maintained against the attacks of large bands of Nomad assailants. . . . The following hypothesis may serve to explain in part the origin of the distinction between Turk and Turkmen. The Turkish population is not pure Turk, it represents a mixed race, springing from the union between a section of the Asiatic conquerors and the old population of Anatolia; and it is probably more truly Anatolian than Turk. It consists really of two different, and yet not practically distinguishable, classes, (1) the offspring of Turkish conquerors marrying women of the old population, and (2) a large number of the old Anatolian population who adopted Mohammedanism."

To Europeans, most Orientals appear indolent. This seems particularly true of those who profess Islam, which is doubtless the result of a fatalism which seems to accompany the uselessness of unnecessary effort. To quote Sir Edwin Pears (2): "The sense of superiority fills the ignorant Turk with a spiritual pride, an intellectual conceit which is a real hindrance to his progress in civilization. No Moslem has need to offer the Scotch minister's prayer, 'Gie us a good conceit of ourselves.' He has it already. Having it, and being saturated with the idea of

fatalism, he is neither thrifty nor ambitious. Of course, there are ambitious men among the Turks. So also there are thrifty men. But they are exceptions, and, in so far as they struggle to attain their ends, are acting against the generally accepted teaching of their religion. In considering such cases it is necessary to generalize, and a few exceptions do not vitiate the rule. The same results of Mahometanism hold good in India. . . .

“Heredity and religion will account for most of the characteristics of the Turkish character. The typical Turk is, under ordinary circumstances, an honest, truthful, self-respecting man. But I am not sure whether these causes will account for his want of energy¹ or his occasional outbursts of fanaticism. In the normal condition of an average Turkish peasant a long period of laziness is alternated by short, spasmodic periods of industry. He is neither industrious nor persistent about anything.”

Whether the Turk has the qualities necessary for able, efficient, and reasonably honest public service, remains to be demonstrated. Historically, as brought out clearly

¹ An amusing story is told by Dr. Ramsay (6): “The British Consul at Angora in 1882, Mr. Gatheral, a Glasgow man, who died shortly after our visit, told us a very characteristic story of Turkish habits. Stevens, the first cyclist to make an excursion round the world, had passed through Angora a year or two previously. His arrival on one of the old lofty ‘bone-shakers’ caused immense excitement, and his departure on the following day was made a public ceremony. A great crowd, including, I think, the Vali-Pasha himself, assembled at the city gate from which he started, and it was arranged that a cannon should be fired as he mounted, partly as a signal to the crowds of gazers along the road, partly, perhaps, as a compliment to him. A number of Turks collected at a wayside coffee-house a mile or more up the winding road that leads towards the East. They waited till the gun was fired, then they all rose up, each selected his own shoes among the pile that lay at the door, shuffled his way into his shoes, and then shuffled to the roadside a few yards from the house, and sat down to wait till the strange machine with one wheel arrived. They sat for an hour, and began to think there was some delay. They sat for another hour, and then some of them began to drop off to other pressing concerns. The majority, however, sat on in patient expectation. But they never saw Stevens. He had shot past them while they were engaged in shuffling on their shoes.”

by Dr. A. H. Lybyer in "The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Days of Suleiman the Magnificent," there were two very important and distinctive State organisms, the Ruling Institution, recruited largely from non-Moslems, and the Moslem Institution, which grew more rapidly, due to its cumulative influence. "The Moslem Institution was always strongly Islamic, and extremely conservative in all respects. The Ruling Institution was originally liberal both religiously and in its receptivity of new ideas, but it departed from its liberal tendency in much the same proportion that the Moslem Institution increased in power."

It is recorded that even the mighty Suleiman had to humor his janissaries (the paid military guard recruited from Christian families by the child tax), by enrolling himself as a private and paying himself accordingly. During the past four centuries and a half, the House of Osman has held sway largely because it maintained a large professional civil and military service. Corruption has always been rampant. That the capacity of the Turks for public leadership is open to some question in the judgment of Sir Mark Sykes, (5) is well brought out in these words:

"The Turk is not, truth to tell, very brilliant as a rule, though very apt in assuming Western civilization. This may sound extraordinary but is nevertheless true so far as my experience carries me. Every Turk I have met who has dwelt for a considerable period in any foreign country, although never losing his patriotism and deep love for his land, has become in manners, thoughts and habits an Englishman, a German, or Frenchman. This leads one almost to suppose that Turks might be Europeanized by the educational process without any prejudicial result, for at present they have every quality of a ruling race except initiative, which is an essentially European quality. Their ardent patriotism is their only

incentive; and their intelligence is scarcely sufficient to show them that serving their country as soldiers is not the only duty of citizens."

Like most persons, the Turk is neither a saint nor a devil. He can be extremely aggressive when provoked, but needs a sharp provocation which in the past has often consisted of a sweeping State edict. The Turk has the bluff, outstanding qualities of a dominant race, for which he is attractive to Anglo-Saxons. On the other hand, he has paid scant attention to literature, science, or art; and until lately, at least, his record has not been commendable either in governing or in the business development of his country. But there is no reason to assume that the new rulers of Turkey cannot achieve constructive results for their commendable programs. Sir Adam Block, Chairman of the Ottoman Public Debt, has been quoted as remarking at Lausanne (1922) of a common inability to estimate the extremely modern Turk, a novel type in the country. But the typical and most numerous element of the population consists of the Anatolian Turkish peasant, who has been sorely stamped under foot by the past wielders of Imperial authority at Constantinople. The vast majority of people who have lived in Turkey do not take exception to the verdict of a leading scholar on Near Eastern civilization, Prof. W. L. Westermann of Columbia University, who states (*Asia*, December, 1922) that missionaries, archæologists, merchants, and soldiers testify that "the Anatolian Turk is as honest as any other people of the Near East, that he is a hard working farmer, a brave and generous fighter, endowed fundamentally with chivalrous instincts."

Of most vital importance in the business and trade of the country were the Greeks, who numbered over a million people in Asia Minor (1914), but now are reduced to a few thousand in Turkey, exclusive of Constantinople. They have long lived in Constantinople and in the coast

cities of the Aegean and Black seas. From the days of early Greek colonization as early as the seventh century B.C., they have been seafarers and traders. A few isolated groups of Greeks, as well, were to be found in the interior of Anatolia. In many cases these Greeks forgot their own language entirely, and in some places even the Greek language was written in Turkish characters. It is of interest to note that in most of the little mountain villages near the coast the peasant Greeks had preserved a language quite different from that of the modern Greek which showed also a more striking connection with the classical period. These peasant Greeks of the villages have been most thrifty; and placed side by side with their neighbors they have frequently gained at the expense of the latter.

To a noticeable degree, the Greek coast dweller has represented in the past the intelligence of the country. "The Greeks are inclined to public speaking and the press, all of which are hateful to the Ottoman government," says Sir Charles Eliot (1), "and therefore they are regarded with disfavor; but in all the learned professions their intelligence and ambition secure them pre-eminence, and in the most trying circumstances they manage to lead a busy life."

There is great variance of opinion both as to what constitutes a "Greek" and as to his characteristics. Sir W. M. Ramsay (6), from his researches, believes that "It would be vain and self-contradictory to try to describe type and national characteristics of the Greeks in Turkey. Those who are called Greeks are a religion, not a nation. They have nothing in common except the creed and ceremonial of the Orthodox Church. They have not the tie of common blood, but are the direct descendants of the most diverse races, Cappadocians, Pisidians, Isaurians, Pamphylians, men of Pontus, and so on. Their outward look and their superficial character

(for I do not pretend to have seen more deeply) are often markedly divergent. They are divided by difference of language: some use Greek alone, some Turkish alone, many are bilingual. One sees Greek Orthodox Churches in the eastern part of Turkey, over whose door is an inscription in Greek letters; but when you read the words inscribed you find that they are Turkish, and on inquiry you learn that not a soul in the congregation knows any Greek except the priest. It is a remarkable fact that the Orthodox Church should have been able to bind so well together elements so diverse, and now for centuries so far divided from one another by the estranging sea of Mohammedanism, in which their scattered communities are like islets. . . . While there is singularly little diversity of opinion about the Armenians, there exists extraordinary contradiction between the opinions entertained about the Greeks by competent observers of long experience. To take two examples out of many, I may give the testimony of two persons, British by nationality, both possessing long and intimate acquaintance with business in Turkey, and deserving as well as holding a leading position in it. One of them, Scottish by birth and training, could hardly contain himself if the name of Greek was mentioned in his hearing, and could not restrain himself from abusing the whole people as knaves and cheats: on the other hand, he was in the closest business relations with Armenians, and I never heard him say a word against them as a class. The other person, born and trained in the country, and controlling a business that brought him into relations with many Greek firms in various parts of the country, declared to me often that he had never found the slightest difficulty in dealing with his Greek correspondents, that he had not been cheated nor deceived by them, that he never found it necessary to enter into formal written contracts with them as was the practice with English firms, but a

word spoken on each side was accepted and loyally carried out by both.

The opinion of a stranger about the Greeks of Western Asia Minor would be strongly affected according as he came in contact with one or the other of these two excellent authorities. Which are we to believe? For my own part, I think the second is nearer the truth, provided you remember that much depends on the tone and spirit in which you deal with the Greeks."

Questionable commercial dealings, a survival of the Byzantine love of gifts and fees, have been associated with these practical, enterprising people. "The Greeks have in some degree laid themselves open to these charges," said a noted observer, Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole (7). "It was very unwise of them to take the first rank as merchants in the East, and thus arouse the jealousy of the merchants of all European nations, whom they have eclipsed by their superior business capacities. Envy will pick holes anywhere, but it is especially easy to criticise the customs of a merchant class. Mercantile morality all over the world is a thing of itself, not generally understood of the people. But there is nothing to show that the Greek merchants are less scrupulous than the rest, though their temptations are infinitely greater. If a little sharp business is said to be permissible, and even perhaps necessary, at Liverpool for instance, it is *a fortiori* essential in Turkey. It is a perfectly well-understood principle that in Turkey, where everything is done by bribery and corruption, a merchant, unless he wishes to be ruined, must steer a somewhat oblique course. So long as the late Turkish rule extended over Greek subjects, it was necessary to do in Turkey as the Turks do. French and English merchants sin as much as the Greeks in this manner, but the superior commercial ability of the Greeks and their consequent success have drawn on them the whole evil repute. It is not that the

Greeks cheat more than other commercial nations: it is merely that they make more money on the same amount of cheating. *Hinc illæ lacrimæ!*"

It is an evident fact that the Greeks, in spite of persecution, have thrived in Anatolia and have been of great economic aid to the country even though thwarted in their ambition to carve out territory from Turkey for themselves. Many, perhaps a majority of them, have preferred living under Turkish rule to domination by Athenian politicians. The overthrow of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (July, 1908) did not meet with favor among all Asiatic Greeks, notably those of Smyrna.

Sir Mark Sykes (8) stated: "The Asiatic branch of the great Hellenic nation is displeased with Huriyeh; it preferred the old régime. No one objected to them under the old régime, and no one hunted them for various reasons. Firstly, the Moslems were too few in number to raise a successful riot in Smyrna; secondly, Greek bombast rolled off the official Turkish back like water, and Greek nationalism did not matter, since Turkish bureaucracy knew the Greeks to be too rich and businesslike to do more than yelp; thirdly, the Greeks had interests overseas and never worried inland. Consequently the Asiatic Greeks had nearly every liberty, and could quack, preach, and swagger to their hearts' content. Taxation was light; they had no military service, and were within the protective range of the guns of the fleets of Europe. All this gave the Greeks enormous advantages, of which they naturally availed themselves, in commerce, medicine, and law. Accordingly, the idea of a rejuvenated Turkey is not one to which they are partial. In the first place, it knocks on the head once and for all that excellent postprandial theme of a great Pan-Hellenic Empire; secondly, it means heavy Armenian competition; thirdly, taxation; fourthly, the hideous danger of military service; fifthly, risk of inquiry into the vast wealth and

administration of Greek Church property. Consequently, among the squash-hatted gentry of Smyrna there is little enthusiasm for Huriyeh. It is simply a conspiracy to thwart the desires and wishes of the great Greek nation; a vile injustice to the descendants of Agamemnon; a great wrong, and so on. There is much in this strain, accompanied by the parading of Greek flags, demonstrations, and a copious stream of leading articles. Revolver mania is as rampant in Smyrna as in Beirut; but the revolvers are apparently discharged only on feast days of the Greek Church, or about twice a week."

To the average foreigner, the name Turkey suggests immediately the subject of the Armenians. The controversial side of the Armenian Question is discussed in a separate chapter in this book. In the present chapter, certain characteristics of this people are described.

In spite of innumerable vicissitudes, possibly because of them, the Armenian race has clung tenaciously together in the desire to achieve a common nationality. This ideal, however, they have never been able to realize, thus making it technically incorrect to refer to an "Armenia" as a political part of the former Ottoman Empire. According to Sir Charles Eliot (1): "If we sum up the characteristics of the Armenians, they would seem to be somewhat as follows: Firstly, they are a race with little political aptitude or genius for kingdom-building. This want of capacity was not due to the Turkish Conquest. Even before that event they had proved unable to hold their own; they were divided by continual dissensions, and became alternately the vassals of Parthians and Romans, Persians and Greeks. This was partly the result of their geographical position, but after all, they had no one but themselves to thank for that position. They seem to have had a natural aversion to the coast—otherwise they might have occupied Con-

stantinople and the mountains of the Caucasus. A nation holding those two fortresses would indeed have been strong. Secondly, the Armenians do not belong to the Orthodox Church. The differences which divide them from that communion may be absurdly trivial, but their consequences are real and important. The average Greek or Slav does not regard the Armenian as a brother Christian. At the time of the Bulgarian "atrocities" the Russian peasantry were indignant at the idea of Pravoslavny's (Orthodox Christians) being slaughtered, but the Armenian massacres of 1895-96 did not arouse any popular indignation in Russia. They were regarded as shocking, just as a massacre of Catholics in China might be shocking, but they did not seem to come nearer home. Neither the Œcumenical Patriarch, nor any other acknowledged authority of the Orthodox Church, displayed any practical indignation at these outrages. Thirdly, the Armenians are a people of great commercial and financial talents, supple and flexible as those must be who wish to make others part with their money: stubborn to heroism in preserving certain characteristics, but wanting withal in the more attractive qualities, in artistic sense, kindliness, and some (though not all) forms of courage."

"They are physically a fine race," said Sir Edwin Pears (2). "The men are usually tall, well built and powerful. The women have a healthy look about them which suggests good motherhood. They are an ancient people of the same Indo-European race as ourselves, speaking an allied language. During long centuries they held their own against Persians, Arabs, Turks, and Kurds. Wherever they have had a fighting chance they proved their courage. In the economic struggle for life against alien races they and the Jews have managed to hold their own; but, unlike the Jews, a large proportion of them have remained tillers of the soil."

The Armenian has held his own in a remarkable way considering the countless difficulties under which he has labored.

“Conceive the inevitable result of centuries of slavery,” said Sir W. M. Ramsay (6), “of subjection to insult and scorn, centuries in which nothing that belonged to the Armenian, neither his property, his house, his life, his person, nor his family, was sacred or safe from violence—capricious, unprovoked violence,—to resist which by violence meant death! I do not mean that every Armenian suffered so; but that every one lived in conscious danger from any chance disturbance or riot. Every one knew that any sign of spirit or courage would be almost certain to draw down immediate punishment; and that in bribery of the officials lay the only hope of redress, and the best chance of escape. . . . I will say for the Armenians that they have furnished the most striking examples known to me of capacity to receive and assimilate and rise quickly to the level of higher education and nobler nature, when the opportunity has been placed before them by other people. . . . Some, who have merely come in superficial contact with the worst class of Armenians—rich and tyrannical, ignorant and grasping, tradesmen who have made money in narrow, sordid business in towns—deny that they have any virtues at all. . . . Further, that is not the class of Armenians which has given rise to the recent Imperial policy of massacre. None know better than the palace officials that their most useful, nay, their indispensable instruments in misgoverning the Empire have always been found in that class and in a corresponding class of Phanariote Greeks. It is among the poor Mohammedan peasantry that the Armenian capitalists are hated; and the massacres do not originate from the peasants. Generally speaking, that class of Armenians has suffered from the massacres only so far as it was necessary to ap-

peal to the greed and envy of the Mohammedan city mob in order to rouse them to the pitch of massacre."

The Jews have occupied a favored position in Turkey ever since they were welcomed at the time of the Spanish Inquisition (1492). In recent times, the Macedonian Jews played a leading part in the restoration of the Constitution (1908). The well-known writer and exponent of Pan-Turanianism, who took the surname of Tekin Alp, was a Macedonian Jew, Albert Cohen by name. The territorial loss of Salonika to Greece under the terms of the Treaty of London (1913) caused a large departure of this leading, local business element, the majority of whom settled in Constantinople, Smyrna, and Palestine. The Zionist Movement with its potential political aspects runs the risk of encountering serious opposition from the Turks as well as from the Palestine Arabs. Opposed to the Zionists are many leading Jews in Turkey and elsewhere who believe that Jewry should remain strictly religious in character. On the settlement of this problem rests to a considerable degree a continuation of the tolerably good racial relations between Jews, Turks, and Moslem and Christian Arabs.

Lady Fanny Blunt (7), who lived for many years in Macedonia, is authority for the statement that "In few countries is the contrast of wealth and indigence among the Jews so striking as in Turkey. On one side may be seen wealth so great as to command respect for its possessors, and give them an influence in the localities in which they spring up greater than that of all other nationalities: whilst hard by one sees poverty and wretchedness of the most sickening nature. The principal cause of this is the limited sphere of action allotted to, or rather adopted by, the Jewish communities. They evince a strong repugnance to going beyond the few trades generally practised by the labouring classes; the rest content themselves with performing the coarsest

and dirtiest work of the town. From generation to generation the Jews will cling to these callings without allowing themselves to be tempted beyond them, or raising themselves in the social scale by taking to agricultural or other pursuits that might ensure them a comfortable home and an honourable living."

Sir Edwin Pears (2) wrote many years later: "There are two distinct types of Jews in Turkey which may be conveniently classed as Spanish, and German or Polish. The first frequently show delicate features, with light brown hair and occasionally with blue eyes. The second have the heavy features with dark hair and unusually large nose which we see in the race in England. . . . Since the revolution of 1908, the Jews in Turkey have come very distinctly to the front, and now play a very important part in the government of the country. But even before that event, Jewish medical men, advocates, and merchants, formed a valuable part of the community."

Between the Jews and the Turks there have always been, on the whole, good relations, partly because Christianity has not been involved. Jews, however, are usually made to feel their political and social inferiority. Lady Fanny Blunt (7) wrote: "The Jews in Turkey have from all times shown a greater liking for their Moslem neighbours than for the Christians. The Moslems sneer at them and treat them with disrespect as a nation, but are far more tolerant and lenient towards them than towards the Christians. The Jews, on their side, although at heart feeling no disposition to respect their Mohammedan masters, show great sympathy outwardly for them; and in case of a dispute between Christians and Mohammedans, unanimously espouse the cause of the latter. The wealthy Israelites would render every assistance in their power to remove the difficulties of the Government, while those of humbler standing tender their service for

the performance of anything that may be required of them, however degrading."

The Kurds are both little understood and are one of the most difficult races to deal with in Turkey. Probably Aryan in origin, they are generally nomadic in their habits, living mainly in the Armenian districts in the drainage area of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Supposedly Mohammedan, their religious complexion varies from tribe to tribe and is as mixed as is their race.

Wherever the Kurd goes, he seems to be a source of difficulty. Dr. D. G. Hogarth (9) says: "So far as I understand this vexed matter, the source of the graver trouble is the presence in the heart of Armenia of the defiant Kurdish race, which raids the villages where the flocks are fattest and the women most fair, now cutting an Armenian's throat, now leaguings with him in a war on a hostile tribe, and resisting in common the troops sent up to restore the Sultan's peace. Whatever the Kurd does is done for the sake neither of Crescent nor Cross, for he bears neither one emblem nor the other in his heart, but just because he is Ishmael, his hand against every man who has aught to lose."

The Kurd is known as a freebooter. According to Mr. Leon Dominian (10): "Travel in the districts they occupy is generally unsafe. Armenians and Christians find them an inexorable foe. They are none too loathe to prey even on Turks, although as a rule they later obtain amnesty in return for the lenient dealings of the government. In cases of Kurdish depredation on non-Moslem communities, the strong arm of an organized gendarmerie alone will end the lawlessness with which their name is associated in Turkey."

Certain good qualities, however, the Kurd may be said to have. "Good qualities are not wanting among them. A Kurd is generally true to his word. The rude code of honor in vogue among their tribes is rarely violated, and,

whenever disposed, the Kurd can become as hospitable as his Arab neighbors. The tempering influence of a settled existence among sedentary tribes is marked by harmonious intercourse with surrounding non-Kurdish communities. At the bottom their vices are chiefly those of the restless life they lead in a land in which organized government has been unknown for the past eight centuries." Since certain of the towns along the southern Turkish border have a considerable Syrian population, the latter race deserves brief mention.

According to Mr. Dominian, the Hittites, Armenians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs and Turks who conquered the land in turn, imparted their native customs to its inhabitants. Those in Syria are now transformed almost beyond possibility of analysis. The settlements of the elevated and broken Northern area, represent ancient communities. While the most numerous Syrians are largely of Moslem faith, many of them profess the Jewish and Christian religions.

The Arabs, though forming now no integral part of the Turkish State, yet because of their past position as probably the large Mohammedan population of the Ottoman Empire and because of their geographical location, have been and are noteworthy people. Their primary instinct is racial rather than religious; there are thousands of Arab Christians. The term, however, is generic; there is little similarity between an Iraqi, Wahabi, and a Syrian dweller.

The Arab, wanderer by nature, represents the purest living branch of the Semitic race. It was among the Arabs that the Mohammedan religion had its birth and it was they rather than the Turks who, in the great conquests, gave this religion to the world. During the Dark Ages they preserved learning in Europe and enjoyed a literature rich in poetry, philosophy, and history. They have always been the enemy of the Turks whom they feel

have usurped their position in the Moslem world. A more complete discussion of the relations between these two races is given in the chapter on The Arab Question.

Besides these varied races native to the Near East, there are also many European peoples represented within the Turkish State—English, French, German, Austrian, Italian, Russian, Hellenic Greeks, etc. A certain number of these, the issue of families settled for a long time in the East, have lost practically all the physical, intellectual, and moral qualities of their racial heritage, the language of which frequently they cannot speak. They have intermarried with the non-Moslem minorities, especially with the Greeks. They constitute the distinct people commonly known as the Levantines. In speaking of these people, many of whom are worthy citizens, any generalization is difficult. A former British ambassador, Sir Charles Eliot, (1) wrote: “The word Levantine is not considered complimentary, and I use it reluctantly, but for the very good reason that it denotes a definite type, and that there is no synonym. The fact is that the name does not exactly suggest honest and honorable dealings. Courts and Imperial cities do not tend to develop the rugged and sterling virtues, but rather encourage diplomacy and the arts of pleasing. For many centuries before the Turkish conquest the Greeks had been characterized by astuteness rather than heroism, and probably the Byzantium of the Angeli and Palæologi was in essential much like Pera to-day. But it cannot be denied that the Turkish conquest intensified all the faults of the inhabitants. They had to learn subserviency, not only to an emperor but to a governing class of scornful aliens. The only road to power and prosperity lay in pleasing and flattering the Turks. The latter, with their incapacity for administration and commerce, required continual assistance; but they continually let the Christian know that, though he might be intel-

lectually their superior, and apparently indispensable, he was but a dog in their eyes, who might be whipped or killed in a moment of caprice. Every Christian who served the Turk was working against his own religion and the traditions of his own race. Whatever ingenuity he might display, whatever rewards he might gain, he could not be stirred by a noble ambition or feel he was laboring for a great cause. The number of foreign colonies at Constantinople had doubtless always afforded employment for the characteristic Levantine profession of go-between, interpreter, dragoman, agent, or whatever it is called."

A recent study by M. Bertrand Bareilles, himself an old resident of the Levantine colony in Constantinople, presents a discerning picture of these distinctive people.

He tells us that the word "frank" is still the Turkish equivalent of Levantine in the same way that Indians call all Europeans "feringhis." He depicts the ill-concealed contempt of the Armenian, Greek, and Jewish communities for each other, separated by economic, political, and religious motives. All Levantines, he states, bear a strong family likeness. They are ingenious, energetic, and industrious, possessed of an intense patriotism which, nevertheless, never extended to the Ottoman government. Under the new order in Turkey, these Levantines may develop an allegiance to the Republic as a means of holding their significant place in the business life of Constantinople and other coast cities.

In the Turkish Republic, the race problem is become far less complicated on account of the exodus of the Armenian and Greek population from Asia Minor. Moreover, except adjacent to the southern frontier of Asia Minor, there are virtually no Arabs in the local population. The subject of racial characteristics has now the most practical application in the case of the Kurds and the Turks. But there are as many different types of



Student Group at Robert College. Back Row, Left to Right, Croatian, Bulgarian, Greek, Circassian, Albanian, British, Chaldean; Second Row, Turk, Israelite, Armenian, Persian, Egyptian, Ukrainian; Front Row, Russian, American, Syrian, Swiss.

these Moslem peoples as there are of Americans, Frenchmen, or Chinese.

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CHAPTER III

LEADING MINORITIES: THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS AND ASPIRATIONS

"If a man say, I love God, and hateth his own brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

—1 JOHN 4, *verse 20.*

Introduction

In spite of the widespread departure from Turkey of the non-Moslem minorities, it has seemed best, because of their strong influence in the past and since the present situation may possibly be greatly changed, to present in this volume articles especially prepared by acknowledged leaders of the three important minorities—Armenian, Greek, and Jewish. In these contributions, a representative chosen by the writer sets forth from his own special point of view, the local history and the aspirations of his race. The religious differences, the millet system, the capitulations, religions, and education are described at greater length in other sections of "Modern Turkey."

In every national entity, minorities constitute a pressing, vexing problem which produces unbridled passions and heated expressions of opinion. Unhappily, President Wilson's proclamation of self-determination was interpreted by the people concerned to mean that the minority was to be absolutely subject to the whims of the majority. But others should not be so hypocritical as to appear self-righteous; for, in the attitude towards the black race, does the record of Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and the United States, all Christian nations, afford a satisfying chronicle? At Lausanne, when American

Minister Grew endeavored to carry out his instructions from the Department of State, to insert a clause into one of the Turko-American treaties so as to provide certain safeguards for the minorities of Turkey, Ismet Pasha made a most pointed remark, "Shall Turkey be the future protector of minorities in the United States?"

Had the racial minorities not been placed in the position whereby they served as a wedge for European political intrigue in Turkey, their lot would probably have been less unhappy. The Turks hated the thought of the creation of new, independent states within their frontiers almost as much as they feared an imperialistic Tsarist Russia. Contrast the status of the local Jews with that of the Armenians and Greeks; in the case of the former, there has been no strong, internal movement for political independence, with the result that they have enjoyed a position which compares most favorably with their racial brothers in most countries of Continental Europe. Those statements, virtual promises, emanating from foreign countries during the last century, whether from France, Great Britain, Italy, Tsarist Russia or the United States of America, which aroused unfulfilled hopes among the minorities, must not be overlooked by the fair-minded student as he reads the wholly legitimate propaganda in the three separate articles.

The population question in 1922-1923 took on a sensational turn when Dr. Nansen, charged by the Assembly of the League of Nations to investigate the Near Eastern refugee question, advised the exchange of Greeks in Turkey for the Turks in Greece. This sweeping plan was approved by the Allied representatives at Lausanne in December, 1922. (The Nansen statement together with discussion appears in *Turkey No. 1* (1923), *cmd. 1814*, pages 113-124.) The Angora delegates were only too willing to accede to this "solution" which would have shocked the whole world had the immediate initiative

come from the Turkish Nationalists. The press is full of accounts of the circumstances attending the departure of these poor wretches who have been forced to leave home and practically forfeit all personal belongings (although theoretically, "abandoned" property does not automatically change title); but the whole proceedings are by virtue of the sanction of Christian nations. Economically, Greece is the gainer because of her greater population influx and of its more settled, ambitious, and industrious character; on the other hand, valuable traditions and connections of every kind, extending back into the most glorious Hellenic period, have been suddenly disrupted. The individual Greek, tossed about like a chattel, has gone from a fertile to a relatively unproductive country; moreover, a Greek makes little money off other Greeks. In the case of Turkey, the departure of these productive elements is a severe economic loss, but the returning Moslem has a wonderful opportunity because of his freedom from hard competition; and the Republic has acquired a national solidarity and a chance for internal reconstruction which would have been denied her otherwise.

The convention regarding this population transfer, signed by the delegates of the Greek and Turkish Governments at Lausanne, January 30, 1923, provides that "As from 1st May, 1923, there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory. These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorization of the Turkish government or of the Greek government respectively." However, it is stipulated that this arrangement does not apply to the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople nor to the Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace. In reality, according to the Turkish Minister of

the Interior, approximately 400,000 non-Moslems (including Greeks in large numbers) had left Constantinople and suburbs during the fall of 1922.

The extreme chauvinistic policy of the State does not give much satisfaction to minorities, despite the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne (Select Document 36). The present national policy towards immigrants and returning emigrants seems clear from the following announcement which appeared in the *News Bulletin* of the Federated American Chambers of Commerce of the Near East, Inc. (September 8, 1923):

(1) The preliminary authorization of the Minister of the Interior for the entry of foreigners into Constantinople is cancelled. All foreigners, except Christian subjects of Greece, may enter Constantinople without a permit. Their passports must, however, be viséd by a Turkish consul in charge of Turkish interests in their countries. If there are no consulates in their native countries, the visés may be obtained at Constantinople.

(2) Armenians who have emigrated from Cilicia and the Eastern Vilayets will not be admitted.

(3) Foreigners who were previously Ottoman subjects and have become foreign subjects without permission will not be admitted.

ARMENIANS

*By BOGHOS NUBAR PASHA*¹

The influence exercised by the Armenians in the social and economic life of Turkey has always been considerable and altogether out of proportion to their numbers. Without wishing, in this very condensed article, to enter into an historical study of the Armenian people and the

¹ Born in Egypt. Son of Nubar Pasha. Educated and spent most of his life in France. Armenian descent. Head of the Cilician Armenians at the Peace Delegation, Paris.

Article translated from the French.

glorious rôle which this people of Indo-European race has played in the Orient, an attempt will be made to show that they have not only been at the head of every movement toward progress and toward Occidental civilization, but have even assisted very materially in prolonging the existence of the Ottoman Empire. That this is a fact is due to their special aptitudes, to their faculty of assimilation, and to their enterprising spirit.

The traveler, Tournefort, visiting Armenia in the eighteenth century, bestowed the highest praise on the Armenians. Ollivier, after him, confirming his judgment, speaks of them in these terms:

The Armenians, intelligent, laborious, patient, economical, austere in their morals, need only a government less oppressive and more just to become a people worthy of the highest esteem.

At a later date, Elisée Réclus says:

The Armenians, besides possessing more initiative in commerce and industry, are distinguished from all the other peoples of the Ottoman Empire by a freer and franker spirit, and by a greater love of instruction.

In order not to multiply citations, we shall give only one more, from the learned German Haxthausen, which is illuminating and explains the rôle of the Armenians in Asia. This writer of seventy years ago states:

We might say that the Armenian race forms a sort of yeast which has been thrown into the midst of the elements of fermentation in Asia to renovate and awaken the nearly dead germs of intellectual life.

This intellectual life of a people, which is best expressed in its literature, is in Armenia a rich heritage. Their historical documents are both numerous and valuable, being indeed the only available source of material

relating to events of western Asia. The written literature has existed only since Mesrop, who, at the beginning of the fifth century, invented the Armenian alphabet. Before him the literature consisted only of "*les chants oraux des aérés.*" The first Armenian writers, who lived about the middle of the fifth century, have left, for instance, very interesting details about the evangelization of Armenia, which have been published in numerous authoritative works. Modern Armenian literature is also of a rare variety, and exercised a great influence on social life within the Ottoman Empire.

The Armenians, together with the Greeks, were the first of all the Oriental peoples to found newspapers and journals. Beginning with the year 1500, the Mekhitarists, who had taken refuge in Venice, published the first work printed in Armenian, using the characters invented by Mesrop. The example was soon followed elsewhere, and from the beginning of the eighteenth century we find Armenian printing establishments in Vienna, Constantinople, Smyrna, Marseilles, Amsterdam, even in America, besides those established in Armenia. Wherever a printing house exists, a newspaper or magazine is published, it spreads Armenian ideas in the various and distant colonies, thereby conserving intact the national sentiment always so live and persistent among the Armenians.

Parallel to the development of its literature is that of its educational institutions. Schools multiplied everywhere in Armenia and, although all privately founded and in the sole charge of the communities, they developed to such an extent that, according to statistics, they represented, some time before the war, more than eighty per cent of the total of all the schools in Turkey.

But it is not only in literature and education that the Armenians have distinguished themselves. They have excelled in music, painting, sculpture, the goldsmith's art, and in the theater. Above everything Armenian

architecture deserves particular attention, for the churches and the convents which still remain and the vestiges of monuments which are found to some degree everywhere in Armenia, and especially in Ani, indicate a very characteristic art. The cathedral of Ejmiadzin, built in the fifth century, those of Ste. Ripsime, of San Stefano, etc., the convents of St. Varag, of Narek, and very many other edifices constructed between the fifth and seventh centuries are the admiration of all learned archæologists. In their originality and nobility of conception they combine both Hellenic and Oriental elements.

The most beautiful palaces of the Sultans, a large number of mosques, the most admired edifices of Constantinople and of the interior are the work of Armenian architects. St. Sophia itself was restored by an Armenian architect, who reconstructed its great cupola about the year 990.

The rôle which the Armenians have played in Turkey in the political and economic field is not less important. Without going back to remote epochs, it may be remembered that it was an Armenian, Krikor Odian, the counselor of Midhat Pasha, who was the principal promoter of the Ottoman constitution; also that the Ottoman finances were organized by Armenians, and that the principal machinery of the interior administration of the country was in their hands.

The most noted physicians, even those attached to the Imperial Palace; the most renowned members of the bar; the engineers in charge of public works, were almost all Armenians. It was the Armenians who introduced scientific agricultural methods into the Ottoman Empire.

In the more strictly governmental and administrative sphere they have played a rôle of the first order as titular ministers, high officials, and ambassadors in Europe,

thus helping to introduce into Turkey the progress of the Occidental world. I may be pardoned, since we are treating here of the political action exercised by the Armenians in the Orient, for citing the work of my father, the author of the judicial reform in Egypt. By creating, nearly fifty years ago, mixed reform tribunals, composed in part of European magistrates, Nubar Pasha assisted very materially in the introduction of law into Egypt, without which the country never would have been able to enter into the path of modern progress and attain the degree of civilization and prosperity which we witness today.

Finally, if we consider the economic, industrial and commercial field proper, we see that the Armenians have also held a predominant place there. They represented before the war only two and one half million in the total population of twenty-two million in the Ottoman Empire, and yet they have controlled nearly all the domestic commerce and two thirds of the import and export commerce. They have established very important houses in England, in Italy, in France, in the two Americas, in Egypt, and in all the ports of the Levant. It is the same in the professions and the manual trades which require dexterity and some education. The goldsmith, silversmith, jewelers, sculptors, and mechanics of Turkey have been for the most part Armenians.

From the preceding statements it may be inferred that the Armenian element has been without a doubt a constructive element in the intellectual, political, and economic life of the Ottoman Empire.

To set forth the aspirations of the Armenians of Turkey, and especially to make their legitimacy clear, it is necessary to recall that during more than five centuries they lived under the Ottoman yoke, oppressed, exposed to all kinds of vexations, and to all kinds of iniquities. It may be said that, for the Armenians, law, justice,

security, were unknown throughout the Empire. The testimony of a Christian in the courts did not count against that of a Mussulman. The life, the property, the honor of every Armenian was at the mercy of any Mussulman. The Armenian was the pariah whom governments oppressed, but at the same time utilized his services, his aptitudes, and his enterprise. The Turk's purpose in leaving to the Greek and the Armenian their language and religions is by no means because of any liberality and breadth of mind, but, on the contrary, because of a desire to class either as a "rayah," and thus be able, by excluding them from civil national life, to hold him always in an inferior condition among the Ottoman subjects.

And yet, although the Armenian people have kept intact their national sentiment and with an unshakable tenacity preserved their language, their religion, and their own customs, not one of them before the world conflagration dreamed of the independence of Armenia, because they believed it impossible to obtain. They were resigned to become part of the Ottoman Empire, demanding only reforms which would assure the security of their lives and their property under a régime of justice and peace.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1878 offered them the first opportunity to demand these reforms, and for this purpose they turned to victorious Russia whose army occupied a part of Armenian Turkey. Their just request was approved, and thus it was that Article 16 was incorporated in the Treaty of San Stefano, by which the Sublime Porte¹ pledged itself to introduce reforms in its Armenian provinces. Unfortunately for the Armenians, this treaty of San Stefano was annulled, even be-

¹A fanciful translation of *Bab-i-Ali*, or "High State." The Sublime Porte was a term applied to the Ottoman Foreign Office.—E. G. M.

fore it was put in force, and replaced by that of Berlin. Although the Treaty of Berlin also contained this reform clause in its Article 61, there was no longer any penalty attached so it was without practical significance. The Russian army was to occupy the Armenian provinces and was not to evacuate them until after the reforms had been put into effect; while in the Treaty of Berlin the simple pledge of the contracting powers to see that the reforms were put into effect was accepted. Is it necessary to add that the Porte took advantage of this fact to evade reform altogether? Not only that, but the policy since then has consisted in suppressing the Armenians so as to solve more easily the Armenian question. Consequently, there have taken place the massacres of 1894 and 1896 under Abdul Hamid, in which more than 300,000 Armenians perished.

The Armenians had hoped that the accession of the Young Turks would finally deliver them; but it was a vain hope. Less than a year after the proclamation of the Constitution, 30,000 Armenians were massacred in Cilicia. And yet, in order to overthrow the ill-omened, despotic government of Abdul Hamid, the Young Turks had not disdained to ask the help of the Armenians, which the latter had willingly given them in the spirit of "Union and Progress," of which the Young Turks boasted. They hoped to see the end of persecution and massacre. Too late did they see their error, for they were recompensed for their help by the massacres of Adana, in which the connivance of the "Government of Union and Progress" has been established beyond a doubt by the official investigation itself.

Such was then the situation in the Armenian provinces when, in 1912, war broke out in the Balkans. Shortly afterwards, when the Conference of London was held for the settlement of the Balkan question, the Armenians

decided that the time had come to remind the Powers signatory to the Treaty of Berlin of Article 61, relating to the reforms which had never been executed.

Their national authorities applied to the Powers with the request that they demand of the Porte the execution of the reforms. His Holiness the Catholicus took official cognizance. The Catholicus, who resides at Ejmiadzin, is elected by the whole Armenian people; he is recognized as their national as well as religious chief. In this dual capacity at the time of the Congress of 1878, he had sent to Berlin a representative, whose intervention had procured the insertion of Article 61 in the treaty.

The Conference of London could not take up the Armenian question, alleging that it had been appointed exclusively for the adjustment of the Balkan question. In reality, it would have been afraid of still further complications. As a result of direct appeal to the chancellories, Russia took the initiative in elaborating a program of reforms which she had proposed to the powers at Constantinople. The Commission appointed to study this plan and to decide on a definite text began its work, and entered immediately into negotiations with the Ottoman Government.

After long discussions with the Porte, which encouraged by Germany offered obstinate resistance using all the resources of Oriental diplomacy, a definite plan of reforms was finally worked out by the ambassadors; it was accepted and promulgated by the Porte on February 8, 1914. This act was, to be sure, far from satisfying Armenian aspirations. It was the plan of Russia, but in a mutilated form. Such as it was, it offered at least a beginning of reforms, giving reason to hope that in time it could be improved, and that the end which was aimed at would finally be attained; to give security and justice to these peoples, while keeping them in the Otto-

man Empire. Events were not long in showing that these hopes were vain.

Immediately on the declaration of war between the Central Powers and the Allies—even before Turkey had entered into the conflict—the Sublime Porte suspended the execution of the reforms and annulled the contracts of the two inspectors-general. Persecutions and massacres began at once and the Ottoman Government inaugurated the campaign of extermination of the Armenian race, of which Europe was for long months a horrified witness, but which it was unable to stop. This campaign was methodically organized and carried out according to a carefully studied plan. The orders originated with the central government of Constantinople; the massacres began and ended on fixed dates; and it was at the call of the public criers that on fixed dates also the whole Armenian population of each city and village—old men, women, children—were assembled on a public square to be deported. They were scarcely given time to collect a little clothing and as much food as they could carry, when they were led away in caravans, most of them afoot, for an unknown destination, which only a small number could reach after days and months of marching over the burning deserts or icy mountains. These deportations, more cruel than the massacres perpetrated at the same time, continued the work of extermination till the number of victims reached the frightful figure of one million.

After the victory of the Allies it will readily be seen that it could no longer be a question of simple reforms, but that liberation from the Turkish yoke was imperative. The Armenians therefore demanded their liberation and the constitution of an independent Armenian State. Furthermore, the Armenians shed their blood on all the fields of battle, in France, in Asia Minor, in the Caucasus, under the French, English or American flags, in order to contribute, so far as their means permitted,

to the victory of those who fought for justice and right, and from whom they awaited their deliverance and the reconstitution of their national life.

In conclusion, a few words should be written regarding the aspirations of the Armenians and the realization of the program they have demanded from the victorious Allied Powers.

It will be understood that the first of their wishes is to see all the Armenian territories reunited in a single state,—both those forming part of the Ottoman Empire, as well as those previously conquered by Russia, which after the fall of the Russian Empire in the course of this war, have constituted themselves an Armenian republic, with Erivan for the capital city. The Armenians are aware that the state so constituted would need protection against outside attacks until such time when it could be organized and placed in position to defend itself. But as simple protection could not suffice, and foreign aid was indispensable in the general organization of the country, they requested the Powers to choose one of their number as mandatory.

Such was the program until the idea of a League of Nations took form. The Armenians were then naturally led to request no longer the collective protection of the Powers—which might have involved the inconveniences of a joint sovereignty—but the protection of the League of Nations itself, and, in accordance with Article 22 of the Covenant, the assistance of a mandatory power fulfilling its mandate in the name of the League. The form of assistance being thus established in principle, it remained to determine the territories which would make up the future Armenian state.

The Armenians have been reproached for claiming territories too vast—especially in view of the number of the population unfortunately reduced since the massacres and the deportations—and with having presented a too

ambitious program. And yet, should we be astonished that they have laid claim to regions which geographically, historically, and ethnologically are, and have always been, Armenian? In strict justice can they be refused the inheritance of their ancestors for the reason that they are too few in numbers to occupy it, especially when it is known that it was by murder and assassination that the Turks created in certain regions a numerical majority in their favor?

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that it is not only the Armenian population which has been decimated in the course of the Great War. The Turkish population has paid just as heavy a toll. It is, in fact, in the provinces of Asia Minor that the troops sent to the battle-fields have for the most part been recruited. Epidemics, privations, famine, very bad sanitary conditions have, on the other hand, made fearful ravages in the Mussulman population. According to German statistics, more than two million Turks perished in this way during the war. It follows, that if the Armenian population, which before the war was in a majority in these provinces, has been greatly reduced, the Turkish population has diminished also in about the same proportion; the balance between the two elements has therefore not been perceptibly modified.¹ The majority of the population would be rapidly reëstablished in favor of the Armenians, for all those who have taken refuge abroad or immigrated nearly everywhere to escape the massacres will return to their mother country as soon as they shall have the assurance of living there in safety.

The dream of united Armenia could have been realized only if the United States had accepted the mandate, for of the belligerent Powers that country was the least affected by the war, and was in position to undertake so great a task and to take under their protection a united

¹ Consult figures in the Appendix to "Modern Turkey."

Armenia stretching from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea and including the present Armenian Republic. The other Powers, which had suffered so severely from the war, had their own very heavy burdens, and each declared that they could not assume such a task. In his address to Parliament on April 29, 1920, Mr. Lloyd George definitely confirmed this refusal by saying that neither France, England, nor Italy was in a position to undertake it. But since the United States Senate has rejected the ratification of the covenant of the League of Nations and has declared against accepting any mandate, the first program of the Armenians can no longer be realized; so much the less, as the Supreme Council, in view of the situation created by the domestic policy of the United States, has made known its decision to give more modest proportions to the future Armenian State.

With regard to the delimitation of the Armenian State, the Supreme Council has encountered difficulties which led it to resort to the arbitration of Mr. Wilson, President of the United States, requesting him to determine the frontiers between Turkey and Armenia. But it was not only his arbitration on the question of the frontiers that was asked of him. The Supreme Council offered at the same time to the President of the United States the mandate of Armenia, and if this mandate could not be accepted, it asked him at least to grant to the Armenian State financial or military aid. If the statements made in the United States Senate do not permit the hope that the mandate will be accepted, it seems, however, that nothing may prevent financial aid and even military aid; no matter how slight it may be, the latter would be extremely valuable for the moral effect which it would produce. Moreover, the offer of the Supreme Council might be combined with the suggestions of the League of Na-

tions, even if the United States limit itself to granting financial aid or guaranty.

The Armenians remember, and will never forget, the wonderful enthusiasm shown in our favor by the American people, and how greatly it was promoted by the personal action of President Wilson, who three times issued proclamations expressing, on behalf of the people of the United States, noteworthy sentiments of humanity. We have, therefore, the firm conviction that the verdict of the United States of America will be based on equity and that they will safeguard the rights of the Armenians.¹

Summarizing, what the Armenians ask is that the frontiers of the new state be so mapped out as to permit it to live, develop, and be protected from any aggression on the part of its neighbors. They ask that their economic life be assured by outlets on the Black Sea; that the possibility be guaranteed to them of constructing a railway belonging entirely to them, which will connect the interior of Armenia with a seaport; that essentially Armenian centers, to which they are linked by sacred historical memories, shall not be taken from their territory; that no important strategic point indispensable to its defense shall be left to its traditional enemy. What they ask, lastly, is that the Armenian territories that are not to be a part of the independent state shall be given a

¹The Supreme Council of the Great Powers established outside boundaries which at best deprived the proposed New Armenia of a natural seaport. The limits specified did not extend beyond the vilayets of Trebizond, Bitlis, Van, and Erzerum. The only possibilities consisted of securing special privileges at the foreign port of Batum, or of constructing a tremendously costly railway over the Pontic Range to Trebizond or to one of the other open roadsteads on the Black Sea. This personal observation is based upon my study of all possible ports which might serve the proposed Armenian State, embodied as an appendix to the elaborate report of President Wilson, which was never acted upon by the Great Powers. This whole procedure is another instance of the lack of sincerity exhibited towards the Armenians by their supposed supporters.—E. G. M.

special régime, which shall give them real guaranties of security and of justice.

For the future, we may place confidence in the Armenians themselves, for they will show themselves worthy of the aid and protection of the Powers. Thanks to this national sentiment so vigorous and tenacious, of which they have always given proof, and which centuries of oppression have been unable to destroy, thanks to their special aptitudes, to their spirit of enterprise, to their love of labor, and to the strong attraction which western civilization has for them, they will soon have bound up their wounds, reconstructed their ruins, improved the fertile soil and rich subsoil of their country, and reassuming their place in the world will have become, as they have been in the past, an element of prosperity and a new factor of pacification in the Near East.

GREEKS

By ADAMANTIOS TH. POLYZOIDES¹

That the Greek race has played a most important rôle in the development of the Ottoman Empire, and remained intimately connected with the fortunes and the vicissitudes of Turkey during the last seven or eight hundred years is only natural, when we take into consideration the peculiar geographic and ethnic conditions under which the two peoples came into contact.

As a matter of fact, it was not only the Turks, as such, that first came to meet the Greeks in a country which from time immemorial had been identified with the history of the Greek race, and which during the last five centuries

¹ Athenian journalist of Thracian descent. Studied in Constantinople and Greece. Graduate, Law School of National University of Athens; formerly managing editor of the Athenian dailies *Athenæ* and *Patris*, and for years Athens correspondent to the Italian daily *Giornale d'Italia*. Came to America 1908; managing editor of the Greek daily, *Atlantis*. Author, "Greek Neutrality and Constantine." Regular contributor to American periodicals.

formed the largest part of the Ottoman Empire. Long before the Seljuk Turks made their appearance in the Near East, Greece was predominant in all that vast territory, bordered on the north by the Black Sea, on the south by the Mediterranean, on the west by the Ægean, and on the east by a straight line starting near Trebizond and reaching down somewhere near Alexandretta. This of course does not include any part of European Turkey, most of which was lost to the Ottoman Empire during the recent wars.

The character of this Greek domination varied according to the different stages of history, beginning with the legends of the Golden Fleece and coming down through the Trojan expedition to the great Persian wars. Nevertheless, the time when Greek influence became more pronounced in Asia Minor and Anatolia was during the times of Alexander the Great, whose policy of Hellenization of the East remains the chief characteristic of his campaigns.

This process of Hellenization was continued long after the death of Alexander, gradually blending itself with the spread of Christianity, which, as far as the East was concerned, was almost entirely propagated through the medium of the Greek tongue. As a matter of fact, Hellenism, in its new Christian form, was so powerful in the East during the following three hundred years, that even the Eastern Roman Empire established by Constantine the Great had finally to succumb to its influence, so that after the eighth century that vast political and military organization became the Greek or Byzantine Empire and held its preëminently Greek character to the day of its fall in 1453, at which the Ottoman Empire became its successor after a struggle covering almost two hundred years, from the time when Ertogrul, or rather his son Osman, the founder of the first Turkish state in Bythinia, near Brusa, first began to encroach upon Byzantine ter-

ritory in 1288, to the day when Constantinople fell under Mohammed II, to whom the credit for the establishment of the Ottoman Empire belongs.

The Greek race fared rather badly in the first two centuries of Ottoman domination. The Turkish State, being a militant organization *par excellence* and existing chiefly as the most perfect war machine of its time, was in continuous and ever-increasing need of new armies, and these the Turkish race was unable to supply in sufficient number. Thus, as early as 1326, Orkhan, the son of Osman and first conqueror of Brusa, instituted the system of forcible recruiting of all his Christian prisoners in order to swell his army. This system continued up to the time of the conquest of Constantinople, when it was further developed at the expense of the Greek population, who in addition to other taxation had to supply the healthiest and strongest among their boys for the exclusive service of the Sultan. These boys were literally kidnaped from their homes at the tender age of seven, made into Moslems, and brought up at the expense of the state. They were the famous janissaries. Their system of recruitment was gradually extended to all countries falling under Ottoman domination, and not even Hungary was exempt from it. Just how many millions of Greek boys thus passed into the making of the Turkish race in Anatolia is an open question. When, however, we figure that those were the years when the Ottoman Empire was in its prime, and its military successes almost continuous, we will come to the conclusion that the loss of the Greek nation from that source alone must have been enormous.

With the expansion of its frontiers, rulers of the Ottoman Empire soon came to the conclusion that its military men were not sufficient to manage the affairs of the state. That they were ill-fitted for the work of civil administration and all the tasks of peace was apparent to the Turks

ever since they had crossed into Europe. So, no sooner had they become the masters in Constantinople than they approached their Greek subjects in a spirit of religious tolerance, which even today seems astonishing in the semi-savage race, that the Turks of the fifteenth century undoubtedly were.

This policy of toleration and even of friendship on the part of the greatest and most intelligent Sultans towards their Greek and other non-Moslem subjects, has remained to this day as one of the strongest arguments of such writers as Pierre Loti. And yet the phenomenon is easily explained by the fact that the Turks, being a race of soldiers, needed the Greeks and the other Christians for the other functions of the Empire which could not be successfully filled by Turks, especially in the early days of the Ottoman Empire.

Thus we find that out of the five grand viziers or prime ministers of Sultan Mohammed II, the conqueror of Constantinople, four were Christians, two of them, namely, Mahmud Pasha and Rum Mehmet Pasha, were Greeks, and two others, namely, Isak Pasha and Kedid Pasha, were Albanians. It is a remarkable fact that the successors of Mohammed followed this precedent in the selection of their prime ministers. Thus in the reign of Solyman, or Suleiman the Magnificent, out of nine grand viziers, the eight were Christian born, while the total number of Turkish premiers from 1656 to 1710, who were mostly of Greek birth, are counted by the dozen. Gradually the Greek element entered other fields of activity under the Sultans, a number of them becoming famous generals, governors, admirals and high officials of the Empire. It is characteristic that the most famous of all Turkish naval men, the redoubtable Khaireddin Barbarossa, was a Greek renegade.

It will then be seen that the Greek race played no small part in strengthening and in shaping the growth of the

Ottoman Empire in Europe, even if this help was given under the compulsion of major force. On the other hand, the rôle played by the Greek business genius in Turkey was second only to that of the Armenians and the numerous Jews who at all times held an important place in the Ottoman Empire, the first as money lenders and bankers, the second as merchants and artisans. Nevertheless, the place held by the Greeks was superior to both Armenians and Jews; in the first place, because the Greeks were more numerous, in the second, because they happened to be of the race from which the Turks conquered the Empire, and in the third, because the Greeks were seafarers—something which was lacking in their companions in slavery. In the seventeenth century and late into the eighteenth, the Greek had made himself indispensable to his Turkish master. Such high offices as the governorships of Wallachia and Moldavia were open to them, ambassadorships and high palace posts were given freely to them, and the whole diplomatic service of the Empire was fast passing into their control. The Ottoman Empire in the middle of the eighteenth century was daily giving a larger control of public affairs to the Greeks, and had the Hellenic race been pleased to remain a permanent subject of the Sultan, there might have developed a joint control of the fortunes of the Empire.

This, however, could not be. The Greeks in the Turkish service outdid their masters in fanaticism; they were more Turkish than the Turks themselves; they worked against the most ardent desire of the Greek race, which was not joint control of Turkey, but Hellenic independence, and eventual redemption of Constantinople. Many as the Greek servants of the Sultan were, they were vastly outnumbered by the immense majority of those who dreamed of a free and independent Greece. And the struggle of 1821, with its terrible sacrifices, and the declaration of Hellenic independence of 1829, were the

culmination of the silent effort of an entire race during four hundred years.

The great Greek Revolution of 1821, which lasted for eight years, naturally made the whole Greek nation suspected by the Turks, much to the detriment of the five or six million Greeks still living in those parts of the country which were unaffected by the Hellenic struggle for independence.

The formation of the kingdom of Greece in 1833, which put an end to that struggle, was soon afterwards followed by the modernization of the Ottoman Empire. Thanks to pressure from the European Powers and mostly of Russia, the Sultan was forced to grant many privileges to the Christian elements within the realm. For the first time the non-Moslem and the Moslem subjects of the Sultan were allowed to stand on the same level of political equality.

These reforms were embodied in an Imperial proclamation dated October 21 old style (November 3), 1839, and given out from the Palace of Gulhané. This is the famous edict known as the *Hat-i-Sheriff*, or *Tanzimat*, which was afterwards reaffirmed and perfected by another imperial proclamation known as the *Hat-i-Humayun*, dated February 18, 1856, soon after the close of the Crimean War. In this way absolute equality was established between Turk and Christian, although the beginnings of this new régime were drenched in the blood of the terrible massacre of Syria during which more than 30,000 innocent people, mostly women and children, perished in Beirut, Damascus, and other cities, while an equal number were sold as slaves. The property losses in that massacre, which was directly due to an outburst of Turkish religious fanaticism against the granting of equal rights to the non-Moslems, amounted to more than two hundred million francs, which must be taken as the equivalent of so many dollars at that time. This mas-

sacre cost the Turks Syria, which was placed under a special régime at the demand of the European Powers.

During the nineteenth and early in the twentieth centuries, Turkey lost many of its dominions, such as Egypt, Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria, northern Thrace, Crete, Thessaly and Epirus, which were soon followed by the loss of Tripoli, the Dodekanese, Macedonia, Albania, the Ægean islands, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, while Anatolia and Asia Minor were only saved by the great military disaster of the Greek army late in August, 1922.

During the period between 1821 and 1922, the Greek race in the Ottoman Empire had a varied and turbulent existence, although it held its own up to 1914, when the Young Turkish régime that came into power in 1908 embarked on a policy of forcible Turkification of all the racial elements of the Empire, along lines entirely different from those established by the earlier Sultans. It was thus that the Greek power within the Turkish Empire was definitely broken.

It has been often said in support of the Turks that they treated their non-Moslem subjects with tolerance and consideration, and they used them extensively in the government of the Empire. This as we have already seen is true, and could be further supplemented by stating that up to very recent times the Sultan's ambassador in London was a Greek, while another Greek represented Turkey at Washington in the late eighties. A Greek represented the Sultan at Athens when that country became an independent kingdom under Otho, and a Greek signed the Berlin treaty in the name of the Sultan in 1878. Greeks ruled Moldavia and Wallachia, Crete and Samos, as well as eastern Rumaili, prior to the annexation of that province by Bulgaria in 1885. And yet this mark of distinction bestowed on the Greeks was in itself the best proof of Turkish incapacity to deal in the higher

problems of diplomacy, as diplomacy was in the complicated years of the nineteenth century. The Ottoman Empire lacked the men who would successfully deal with Europe, in the name of the Sultan. There were some very able and very clever Turks, and Abdul Hamid was probably one of the best examples of Turkish diplomatic genius at its best. But these men were few, and they all more or less were under the influence of their Greek advisers. European Turkey was chiefly run by Greeks, who held all the minor and some of the higher posts in the provinces and districts, and it was through the efforts of such men that the governmental machine in those provinces was always a distinct improvement on that of Anatolia.

After the fall of Constantinople the Greeks enjoyed considerable religious freedom, and they were clever enough to use it for educational purposes and for patriotic teachings. Thus every Greek church became a secret school, and every priest a teacher. For lack of textbooks these, mostly humble, men used the Bible, openly as long as they could bribe the usually grafting Turkish officials, secretly when the price became prohibitive. It is an established fact that without the Greek Church there could never be a Greek revolution and a Greek independence. And this fact explains the attachment of the Greek people to their Church, which is more than a religious institution, because it was always identified with the traditions, the dreams, and the aspirations of the Greek race.

The Turkish State collected taxes for education, especially in the years following the promulgation of reforms. But these taxes went to the support of Turkish schools; and the Greek communities, established along the old lines of the cities of Greece, in addition to the taxes they paid for Turkish education, had to support their own secular schools, colleges and seminaries in a way that

would astonish every one not familiar with the munificence of individual Greeks, when it comes to the question of supporting those institutions of learning that have always marked the progress of Greek life.

This intimate association between Greeks and Turks during the last five centuries has been of immense benefit to Turkey, notwithstanding the fact that the early Turks looked upon their Greek subjects with the contempt of all warlike tribes towards their vanquished opponents. Gradually, however, the truth began to filter through the Turkish military mind, that it is not only by the force of arms that a nation can always win. Thus, they found that learning and education, and the arts of peace, and trade and industry and business counted for something; and they saw that the Greeks, by the sheer fact of possessing those virtues, were almost the masters of the entire business and social life of the Empire. Thus they began to appreciate the Greek genius, and to use it for the advancement of the Empire; and only when they found that the Greek race, in educating itself and in preparing itself, did not mean to use its mental and moral forces for the maintenance of the Empire, but on the contrary its members always cherished the prospect of a greater Greece established on the old territories of a redeemed Byzantine Empire, only then did the Turks change front and become the bitter enemies of a race that proved too dangerous to the Empire.

Without going too far into the past and confining our observations only to the time just before the outbreak of the Great War, we find that in European Turkey alone, that is to say, in Constantinople and Thrace, the Greek communities supported nearly 700 schools, of which 113 were located in greater Constantinople, 50 of them were in the city proper. In Asia Minor the Greek communities supported twice as many schools, the total

number of pupils, both boys and girls, being much in excess of 300,000. In view of the fact that the Greeks in Thrace numbered nearly 1,000,000, and those of Asia Minor nearly 2,000,000, the result of the above calculation seems to be that a Greek population of 3,000,000 people gave almost 300,000 pupils to their schools, which is in itself an achievement when we compare it with such an advanced community as the city of New York, where a population of 6,000,000 gives almost 900,000 pupils to its public schools. This educational effort of the Ottoman Greeks cost them, before the war, nearly \$10,000,000.

With 4,000 churches and nearly 600 priests, their thousands of charitable associations, guilds, clubs, athletic organizations, chambers of commerce, great commercial, shipping, and industrial enterprises, and their connections with the whole European and American business world, the Greeks played a tremendous rôle in the development of the Ottoman Empire; and throughout the centuries have been its chief progressive asset.

Times have changed, and the Greek military catastrophe in Asia Minor is pointing the way to a greater crisis which is bound to come in the Near East. Since 1912 Turkey has lost not only in territory and population, but also in human values which it is very hard to replace. The Greeks who emigrated by the hundreds of thousands from Asia Minor and Anatolia and the Pontus and all those provinces which it has been difficult to include in a more minute examination, are to all intents and purposes lost to the Turkish State, and their places are being taken either by Turkish immigrants of a positively lower standard of civilization and mental development, or by European professional colonizers, who will go to Turkey with the object of serving their own particular interests, without paying too much attention to the things that would serve that country best.

The Greek seems to have played his rôle in Turkey, for the time being at least. Others are taking his place, and the question remains open as to what the future holds forth.

JEW^S

By HIS EMINENCE, HAIM NAH'OM¹

When Suleiman Shah, the chief of the tribe of Kay Han, was migrating in the year 1200 with all his followers from their camping place surrounding Horasan, little did he imagine that two hundred and fifty years later one of his descendants was to give the master stroke to the Oriental Empire, thereby bringing to an end the last chapter in the history of the Middle Ages. Modern history properly begins with the establishment of his capital in the city of Constantine.

The Jews, individually and collectively, have contributed to the political, economic and commercial development that has taken place in the Turkish Empire. In order to judge this action more effectively it is necessary that one should become acquainted at least with a synopsis of the history of the numerous settlements of the Jews in various sections of the Empire, and particularly in Constantinople. The progress of the Jews and the

¹Born in Magnesia, Asia Minor, in 1872. Studied in Beirut, Tiberias (Palestine), and in the Lyceum of Smyrna. After year of study in Constantinople School of Law, studied seven years in the French Rabbinical Seminary in Paris, l'École des Hautes Etudes and l'École des Langues Orientales. Returned to Constantinople in 1898. Appointed professor at the Rabbinical Seminary founded by the Alliance Française Israelite Universelle of Paris. Secured leave of absence, 1907-8, to investigate condition of Jews in Abyssinia. Decorated by Menelik II, with the Grand Order of Solomon. During the Revolution in Turkey, August, 1908, elected by all Hebrew communities of the Ottoman Empire as Chief Rabbi of Turkey, holding position until resignation in April, 1920. Decorated by Sultan with the Broad Ribbon of the Order of Osmanie, the Order of Mejiije, and the Grande Croix de l'Ordre de François-Joseph. Supervised relief work in Turkey during the war. Representative Alliance Française Israelite Universelle of Paris. (After the armistice of 1918, Mohammed VI named His Eminence as Plenipotentiary to the United States, but permission denied him to leave continent.—E. G. M.)

Contribution translated from the French.



Rumeli Hisar (European Castle), built by Mohammed the Conqueror before he stormed Constantinople,
now the site of Robert College.

extent of their influence are also worth careful consideration.

The influence of the Jewish people upon the general progress of Turkey corresponds very closely with their own internal advancement: the latter, in turn, being reflected from individual as well as collective Jewish movements in other countries. Their history can be divided into two main periods. The first period begins in the year 1500 and ends in the year 1650. This is the period when the Jews took a leading part in the development of diplomatic relations between the Turkish Empire and the countries of Europe. A number of influential Jews from Spain and Portugal, who had settled in Turkey, exercised a powerful influence over the political, commercial, and intellectual expansion of the Empire. Then through lack of leadership follows that period of decline characterized by the lethargic condition of the Jews, resulting in their temporary political and economic downfall. This interval lasted one hundred and fifty years, beginning with the year 1650. The last period begins with the nineteenth century, and is noticeable for a complete revival of a period of activity on the part of the Jews in Turkey. This influence made itself felt gradually through the intellectual, commercial, and financial rebirth of the country, thus contributing to the development of the country in the world's civilization.

Bent on conquest in Asia, the descendants of Osman had, from the very outset, come into contact with Jewish settlements which had been established for centuries. These settlements were to be found particularly in and near seaports, because the latter offer facilities for quick exit in troublesome and perilous times. In fact, nowhere in the Ottoman Empire have they settled at a distance of more than sixty to seventy kilometers from the shore. For example, there are settlements of Jews at Brusa (sixty kilometers from the port of Mudania) and at

Magnesia (sixty kilometers from Smyrna). At one time, towards the beginning of the sixteenth century, a settlement established at Amasia had to disband and migrate because of persecutions provoked by the Greeks of that city, when they were accused of "ritual-murder." There were, therefore, no Jewish settlements in the cities of the interior, nor in any of the inaccessible vilayets of Armenia. This holds true even today, with the exception of the city of Angora, located on the Anatolian Railway, where a small Jewish colony exists.

In spite of persecution and oppression during the reign of Theodosius, Constantinople had the largest Jewish population of any city in Turkey, but it was only after the arrival of the Spanish Jews that the communities began to attain renown. Among the new immigrants there were many leaders—men of great ability—who had taken a large part in the political, commercial, and scientific activities in Spain and Portugal. With their arrival, the existing settlements of Jews, especially those at Constantinople, Salonika, Smyrna and Adrianople, took on fresh virility. Thus was contributed new strength to the Turkish Empire.

In addition to the influence exerted by the Jewish immigration of the year 1492,¹ we must bear in mind also the importance of the influence exerted by individuals. Among them may be mentioned Don Joseph Nassi and Salomon Eskenazi, men of great political talent and diplomatic tact. This political influence of the Jews of Turkey extended to their coreligionists in countries where the Jews were the object of persecution. When the Pope, Paul IV, was about to expel all the Turkish and Spanish Jews from territories under his domination,

¹ The following remark is attributed to Bayazid II on the occasion of signing in the year 1492 the decree allowing the Jews expelled from Spain to enter Turkey: "By decreeing the ejection of the Jews, Ferdinand has impoverished his country and enriched mine."

Sultan Suleiman, at the solicitation of Don Joseph Nassi, threatened him with similar punitive measures against the Christians living in Turkey, if he attempted to carry out his evil plans. The act of March 9, 1555, was the result.

Within a space of approximately half a century these political relations had, as one of their consequences, the establishment of wide commercial connections. The economic ties between the various parts of the Empire and between the Empire and the outside world, were strengthened to a surprising degree. This was especially true of the connections with the various states of Italy.

Also, it is a known fact that the city of Hamburg owes its prosperity to a large extent to the first bank founded there in the year 1620 by a score of Jews of Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch origin. The history of that city has preserved their names. So was it with Turkey. She has benefited through financial credits secured by her Jewish inhabitants due to relations with their coreligionists in Europe. The banking house founded by Dona Garcia Mendezia, the mother-in-law of Don Joseph Nassi, is a case in point. This institution, with its branches in Antwerp, France, Flanders, etc., and its agencies at several Turkish ports, was a great source of strength to the Jews, which they used very effectively when Pope Paul IV started to persecute the Jews living in Ancona. The Jews of Turkey and those of Salonika systematically boycotted Ancona by sending their merchandise through Pisa. As a result, the former city completely lost its commercial importance.

A new impulse to economic progress was the conquest of Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia (with its center in Baghdad). While Jewish communities had existed there for many years prior to the conquest, they had no connections with each other. It was not until all these territories were placed under the same political rule that a

union of all Jewish settlements occurred, and that men of talent of the caliber of Joseph Chelibi of Egypt took the lead and made further contributions towards the commercial development of the country. With the passing away of such men, the courts and the palace lost their salutary influences. Wars succeeded wars. Dreams for the blending of the Orient with the Occident, through the influence of Constantinople, faded. Commerical life began to decay. As an immediate result, Smyrna and Salonika took away from Constantinople the right of being called the outstanding commercial center. At Salonika, the number of Jews was continually increasing and commerce developed rapidly. Even the Mohammedan elements of that city were fired by this commercial spirit. This awakening was accelerated by the Sabbatist movement which ended by the conversion of many Jewish families to Islam, and whose descendants are known today by the name of Dunmehs. A good portion of the commerce of Salonika is still in the hands of Dunmehs, who have also established their branch houses in Constantinople and Smyrna.

To the diplomatic, commercial, and financial part played by the Jews, we must add the work they have accomplished in the social and cultural branches. For the first time in the history of the Turkish Empire laws were passed to promote the welfare of the country and the people, accomplished by the great legislator, Sultan Suleiman, through the pressure brought upon him and his viziers by his Jewish advisers, including Nassi and Eskenazi. Besides these influences, manuscripts in various languages—in Arabic and Spanish script particularly—which the Jews brought along with them, counted very largely in the intellectual life of Turkey. This literature was the moral food of that period, and it embraced all branches of knowledge: science, poetry, philosophy, history, mathematics. The Dunmehs, for exam-

ple, were delighted to read the work of the Jews in Spain. The second element certainly was the installment of the first printing press in the country, imported by Abraham Usque, a Jew from Italy; a second printing plant was installed and operated by Reina Nassi in the famous palace of Belvedere, in that quarter called "Korucheshmé," situated on the European side of the Bosphorus. About the same time another printing concern was started in Salonika.

It was due to this new vigor inspired by the Jews towards their country of adoption which awoke the Turkish poets, ulemas, and historians. It was about this time that Turkish poetry, influenced by the growth of Hebrew poetry, began to flourish.

Ever since the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, the study which the Mohammedans cared for the most was medicine. The Jews, who were the first to devote themselves to the study of this science, derived their knowledge from Spain, Portugal, and Italy. The famous doctor, Amatus Lusitanus, emigrated from Italy to Salonika in the year 1558. The families of Nassi and Eskenazi, emigrating to Constantinople, brought with them many doctors, including the well-known family of Amon, whose descendants received for many years from the Sultan the title of *hekim bashi*, or chief doctor. A Jewess, Esther Kiera, practiced medicine and attended the Sultana Baffa.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, following a century of wars and decay, a new spirit pervaded the Jews of Turkey, due partly to the influence of a number of families of reputation in the cities of Constantinople, Salonika, Damascus, and Baghdad, and also partly to the influence and intervention of European Jewry in Turkish affairs. Among the latter, the Alliance Israelite Universelle became the main factor. The Alliance Israelite was organized in Paris in the year 1860, having

as its aims the emancipation of Judaism, and the acquisition of equal rights for the Jews in foreign countries. This association established modern schools all over the Near East, offering to the Jewish youth opportunities for general education and manual training. Helping the Alliance in this work were other Jewish organizations, such as the Anglo-Jewish Association and the Jewish Colonization Association. Thanks to these organizations, the progress made by the Jews of Turkey contributed extensively to the advancement of all branches of social and intellectual life of the country. The schools of the Alliance spread culture widely among the Turkish people, since a goodly number of Mohammedan boys and girls received their education in Jewish schools. The Government, in their national and public schools, has consistently followed the programs of studies adopted by the Alliance Israelite. In many cases, instructors of the Jewish schools were employed as official interpreters.

There were a few families that had already won a great name in the political and financial circles and had contributed on many occasions to the sustaining of the country's credit by advancing sums of money to the official treasury. Most of them were connected with prominent European families. Such were the Camondos and Carmonas in Constantinople; the Allatinis, Fernandez, and Morpourgos in Salonika; the Estambulis, Altaras, and Shemahias in Damascus; the Lisbonas in Aleppo, the Sassoons, Nouriels, and Menahems in Baghdad. But with the large immigration from Turkey to the great centers of Europe, viz., London, Manchester, Paris, Marseilles, Antwerp, Milan, Vienna, and Berlin, and to many parts of America, and together with the arrival in Turkey of many Jewish families from Central Europe, new ties were formed and new opportunities for commerce became available. Limited and individual initiative gave way to collective action. The Jewish proprietors of

small banking firms foresaw the necessity of getting the coöperation of European capital, and thus created thereby the great financial establishments which helped to improve the credit standing of the country, and extended the boundaries of Turkish commerce and industry. This applied to the early banking institution founded through the initiative of great financiers—Jewish for the most part—with French and English capital. This was the case with the *Banque Ottomane* and the *Société Générale*, both of Constantinople; the latter is no longer in existence. Jews were chosen as managers and directors of these banks. The *Banque de Salonique* was founded through the same initiative and is managed essentially by native Jews. So were the other banking institutions as the *Wiener Bank*, *Banque Hongroise*, *Banca Commerciale Italiana*, and other private banks having branches in the various cities of the Empire. While preoccupied with the establishment of credit houses, the Jews did not fail to take an interest in the organization of institutions for public business enterprise. They were the ones to obtain capital from Europe and concessions from the government. The concessions given for the *Credit Foncier Ottoman* for the opening of public thoroughfares (*Société des Routes*), for the *Sanaa-Yemen* and *Jaffa-Jerusalem* railways, for the telephone company of Constantinople, are exclusively due to the efforts of Jews such as Salem, Fernandez, Navon, Menasche, etc. These organizations have enriched the country and its inhabitants and proved of great benefit to the Turkish domain in its contact with western civilization.

Detailed statistics would prove that, in proportion to their numbers, the Jews of Turkey have been more successful than all other nationalities residing in the Turkish Empire in lines of finance and in the export and import business with Europe and America. At the same time,

it must be recognized that both the Greeks and the Armenians are very active in commerce, and more particularly in industry. But the development of the commerce in paper, hardware, colonial products, glassware, hosiery, textiles and other manufactured products, is due largely to the Jews. Following the example of the Jews of Constantinople and Salonika, the Jews of Aleppo and Baghdad played a great part in the development of commerce in Syria and Mesopotamia. By establishing business houses in Egypt, Manchester, Bombay, and New York, they increased the trade of Persia through Baghdad. The influence of the Jewish business houses of Messa Fils, established in Aden, which developed the commerce between Sanaa (Yemen) and the ports of the Red Sea in Egypt, are worth mentioning.

Thus, the Jews of Turkey contributed to the foundation and management of credit establishments, and through constant and progressive efforts increased domestic as well as foreign business with leading European and American firms. Dealers in raw materials came to appreciate the value of their products. By combining the associations of foreign capital and through the concessions from the Government, public works were started which brought cities, so to speak, nearer to each other and enhanced the value of the land, increasing thereby the natural wealth of the country. Furthermore, the work done in the educational and cultural field through their schools is not to be forgotten.

The Jewish aspirations in Turkey center about the restoration of Palestine. Before the arrival of the Ottomans the Jews in Turkey remained by themselves, striving only after security and repose, earning their bread by hard and conscientious labor, and cultivating at the same time their religious literature. This is why both the old and the new settlers preferred the large centers for their abodes. But with the arrival of the persecuted Jews

expelled from Portugal, Spain, and Italy, a new conception came to prevail in the minds of the Jewish people. It was the scheme for the formation of a Jewish religious unity in the historic land of Palestine. As early as the sixteenth century, the idea of forming a religious council in Jerusalem, after the style of the Great Sanhedrin, inspired many rabbis of Spain, who soon obtained the support of a large number of their colleagues of Constantinople and Salonika. Don Joseph Nassi gave to this religious movement a modern outlook. He obtained from the Sultan a concession of all rights to the lake of Tiberias for the purpose of forming there a modern Jewish colony. The Great Selim, who had a special sympathy for Nassi, gave orders to the governor of Syria to help this enterprise in every way possible. Within a period of one year, a city was built there with the help of Arabian workmen. New colonies surrounded it. It was Nassi's plan to make Tiberias an industrial center. To this end he planted mulberry trees and began the manufacture of silk. But this work required perseverance and the most widespread coöperation. The good will and the work of a single person were not sufficient, and the plans had to be dropped. After the death of Joseph Nassi no one could be found to carry on his activities for the general good.

Until the nineteenth century Palestine was made up of a conglomeration of Jews, both natives and those coming from the outside for the purpose of continuing their religious studies. This entire colony lived on charity provided by their coreligionists of other countries, giving rise to the evils of pauperism which have survived up to this day. But toward the year 1860 newcomers from Russia began to devote themselves to agriculture. European Jewry looked with favor upon this movement. Mr. Montefiore of London purchased, in the year 1866, a large tract of land for the purpose of trying out the prac-

ticability of the scheme. This back-to-the-land movement was the most important factor in the awakening of the desire for the repopulation of Palestine, and was accentuated by the foundation, on April 5, 1870, of the agricultural school Mikved Israel under the Alliance Israelite. The enthusiasm for agricultural work became greater and greater. Edmond de Rothschild devoted a great amount of money to the purchase of land in Palestine. He established settlements for the immigrants from Russia and Rumania, and he built for them schools and synagogues. Soon this initiative became very popular and almost general among the Jews. The colonies became larger and coöperative associations with branches in several cities were formed. The products from the colonies were sent for sale to the cities, enabling the former to become self-supporting. With the revival of the Hebrew language in these settlements, it was proved once for all that the regeneration of Palestine was possible. It was at the time of the death of Herzl that Zionism gave to this aspiration a new vigor and a definite form. The memories of the Holy City, of its glorious history, crystallized this time into an intense and practical wish for the rebuilding of Palestine, where the Jews should live "each under his vine and fig-tree." Several steps were taken to facilitate the immigration of Jews into Palestine and to form new settlements.

In the year 1312 of the Turkish calendar, corresponding to 1897 A.D., the Grand Vizier of Turkey, Kiutshuk Said Pasha, closed the gates of Palestine to the new Jewish immigrants, and imposed restrictions on the purchase by them of lands of any respectable size. He allowed the Jews to visit Palestine only when provided with a "red passport," good for a brief period only, and limited to the purpose of pilgrimage. By reason of representations made in the year 1912 by the undersigned, former Chief Rabbi of Turkey, these discriminations

against the Jews were abolished, and the latter were about to receive additional privileges by way of facilitating the Ottomanization of the immigrants when the Great War broke out. The declaration of Balfour with regard to Palestine and the Jews became the basis for the settlement of the Jewish question. And today, as in the past, the Jews of Turkey are marching in the path of progress and participating in every movement which tends to raise the intellectual and commercial standard of the country that has given them shelter in their hour of distress. They, however, do not fail to coöperate with all their might with the rest of the Jews in the intellectual, economic, and commercial restoration of Palestine.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIONS

By HARVEY PORTER¹

My concern is not whether God is on our side. My great concern is to be on God's side, for He is always right.

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Introduction

The people of the Near and Middle East are classified primarily on the basis of religion. Under the former Ottoman Government, the welfare of each recognized religious group was in the hands of a church functionary, whose importance and authority was as much political as spiritual. "The Turk," wrote Sir Charles Eliot in his "Turkey in Europe," "divides the population of the Ottoman Empire into millets, or religious communities: Rum, or Greek, including all members of the Orthodox Church who recognize the Patriarch of Constantinople; Bulgar, or Bulgarians, those who recognize the spiritual authority of the Bulgarian Exarch; Katolik, or Catholics; Ermeni, or Gregorian Armenians; Musevi, or Jews; Prodesdan, or Protestants; Vlachs, or Romanians; Sirp, or Servians. The last two millets are more recent than the others, and were recognized by the Porte only in 1900 after much intrigue and agitation on the part of their

¹ Born 1844. A.B. Amherst College, 1870. Professor of History and Psychology, 1870-1914, Syrian Protestant College at Beirut. Classified and catalogued library of Syrian Protestant College. Curator of Museum of Syrian Protestant College. (The Syrian Protestant College now known as the American University of Beirut.) Author of an Arabic-English dictionary. Author of textbook on ancient history, in Arabic. Deceased, 1923.

By the kind permission of Prof. W. H. Hall, editor, this chapter was abstracted from "Reconstruction in Turkey" (see Bibliography).

supporters. This system leads to the strangest results. It divides the Armenians into two—for a Catholic Armenian is, in Turkish estimation, not an Armenian, and not to be killed, or at least, not at the same time as his Gregorian brother—and it combines many races under the comprehensive names of Islam and Rum. Popular language follows the same method.” The millet division, old in its history and important in the past, is considered very briefly in the chapter on Education, more fully in the chapter on Government. It is introduced here to indicate the tremendous emphasis placed on religious divisions, so apparent to anyone living in small communities in particular, who become struck with the impressiveness and significance of the Greek and Armenian bishops. The latter have kept alive the sense of political entity in the minority elements. The Eastern Churches are possessed of great vitality.

For many years, the Orthodox Church has accepted the practice that, wherever there is an independent State, the Church within that State should have its own government. The autocephalous form prevails. For historical reasons, however, there were three patriarchates within the Ottoman Empire—those of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem. It has sometimes been held that the first of these has authority over the others, but the extent to which this is so in practice is very limited. Thus, the Anatolian Greeks were under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople who maintained throughout the centuries his title of Archbishop of New Rome. There have been very few Greek Uniate in communion with the Roman Catholic Church. Tsarist Russia’s interest in the Ottoman Empire was not only political and economic but religious: religious, because of her millions of Moslems in the southern provinces and even more important, because of the influential position of the Greek Orthodox Church in Russia, which looked towards the

ecclesiastics at Constantinople for assistance and guidance. The power of the Orthodox Churches in Turkey has been greatly diminished by the overturn of the *rayah* community organization.

Thus far we have little definite information regarding the Orthodox Churches in Turkey which have been merged into a so-called Turkish Orthodox Church. Following the action of the Greek Patriarch at the Phanar in forbidding the Ottoman Greeks from participating in the election of October 5, 1919, the Turkish-speaking Orthodox priest, Papa Eftimios Effendi, who was living at Kiskin, twelve miles from Angora, opposed this decree and was thereupon excommunicated by the Œcumenical Patriarch. Papa Eftimios, however, revolted against this authority, and under his direction sixty-eight Orthodox churches became insurgent and gave up their church schools in March, 1922. The Nationalist Government gave backing to this new religious dignitary, who apparently made it obligatory that all metropolitans appointed by him should have lived at least five years in the country, that they should be of Ottoman parentage and able to read and write Turkish, and that they should have a clear record of abstaining from undue political activity. Papa Eftimios, as the leader of the Turkish Orthodox in Anatolia has conducted himself, however, to the satisfaction of neither the government nor the religious adherents. Following his seizure of the Phanar in December, 1923, the Republic refused to recognize his position. The Œcumenical Patriarchate has had a stormy time in which His Highness, Meletios Metaxakis, was assaulted, and removed from the country with the consent of the Greek Government nevertheless. In December, 1923, the Archbishop of Kadiköi was chosen as Patriarch Gregorius VII. It is premature to state that the historic Eastern Churches in Turkey have surrendered their former pomp and splendor forever and ever.

Now, as formerly, however, the distinction between believer and infidel is an important one in Turkey. There is no other classification of religions to be found in the Koran. The Moslems, therefore, have not troubled themselves seriously about sharp differentiations between the various non-Moslem peoples. A Turk who ceases to be a Moslem is no longer regarded as a Turk. He cannot estrange himself from the Islamic religion without subjecting himself to personal dangers and to the virtual blotting-out of his racial existence. There is nevertheless, among the influential Spanish Jews of Macedonia, the powerful Dunmeh sect, which makes the pretext of carrying out the tenets of Mohammed but is secretly loyal to another religion. It is stated, that when the recent Ottoman-American Development concessions were being drafted, the Turkish Government inserted a clause that all employees except Americans in charge should be Moslems; but, this was altered to read "Turks" since such religious distinction was repugnant to Americans.

Much prejudice as well as misunderstanding have arisen in the outside viewpoint upon Ottoman problems because the word "Christian" has been loosely applied. Truth compels us to reaffirm Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee's assertion that "Our common Christianity is not a living fact but an historical curiosity:" in its application, therefore, it is subject to many limitations. Whether the Armenians, Assyrians, Bulgarians, and Greeks are more Christlike than the professors of Christianity in the West is a question upon which the author ventures to express no opinion. But, in referring to the chapters on Racial Characteristics and on the Leading Minorities, it becomes apparent that it is a mistake to make no distinctions between adherents of the Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant churches. We are correct, however, in calling all their followers infidels or non-Moslems.

The following article by Professor Porter deals with

the religious beliefs prevailing in antebellum Turkey, and also calls attention to the different Mohammedan sects, notably the mutually antagonistic Shia and Sunni branches. The doctrines and practices of the Mohammedan religion require further elucidation than can be presented in Dr. Porter's able but brief chapter. It may be well, therefore, to add that the Mohammedan religion was founded by an Arab, born in Mecca in the year 569 A.D. This man, Mohammed, who declared himself to be the prophet of God, made known his revelations in the Koran, the sacred book of Islam. The corner stone in the faith is the unity of God which finds its expression in two leading dogmas, "*La illab il Allah*" (There is no God but God) and "*Mohammed Resoul Allah*" (Mohammed is the Prophet of God). The Mohammedan believes in the efficacy of prayer and in a paradise which has its delights and its punishments. He is not embarrassed to make a show of his religion when it comes to the "sweet hour of prayer." Islam insists upon thorough abstinence from strong drink, it expects that all Moslems give liberally to charity, that they shall observe the fasting days, and that they shall make at least one pilgrimage to Mecca during their lifetime, either in person or by proxy. Before entering the mosque, the believers are required to wash their hands, feet, and faces, and to remove their shoes; one result is that there are numerous beautiful fountains in Turkey.

Whether the tenets of Islam are incompatible with progress is a much discussed question. Sir W. M. Ramsay has expressed the conviction that the Mohammedan religion is perhaps better suited than any other for persons in an early stage of civilization, although there is a serious lack in its inability to provide inspiring, constructive principles for training the youth. Rev. H. O. Dwight in his "Constantinople and its Problems" calls attention to the distinction which should be made between the ritual

which should be rigidly followed and the moral precepts to which great attention should be paid. Throughout the Koran, sin is constantly recognized but condoned. Thus, in the fourth sura of this Book we read, "God is minded to make your religion light unto you, for men are created weak." Another type of analysis—a fresh outlook on the question is given by Mr. Toynbee in "The Western Question in Greece and Turkey:" "The unconscious grievance of the West against Islam is not that Islam is incompatible with progress of any kind for we are really practically indifferent to progress or stagnation on Islamic lines. We really resent the fact that Islam offers an alternative system of life to our own—Christian and Islam, Europe and Asia, civilization and barbarism." These "three false antitheses," of which the Moslem-Christian conflict is the most heralded, are responsible for many warped conceptions by Westerners.

Actually, it is too much to expect that Oriental spectacles may be adjusted to Occidental eyes, or Occidental spectacles to Oriental eyes. The accustomed vision is wholly different. The Mohammedans associate Christianity with the Crusades and with the modern adherents of the Eastern and Western Churches. They express surprise at the irregular churchgoing, and the scant outward manifestation of devotions. Have they not good ground for questioning either the greatness of the religion or the insincerity of the communicant? They are indignant over the terrible commercialized vice, maintained by the Greeks largely in the "Christian" sections, Galata and Pera, while Stamboul and Scutari are notoriously free from the contamination. They rebel against alcoholic drink and drunkenness, punishing the latter with scores of real floggings. The typical Moslems see nothing inherently wrong in polygamy and criticise Christians for illicit intrigues. They do not recognize that

slavery is a degraded system.¹ The Occidental from his point of view finds much to criticise. And so it goes.

A most momentous event in Islamic annals took place on November 1, 1922, when the Grand National Assembly at Angora announced that "The Khalifate will continue to be exercised by the Osman family, but the Assembly will choose a Prince whose moral qualities, talent and conduct suit him for the choice. The Turkish Government will be the principal rampart of the Khalifate." With this change, the greatly-feared position of the Sultan-Imam has disappeared. The Khalif is elected by a non-ecclesiastic body. His political power has gone; moreover, his religious position is under the control of the temporal Angora Assembly. The position of the present Khalif is being disputed more than ever by the Sherif of Mecca, a lineal descendant of the Prophet and a member of the Khoreish tribe, and by the members of the Shiah, Wahabi, Senussi, and other sects. In addition, the new rulers of Turkey are paying little attention to the former prerogatives of the office. The National Assembly at Angora has separated Church and State.

In its present form, the Khalifate therefore bears a closer resemblance to the religious leadership in the Holy Roman Empire than to that of the Papacy, for the position has never carried with it theological infallibility. Under the Ottoman Sultans, the religious State official was the appointed Sheikh-ul-Islam, a member of the Cabinet, who referred, however, spiritual controversies to the doctors of the law. In the republican form of

¹ In the *Times* of December 31, 1823 (quoted in the same newspaper one century later), appeared the following interesting current item: "Saturday last a man, named Feake, led his wife into Chipping Ongar market, in Essex, by a halter, and there exposed her for sale. She was soon purchased by a young man, a blacksmith, of High Ongar, at the price of 10s. Her person was by no means unpleasing, and she appeared to be about 25 years of age. The collector of the tolls actually demanded and received from the purchaser the customary charge of one penny, which is always paid upon live stock sold therein per head!"

government, there is similarly a cabinet official with different designation who exercises somewhat the same function. The very word "khalif" means "successor," the only consecrated official who should carry on the labors of the Prophet Mohammed, who had maintained a rule political no less than spiritual. With the spiritual prerogatives dwarfed after the lapse of thirteen centuries, and now the temporal authority shorn, the khalifate has been subject to a remarkable mutation. Mustafa Kemal Pasha has wrought politico-religious changes no less momentous than those of Cavour, but his new departures are more sweeping. Kemal's grievance against the khalifate was tremendously enhanced by the *fetva* issued by the Sheikh-ul-Islam at Constantinople at Allied instigation (1920), when the Nationalistic or Kemalist Movement was denounced as an impiety.

Yet the Angora leaders have given no evidence of sacrificing their hold upon religious issues. It is significant that at Lausanne, Ismet Pasha, acting upon instructions from Angora, absolutely refused to enter into a discussion of religious issues, for example when Marquis Curzon asked what the Turks were going to do about the sacred objects their soldiers removed in 1916 from Mecca. More recently, precipitated by the incident mentioned in the next paragraph, Ismet (now Premier) announced that while the khalifate was a sacred institution for all Moslems, this office had no more rights over Turkey than over Egypt, Afghanistan, or any other Mohammedan country.

A religious issue in the Moslem world was projected, in December, 1923, when the editors of three Government-opposition newspapers at Constantinople published a joint letter from the Aga Khan and Ameer Ali protesting against the present position of the khalifate. These two very influential leaders of the Indian Moslems, who were probably as responsible for Britain's change in her

Eastern policy as the separatist manœuvres of the Quai d'Orsai, were suspected by the Angora Government of promoting a British design to transfer the khalifate from Turkey. The Aga Khan and Ameer Ali, publicly disclaimed any collusion whatever with British officialdom, announced that they were desirous that the worshipful position should occupy a place in Turkey similar to what it had formerly enjoyed in Egypt. Their fear was that its disappearance from the "Turkish body politic" would mean the disintegration of Islam and its practical disappearance as a moral force in the world. Because of its significance in State affairs, this interesting episode is disclosed also in the chapter on Government.

The great experiment of the political leaders at Angora smashes the idea of a Universal Khalifate, requiring as the latter does, that all Mohammedans should be members of a single organism. It overturns the fundamental theocratic character of Islam under which authority is both spiritual and temporal. It is a departure from the rôle played by Selim I, following his conquest of Egypt, subsequently assumed by the Ottoman Sultans during the following four centuries.

These Islamic new departures in Turkey are causing worldwide attention, and nowhere more than within the confines of the Republic, where the venerable conservatism of the khojas (clergy), especially marked in the case of the powerful Mevlevi dervishes at Konia, exerts such a strong influence. The developments in the Christian Churches are likewise sensational. Professor Porter's contribution furnishes a proper background for future discussions.

Religions

Religion has been in the past a most important element in the politics of Turkey and cannot be ignored in any

plan for future reconstruction. Religious fanaticism has played a large part in the history of the Empire and has by no means ceased and must be reckoned with. The leading religious divisions have, of course, been Moslems, Christians, and Jews, but these have been subdivided into numerous sects which have been far from peaceful in their relations to each other and have led to serious political complications and often to bloody conflicts.

The Moslems naturally claim consideration first as being the most numerous and the ruling class. The Ottomans accepted the Moslem faith before they came to power and have, from the first, held to the doctrine of the Sunnis, or the traditional faith generally regarded as orthodox. They accept the Koran as authoritative and also the traditional legislation of Mohammed and the early khalifs which are the basis of civil as well as ecclesiastical law. Hence their system of government has been, in effect, a theocracy; the sultan, at least since the time of Selim, being head of both Church and State, as were the khalifs from the beginning. But a large body of the Moslems of the Empire have been loath to acknowledge the right of the sultan to the khalifate which they claim belongs of right to the Arabs. The latter have generally acquiesced as they were unable to resist successfully, but the Wahabi revolt in the 18th century and various uprisings in Arabia have manifested their discontent. The Shias and Druses have also resisted Ottoman rule and have submitted only to force.

The Shia sect is the largest and most important of the sects of Islam which are regarded as heretical by the orthodox. Their origin goes back to the early days of the khalifate. It arose when Ali, the husband of Fatima, Mohammed's daughter, was chosen Khalif. His election was regarded as invalid by a strong party and a conflict ensued in which Ali lost his life by assassination and the Ommiad dynasty was established on the throne. But

the followers of Ali refused to submit and induced Husain, son of Ali, to set up the standard of revolt. This led to the tragedy of Karbala in which Husain and most of his little force were slain under most cruel circumstances, which embittered his adherents to the utmost and made a martyr of Ali. His followers became the sect of the Shias, or Shiites, who have always been bitterly hostile to the Turks as Sunnis. Sultan Selim I attempted to exterminate them within the Empire. In 1514 he gave secret orders to his subordinates to fall upon them, all in one day without warning, and massacre them. As usually happens in such cases, the execution of the decree was impossible, and although some 40,000 are said to have fallen victims there were many who escaped and became bitter enemies of the Sultan. This act led to a war with the Persians, the great majority of whom have always been Shias, in which they were defeated. Many wars between them have followed and the enmity is still kept up, though the number of the Shias in the Empire is not large and they have not often risen in revolt. There is quite a large number of villages of them in Syria, where they are called Mutawili, and have no more intercourse with the orthodox Moslems than with the Christians and are perhaps even more hostile to them. They number, perhaps, some 50,000.

Other branches of the Shia sect with varying differences in doctrine, are the Druses, Nusairis, and Ismailiis. They all agree in having certain secret tenets and rites and belong to the class denominated Batiniis which accepts the Koran as their guide but interprets it in a mystical way which leads to doctrines that are wholly at variance with the letter and abhorrent to the Sunni Moslems. These doctrines are held in secret and hence the designation of Batiniis, that is, possessing inner light, or illumination.

Of these Batiniis the Ismailiis, formerly known as

the Order of Assassins, followers of the Sheikh el-Jebel, or the Old Man of the Mountains, are the most famous in history.

The order was founded in the latter part of the 11th century by a certain Hasan bin-Sebah who was imbued with the doctrines of the Batiniyis and became a preacher of them, first in Egypt and afterwards in Syria and Persia. He gathered his followers in a mountain fortress in the northern part of Persia, called Alamut, and from there he sent forth his emissaries all over the Moslem world. These men were devotees who put implicit faith in his teaching and were consecrated to any service he might require of them, even to the assassination of princes or anyone whom the Sheikh ordered them to kill. He thus became a terror and scourge to all western Asia. During the Crusades a branch of this sect was established in Syria, under a chief named Rashid ed-Din Sinan, who terrorized Moslems and Christians alike and furnished assassins to either party without distinction. He came into conflict with the famous Saladin against whom attempts at assassination were made several times until Saladin was compelled to make concessions to him on condition that he should be let alone. The sect continued until the middle of the 13th century when it was wiped out in Persia by the Mongols and a little later the Syrian branch was nearly exterminated by the Egyptian Sultan Bibars. The remnant has continued to exist with its center at Masyaf where their sheikh resides. They are called Ismailiyi but the government reckons them as Moslems though known to be heretical. They are truculent and inhospitable and troublesome to the authorities and unfriendly to any except their own sect. They are supposed to number about 20,000 but there may be many more scattered throughout Syria, living in disguise, for all the Batiniyis are allowed to assume any religious guise they please when among people of other faiths.

The Nusairi sect take their name from Nusair who lived in the latter part of the 9th century, but their distinguished teacher and apostle was Husain bin Hamdan ul-Khasibi who flourished in the beginning of the 10th century. They were prominent in Syria in 1029, occupying the mountain range along the coast to the north of the Lebanon which is still known as the Nusairi mountains. They also inhabit the region about Mersina, in the province of Adana, and number altogether about 200,000. They are divided into two communities; the Shemsiyeh and the Kamariyeh, or Sunites and the Moonites, probably reflecting the heathen elements in their cult which they seem to have inherited more than the other heretical sects of Islam. They hold that the Deity has been seven times incarnate, the last time in the Khalif Ali to whom they ascribe all the attributes of the godhead and seem to really worship Him.

The Nusairi, like all the Batiniyis, conceal their beliefs from the uninitiated, and do not teach their esoteric doctrines to all of their own sect, only to those who have passed through a long course of instruction. They acknowledge Mohammed, but as second to Ali, and call him the Veil and they also honor one Selman al-Farisi whom they denominate the Bab, or "door." Of course the more enlightened among them would explain that they worship Ali only as the incarnation of the Deity, as Christians worship Jesus Christ. They believe in transmigration and hold that Moslems, at death, become donkeys, Christians swine and Jews monkeys, while every faithful Nusairi rises at death to a position among the stars. Though they pose as Moslems to the world they often in secret curse them and have never willingly obeyed the Turks but have frequently resisted their authority and made trouble. All orthodox Moslems regard them as heretics and abhor their doctrines.

The sect of the Druses arose about the end of the 10th

century A.D. A certain adherent of the Batiniyis, named Darazi, appeared in Egypt in the reign of the Fatimide Khalif el-Hakim, who from his acts seems to have been insane. Darazi encouraged him to claim divine honors and began to preach as exponent of the new faith. He is said to have migrated to Syria and gathered a community of believers in the region of Mt. Hermon. It is from him that the sect of the Druses is named, but the teacher whom they especially honor was Hamzy who is said to be the author of the books that contain their secret doctrines and rites. These doctrines are guarded from the world with extraordinary care, even from the uninitiated of the sect. The initiated are called the Ukkal, the Intelligent or Wise, and have to pass through a course of training before being admitted to the order and to them is committed the exercise of religious rites and the direction of the affairs of the sect.

The common people are supposed to have little or nothing to do with the practice of their religion; that is attended to by their leaders, to whom they are taught implicit obedience. This forms them into a compact body so that whenever they have been called upon to act by their sheikhs their organized unity has been apparent. Such was the case when they arose against the Christians of Mt. Lebanon in 1860. Their superiority was at once manifested and they quickly bore down all opposition. Their number is reckoned to be about 150,000, distributed over southern Lebanon, about Mt. Hermon and in Jebel ed-Druze in the Hauran with smaller communities in various other places. They have always been a militant body and troublesome to the government against which they have been in frequent revolt, as have the other heretical Moslem sects.

These all have a more or less political character: for in the system of Islam the religious leader is also the political head and whenever a new sect has arisen it has

been an occasion of revolt against the constituted authority. This has happened repeatedly in the history of Islam, the most noteworthy instance in modern times being the revolt of the Mahdi in the Egyptian Sudan and the sect of the Senussi are today a standing menace to Egypt.

Of the various Christian sects in the Empire the Orthodox Greeks are the most numerous and have been the most prominent in determining the policy of the Ottoman government toward the Christians in general.

When Mohammed II took Constantinople he realized that the Greek population was essential to the prosperity of the city, for in the hands of the Greeks were to be found all the facilities for carrying on trade and commerce and the means of production. The Turks were a military clan wholly unskilled in such things and with no inclination for them. Multitudes of Greeks had been slain in the capture of the city and other multitudes had fled to escape slavery but Mohammed set about restoring them to their homes, so that Constantinople might recover its prosperity. To this end he had them choose a patriarch to take the place of the former one who had perished in the siege and he gave him authority over his people in all matters connected with the church and promised to protect him and his people from violence and plunder. A certain number of churches were restored and religious worship in them was to be carried on as before. The patriarch and bishops were given full jurisdiction over marriage and divorce among members of their flocks and over matters of inheritance, with some restrictions, and they were allowed to levy taxes for ecclesiastical purposes and their customs were to be respected as far as consistent with subjection to the Imperial authority. The jurisdiction of the patriarch was to be absolute within these limits and the government would assist him in the enforcement of his decrees. Moreover the collection of



Gregorius, Patriarch of Antioch and the Near East, Entering the Chapel of the American University of Beirut (Hallowed by the Memories of the Bliss Family). Left to Right—Metropolitan (Bishop) of Beirut, Patriarch (Archbishop) Gregorius Haddad, Acting President Nickoley, Bulus, Metropolitan of the Lebanon, Arsantias, Metropolitan of Latakia.

the military tax laid upon the Greeks by the Porte was to be in the hands of the Church authorities so that the Turkish officers should come into contact with the Greek subjects as little as possible.

Thus was established a sort of *imperium in imperio*. This policy has had wide reaching results not anticipated at the time. The sultan regarded the patriarch of Constantinople as the head of all his Christian subjects; but as he and his successors extended their conquests they found various bodies of Christians that did not acknowledge the authority of this head, even of those who went under the name of Orthodox. There were three other patriarchs who claimed independent jurisdiction; those of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. Moreover there were several Christian communities who owed allegiance to none of them but to the Pope of Rome. This required new arrangements, but the same principle was pursued, in dealing with them as with the Orthodox. The ecclesiastical heads of these sects were recognized in the same way as the patriarchs of Constantinople and given similar authority, but their election must be confirmed by the sultan. In the case of the papal sects only the local heads were recognized.

The policy thus outlined has brought about wholly unforeseen results. The Christian subjects of the Porte have been taught to look upon their ecclesiastical heads as their immediate rulers and protectors and their allegiance has been primarily to them, or to their Church, and their feeling of loyalty or patriotism has been to them rather than to the sultan. Love of country as commonly understood has been wanting, as has been plainly demonstrated whenever the sultan was at war with other powers and especially in the events of the last few years. Also this policy has furnished occasion for the interference of foreign powers in the affairs of the Empire in the interests of the sects, which have frequently invoked

their protection. Besides, the segregation of these Christian churches has led to contentions among them and strife has not been uncommon which sometimes has called for interference on the part of the government. The contentions over the Holy Places in Palestine are well known.

Besides the Greek Church, which is the most widely extended, there are the Armenian, which is practically confined to the Armenian people, the Maronite, which is predominant in Syria, the Syriac or Jacobite and the Nestorian, the last two being confined chiefly to the north-eastern portions of the Empire. All of these churches, except the Maronite and Nestorian, are divided into two branches, one branch being united to Rome and called Catholic or Uniate. Thus we have the Orthodox Greek and the Greek Catholic; the Gregorian Armenians and the Catholic Armenians; the Jacobite or Syriac and the Syrian Catholics. They differ very little except in the adherence of the Catholics to the Pope. They are much fewer in number than the bodies from which they separated.

The Maronites are the most numerous in Syria, somewhat outnumbering there the Orthodox Greeks who come next. They were organized as a church by John Maro in 685 on the question of the doctrine of the Monothelites which was rejected by the Orthodox but accepted by the Maronites. When they united with Rome in 1182 they abandoned this heresy. Their patriarch is chosen by the bishops but has to be confirmed by the Pope as well as by the sultan. They number perhaps 300,000 and are found mostly on the Lebanon to the north of Dog River. The Greek Orthodox in Syria are somewhat less but are distributed throughout Syria and Palestine. The Greek Catholics are about half as numerous. The Jacobites are from 100,000 to 150,000, found chiefly in northern Mesopotamia, and the Nestorians in the mountains of

Kurdistan number about 100,000. The Armenians are now so decimated that it would be difficult to estimate the numbers of the Gregorians or the Armenian Catholics, but if the fugitives are restored they will probably form the most considerable body of Christians in the Empire.

The Jews are distributed widely through the Empire, residing chiefly in the towns, engaged largely in trade but many also being craftsmen. In Palestine they have recently established agricultural colonies aided by their brethren in Europe and America. These are not subjects of the Empire, but those in other parts generally owe allegiance to the Sultan. The number of these it is difficult to estimate but they cannot be more than half a million and probably much less. They have their own ecclesiastical organizations, recognized by the government like those of the Christian sects. It is only in Palestine that they have any political significance where the Zionist movement aims at a reoccupation of the country by its ancient inhabitants. This prospect would have to be considered in any reorganization of the Empire.

This outline of the religious conditions in the Empire reveals the complexity of the question and the difficulty of dealing with it from a political point of view. This difficulty does not lie in the great number of sects; a greater number can be found in America; but in the age-long antagonisms under which they have existed, and their lack of cohesion in any political sense. The political life of the non-Moslem population, so far as it has had any, has been circumscribed by the sect to which the individuals belong; they have had no part in the political life of the Empire. To a large extent this has been true of the heretical sects among the Moslems and to some degree among the Arab Moslems. Hence the people have never been accustomed to act together in political matters and it would be difficult to bring them to do so. There was great hope at the time of the revolution in

1908 that a real union of these antagonistic elements for the general good might be brought about, but the result was a dismal failure. This was due no doubt to mismanagement on the part of the Young Turks, who never intended to commit the control of affairs to the people; but had they done so the deep seated prejudices of the sects and the underlying current of fanaticism still existing, even among the Christians, would have proved an almost insurmountable obstacle. It is doubtful whether the different races and religious sects can be moulded into one body politic capable of controlling its own affairs without a long course of education and training.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION

By PAUL MONROE ¹

A certain countryman, who was engaged in sowing his field, saw a man of letters, who was also a Poet, approaching: "Sir," said the Clown to him, "How can you study, as you do, in solitude?"

"I am a Poet," replied the other: "At first I studied in company with others, but now I go on in my education alone."

The uneducated man who begins by seeking the society of the learned, in this way becomes educated. In time he grows capable of finishing his education, unaided by others.

—TURKISH FABLE.

Introduction

No country of its own free will is satisfied to intrust the training of its youth to its minorities or to foreigners. In respect to common school instruction, this attitude is most pronounced. Markedly in Turkey, past and present, all minority schools and a few foreign schools have exposed themselves to criticism from the federal authorities because of non-conformist tendencies expressed primarily in matters of politics and religion.

¹Born in Indiana, 1869. B.S., Franklin (Indiana) College, 1890. Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1897. Student, University of Heidelberg, 1901. Honorary LL.D., University of Peking, 1913, Franklin, 1915. Fellow in sociology, University of Chicago, 1895-97; instructor history, 1897-99; ad-joint professor history of education, 1899-1902. Lecturer in education, University of California, 1905; Yale University, 1906-07. Writer of many books on education. Commissioner to report on Conditions of Philippine School system, Bureau of Insular Affairs. Educational expert, Division of Research of Inquiry Commissioners, Department of State, 1918-19. Chair-man of Committee to solidify American Educational Institutions in the Near East, 1918-19. Educational expert to the Chinese Government, 1921-22. Professor (since 1902) and Director of the School of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1915 to date.

Following the suggestion of Dr. Monroe, his article has been supplemented by the insertion of material written by the late Dr. Samuel T. Dutton of Teachers College, Columbia University.

Under the peculiar millet system mentioned in the preceding chapter and here by Dr. Monroe, the minorities as a rule patronized their own schools, which were supported by their own funds but had inadequate facilities judged by Western standards. This criticism of inadequacy is made with special reference to Anatolia. In Constantinople, the Greek schools have been carefully planned and fitted out with departments for classical and vocational training. Of the "minority" schools, however, it is true that they are under the control of the Church, that they are used for political purposes: consequently, they have been and are, a source of difficulty to the State.

The influence of foreign schools of secondary grade in Turkey has been of importance. The French have established many institutions throughout the country which are attended largely by children of well-to-do families. In Constantinople, the French have the Grand Lycée and the British have the British High School.

The Americans, in addition to maintaining lower grade institutions, have established schools of higher education: in this way, they, of all foreigners, have rendered Turkey the greatest and most disinterested service. These colleges are attended by all nationalities, Moslems and non-Moslems, and are doing a great work in the training of the leaders of Near and Middle Eastern affairs.¹ Students are being prepared for leadership by being trained along the lines of service, in courses in mechanical engi-

¹ In her annual report for 1922-23, Dr. Mary Mills Patrick, President of Constantinople Woman's College, referring to the various countries interested in the educational opportunities offered at this college, makes the following interesting statement, "These countries have always included not only Turkey but the nations of the Balkan Peninsula. Interest in the education of women, however, is now greatly increasing among the different branches of the Arab nation. King Husain of Mecca and his two sons, King Feisal of Mesopotamia and Emir Abdullah of Transjordan, are all interested in this subject and would be glad to coöperate with us when peace makes coöperation possible."

neering, scientific farming, medicine, and business administration. Still of even more value to the student than the actual courses are the common ideals of tolerance and fair play which he acquires in his association with other students. For the first time in their lives, young men and women living in college dormitories are freed from the incessant conversation of hate, so characteristic of home life in Turkey. Within the college walls, there is shown an amazing ability of the younger generation to sink suggestions of racial distinction in the common cause. Student activities are carried on without any sense of racial rivalry. Some of the most intimate friendships in the colleges are between Greeks and Bulgarians, between Armenians and Turks. Into this environment, Prime Minister Ismet Pasha has sent his brother as a student at Robert College (1923-1924).

The influence of the American systems of education has not been confined to Turkey. For example, practically every cabinet of Bulgaria has contained at least one graduate of Robert College, an institution which draws its numbers largely from the Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Jews, and Turks. Graduate students from Constantinople Woman's College at Constantinople are to be found in many of the leading universities of Europe. One of the graduates, Halideh Edib Hanum, has been one of the most conspicuous leaders in the new Turkish Nationalist Movement. To gain some conception of the success of the American University of Beirut, the reader has only to note the names of the graduates of this institution who have become the leaders in Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Arabia, and Egypt.

The attitude of the new Nationalist Government on this question of education is most important. In the Lausanne Treaty the clauses affecting the foreign schools were left out. In their place, was put the letter from Ismet Pasha to the Allied Delegates providing for the

recognition of those educational institutions which were in existence before October 30, 1914. These institutions are subject to the same laws as the Turkish institutions. A like agreement has been drafted in regard to American institutions.

Foreign schools, rated as private schools, are placed under the supervision of the Turkish Ministry of Public Instruction. No new school can be opened without the permission of the Ministry and provision is made for the right of inspection. Among the recent declarations of the Turkish Minister of Public Instruction are (1) students under fifteen years of age must attend native schools, (2) foreign schools shall be required to pursue courses in Turkish geography and history under Turkish instructors. Thus far, the Nationalist Government has shown good will towards the American schools which have without exception adjusted themselves to the new requirements, but the French and Italian schools in Asia Minor have not yet complied with all the regulations and are closed, at least temporarily.

The presence of non-Turkish schools can be attributed, in the main, to the unsatisfactory system of past Turkish education in which uneducated and ill-paid teachers, a narrow course of study, and wretched school buildings and equipment have been the rule. As in the case of the minority schools, the religious as well as the political factors have been strongly emphasized in the Turkish system.

With reference to higher education, few persons apparently realize that, following the restoration of the Constitution (1908), the Government paid the expenses of several students at Robert College and at Columbia University, thus giving official recognition to American educational methods. At the present time, the two sons of Halideh Edib Hanum are studying electrical engineering and scientific agriculture at the University of Illinois.

Since the leaders of New Turkey include former students of these colleges, and, inasmuch as funds are not available for the immediate establishment of Turkish colleges of rival personnel and equipment, there may be no further innovations regarding foreign schools of collegiate grade. It is in respect to secondary education that the Republic is projecting the greatest changes.

Education

Educational conditions in Turkey whether of the present or of the past cannot be understood without keeping in mind certain fundamental features which characterized the organization of the Ottoman Empire. Among these were the institutions of the millet, the capitulations, and the Ulema; the general tendency to extreme laxity in the enforcement of laws, admirable perhaps in themselves; and the general unreliability of Turkish statistics, especially those of official origin.

The millet is the peculiar political organization which gave to non-Moslem subjects of the Ottoman Empire the right to organize into communities possessing political power under their own ecclesiastical chiefs. Under this system, the non-Moslem groups built up their own educational systems and therefore took little interest in the schools established by the Ottoman government during recent years and gave them little patronage.

The capitulations, special treaties by which subjects of foreign powers were free from the jurisdiction of the Ottoman State, made it possible for foreigners to build up extensive educational systems within the empire. The French, English, and Americans took especial advantage of this opportunity. Most of these schools had as their incentive, religious motives aiming at the propagation of a particular faith or the improvement of religious and intellectual conditions among the people living under

the millet system. But political and economic motives also played a large part in the creation of this system of private schools.

The Ulema is the priesthood or the clergy of the Moslem state. In a narrower sense, the term refers to those members of the priesthood holding government appointments. Until recently, the influence of the Ulema was conservative and acted as a great obstacle to reform and progress. During the last three decades, however, the spirit of the official Ulema at Constantinople has been comparatively liberal.

The education of the ordinary clergy—the Ulema in the wider sense—is of the narrowest character. They are steeped in the details of the Mohammedan law, which comprises innumerable rules for the *minutiæ* of conduct. Consequently these men are extremely conservative, even bigoted and fanatical, and ignorant of all that constitutes knowledge to the western world. The prewar property held by the Ulema was very great, estimated at one-third the wealth of the State.

Almost every mosque has its real estate, the income from which is used for the support of the clergy, for the service of the mosques, and for the instruction in the Koran. Consequently each mosque is in a way a school of the Arabic or of the vernacular language and of the Koran. In reality the recent establishment of a system of schools is little more than a subsidy for the mosque schools. As the subsidy was often only a promise, the government schools are often merely the old religious schools with secular sanction and with some requirement of increased attention to secular subjects.

The other considerations necessary in judging educational conditions are those common to all other phases of life in the Ottoman Empire. In fact such conditions are characteristic of all peoples of retarded culture, among whom the importance of accurate quantitative statements

is not realized as it is under the influence of modern science.

Hence it is true that all statistics must be taken with an allowance. Most of them are estimates rather than exact measurements. Official statistics may be even more unreliable than unofficial ones. Their value is chiefly that of relative indexes.

In a similar way statutory enactment, not always a reliable evidence of actual conditions in the West, may in the Orient be an altogether inaccurate indication of anything save aspiration or of a desire to make a showing or to "save their face." Allowance for this fact must constantly be made in interpreting accounts of the educational legislation and of the system of educational administration. Actual conditions in any community might be quite unrecognizable from the general account of the country as a whole. On the other hand, conditions of intelligence are not always to be measured by school buildings, from descriptions of educational systems, or from statistics of illiteracy.

THE GOVERNMENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Owing to the conditions already described there has been no national system of education. There is a government system of schools, open to all. But since these schools were not patronized by the non-Moslem people and since so large a portion of the population belongs to the subject races living under the millets and having their own schools, the system can hardly be called national. It will be necessary to speak of this government system as it existed before 1914 and during the early part of the war; conditions since then have been so chaotic as to defy general characterization.

According to official statistics in 1911, there were 36,230 of these schools and 1,331,000 students. Other sources

of evidence indicate that these numbers are greatly overestimated. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that practically these same figures are given officially for 1914.

The Turkish educational system is good in theory but poor in practice. It rests primarily on the Education Act of 1869 and a reformed Provisional Law drawn up in 1913. The Minister of Public Instruction is the responsible head. All the Moslem schools, public and parochial, receive government aid. The plan provides for elementary education in two kinds of schools, lower primary and higher primary; for secondary education through a high school with a course of from five to seven years; for higher education through college and university.

A lower primary school is supposed to be attached to every village mosque. Education is compulsory for boys from six to eleven, for girls from six to ten—the limits, for boys, have recently been changed to seven and sixteen years. The lower primary curriculum is very simple, including ciphering, reading or reciting the Koran, Ottoman history, geography, and object lessons on familiar matters. The higher primary schools have the following curriculum: religious instruction, history, geography, Persian, Turkish or Arabic grammar, geometry, drawing, bookkeeping, gymnastics, and the language of the community.

The secondary school curriculum is founded on the above list, but includes the French language and literature, mathematics and science. Theoretically, such schools are open to children of all religious groups: practically, they are patronized by the Moslems only. Of these schools, however, there are lamentably few—only eighty-one in 1908. The great bulk of the schools is of the lower primary grade or class connected with mosques, though in practice many villages are entirely school-less.

There is only one Turkish University, that situated at Constantinople. It was nominally founded in 1900 and now includes five faculties, Arts, Theology, Medicine, Law, and Science. Many theological colleges of very rudimentary character are connected with the mosques all over the country and are under the control of the Ulema. The important ones, at Konia and Constantinople, are richly endowed. These schools teach thousands of young men who are preparing for the semi-religious priesthood. There are also several large military schools.

The organization, popularity, and social service performed by this University are indicated by the distribution of the student attendance. This is best seen from the figures of 1910, the last year in which this distracted country was not in a condition of war. The student attendance was as follows: School of Law, 2,500; School of Politics, 300; School of Theology, 140; School of Literature, 100; School of Natural Sciences, 90; School of Higher Mathematics, 80; School of Civil Engineering, 500; School of Medicine (at Haidar Pasha), 850.

Education for women is in its infancy. Apart from the small village schools, which little girls may attend to the age of ten years—with the younger boys—there are very few schools for girls. A large high school, in Constantinople, and another, very recently founded in Beirut by a graduate of Constantinople College, are among the few. The courses in both of these are as yet very limited.

In Turkey there are no examination standards as we find them in France, Great Britain, or in the United States. Teachers are now obliged to have government certificates of capability before beginning their work; but nevertheless they are often ignorant men. The education of Turkish youth does not compare, either in thoroughness or in breadth, with that offered at any of the foreign schools in the former Empire. Political pull and

personal influence have a great place in securing teaching positions. Moreover, the fact that unscrupulous or incapable governors of remote provinces are immediately responsible for education in their province leads often to neglect and mismanagement.

Little was done under government control to foster industrial and normal schools, though a few of the latter were established. Natives in Turkey, wishing to specialize, are forced to seek training either abroad or in foreign schools established in their own country. What made matters worse under the old régime was that Turkish youths were seldom allowed to leave the country for any purpose whatever. Government education has been merely general, lacking in breadth and having little practical value.

The conditions during the war quite naturally brought an end to most educational endeavor, though a few government schools were kept open as well as some of those founded and controlled by foreigners.

Even during the war, however, educational needs were borne in mind. Legislation in 1918 reorganized the university, founded in 1900, into the faculties of Arts, Theology, Law, Medicine and Science. Adequate housing and equipment were given to some of these faculties. The most interesting innovation brought about by the war and the accompanying social changes, was the development of secondary and higher education for girls. In Constantinople alone, five high schools for girls were established under German teachers, with an attendance of over 2000.

It should be said that under the rule of the Young Turks since 1908, much greater interest has been taken in education than ever before, despite the continuous warfare which has beset that régime. The law of 1913 making school attendance compulsory and, so far as the government of elementary schools was concerned,

abolishing tuition fees, was the earliest and greatest result. The other changes were rather of the nature of aspiration, though some progress was made in woman's education. Future developments will depend wholly on political stability and general social conditions.

ARMENIAN EDUCATION

According to reports by Marcel Leart in 1913 there were 803 Armenian schools and 81,226 students in Turkey. The Armenian population in Turkey of the country at the time was estimated at 1,250,000. (See Appendix for other estimates.)

The Armenian educational system is worthy of praise, for it has been maintained at great cost and against many obstacles. Love of learning has been a marked characteristic of the Armenian nation and, while circumstances have hampered their working out anything resembling a complete system for themselves, they have never failed to embrace an opportunity for further study, when such was offered them. Owing to the peculiar situation of the Armenians as a subject Christian race of Turkey, it has not been possible for them to patronize the Mohammedan government schools. In order to have schools where their own religion and national ideals could be promulgated, they had organized a national school system, taxing themselves for its maintenance. Its headquarters were located in Constantinople under the name of the Union of Armenian Schools. This organization provided for a network of schools all over the Empire, closely connected with and largely supported by the Gregorian Church. The elementary schools were free but higher education was paid for in part by the students. It is noteworthy that nearly every village and town all over the country where Armenians lived had its national Armenian school while Moslem government schools often

were entirely lacking. As the present system under the Republic is but slightly changed, the old system may be described as of the present.

The curriculum of the Armenian elementary schools is very restricted but the students get a fair grounding in the reading and writing of their own language, in ciphering and in the church catechism and history. There are a number of higher schools for Armenian youths, which are modelled after the French and which give a very fair education in the liberal arts. A great point is made of languages, French being the dominant foreign language taught. There is an attempt at industrial education, as for instance, the agricultural school at Varag. Among higher schools for Armenians might be cited the Berberian College at Scutari, near Constantinople.

The Armenian schools in Turkey have suffered mainly from inadequate funds and from the harsh restrictions imposed upon them by the government. Up to 1908, no authentic history of Turkey could be taught and the discussion of certain subjects was never allowed. School teachers were always under suspicion and their teaching at times was so circumscribed as to be almost valueless. Since 1908, however, there has been much more freedom. The poverty of the country and the subsequent lack of ample funds for school management have led to the employment of inferior teachers. The school system is somewhat lax and the teachers are inclined to favoritism. Standards of scholarship are low in many cases, owing to the fact that teachers have had no professional training and have obtained the whole of their education within the confines of their province.

In considering the inferior quality of the Armenian national school, two things should be borne in mind. First, that the system has always been greatly superior to the Moslem, and second, that the Armenians have always had to fight against the great odds of poverty,

prejudice, restricted opportunity, and an unjust government.

The present republic of Armenia is composed mostly of territory which was formerly under Russian rather than under Turkish rule. But the changes introduced indicate ideals which no doubt will soon be applied to all Armenia. The Armenian language has been made the official language in all schools, the church and local state school have been nationalized, and elementary education has been declared compulsory (1918).

The revival of Turkish military power, the massacres, the segregation or expulsion of the native Christian population, have left little of the Armenian population. Where life itself is such a venture, problems of education become literally academic.

GREEK EDUCATION

No reliable statistics are obtainable as to Greek education in Turkey during the recent past.

What has been said concerning Armenian education might apply equally to the Greek. The system was the same,—Greek national schools supported by self-taxation, with a strong religious tendency (Orthodox in this instance), and governed by a special board at Constantinople. The Greeks established schools throughout the Empire, the number bearing about the same proportion to population as in the case of the Armenian schools. But the Greek population being smaller than the Armenian, there were fewer Greek schools. In the larger cities there were several very excellent schools with curricula based on those of the French schools. In comparison with the Armenian system, it might be said that the Greek schools on the whole showed a higher standard and more modern methods, owing to larger funds and less repressive laws. Greeks have been subjected to persecution by

the Turks but never, until these last days, to such an appalling extent as have the Armenians.

The Greeks have very strong religious and national instincts, which were openly fostered by their schools. They are exceedingly proud of their traditions and have the schools of Greece to imitate and emulate. Their school system, while not equal to that maintained by the French and the Americans, met the requirements of the people fairly well.

FRENCH JESUIT (CATHOLIC) EDUCATION

According to the statistics of the World's Missions for 1914 the French Catholics in prewar Turkey maintained 500 schools and 59,414 students. The French Catholics have long been missionaries to the Christian nations of the Ottoman Empire and have established an extensive network of schools. Capuchins, Carmelites, Dominicans, and Franciscans have all founded educational and ecclesiastical institutions. So widespread has been their work that the group of Armenian and Greek Catholics is recognized as a separate entity by the Government as distinguished from the Armenian Gregorian and Greek Orthodox communities. So closely are religion and nationality interrelated that for an Armenian or a Greek to become a Catholic means the renunciation of certain national claims.

The French Catholic school system includes elementary and secondary education. The teaching is almost entirely in French and the types of schools are founded very closely upon those of France. The main emphasis is on language. There are schools for girls maintained by French sisters, as well as for boys with priests in charge, though the latter are more numerous. The teaching has a decidedly religious tinge and much proselytizing is done, though it is not an essential part of the program.

The curricula and standards of scholarship are good

on the whole, though the moral tone is not as high as it might be and character building, which is made such an important item in other missionary institutions, is somewhat neglected. Young men are fitted for government positions as clerks, dragomen and interpreters. The young women are given some instruction in needlework and the domestic arts as well as excellent drill in the French language and literature and of course in Catholic history and religious formulas. In large centers, like Constantinople and Smyrna, before the war, there were many French schools, which owned excellent buildings and grounds in favored locations. In Bebek, a small village on the Bosphorus, the Catholics owned practically a whole hillside, with farm and dairy attached, and buildings, including a chapel, monastery, convent, orphanage, boys' and girls' school. This sort of equipment was typical of the security and prosperity of the French Catholics in Turkey, before the war.

BRITISH EDUCATION

According to the statistics of the World's Missions for 1914, the British Missionary Societies in the Ottoman Empire maintained 178 schools with 12,800 students. The British missionary societies had a fair number of schools dotted all through the Ottoman Empire. Their activity in Syria was more conspicuous than in any other part of the country. Elementary and ordinary high schools were more numerous than any others, though there were three normal schools and one industrial school. They did very good work and laid special stress on the teaching of morality and high standards of honesty and integrity.

AMERICAN EDUCATION

According to the statistics of the World's Missions for 1914, the Americans maintained in Turkey 675 schools

with 34,317 students. Of all the foreign educational systems, the American undoubtedly holds the first place. The French Catholic is larger but not more effective. Since the early part of the nineteenth century, American missionaries have been planting schools, hospitals, churches and colleges all over Turkey and today they are a great power in the land. The American Board of Foreign Missions, which operates in Asia Minor and northern Mesopotamia, and the Presbyterian Board, which confines itself to Syria, are the two principal societies, though there are several others. No foreign nation can claim so disinterested an attitude towards the people, Moslem and Christian alike, as can America. Her purpose in education has been entirely humanitarian and is entirely free from any political or commercial bias, which can be said of no other foreign nation in Turkey. This has been recognized by the Government as well as by the people and the Americans have in consequence enjoyed universal respect and esteem. They have been able to include in their schools, representatives of all the various nationalities found in the Ottoman Empire.

The American system of education in Turkey is more extended than any other and includes a larger variety of institutions. There are besides ordinary elementary and secondary schools, kindergartens, normal, industrial and medical schools as well as theological seminaries and colleges. There are also small schools for the blind and deaf.

The equipment of these mission schools is varied, but on the whole, very good indeed. Professors, instructors and doctors connected with them are the representatives of the best universities in this country. The standard of scholarship is good and the curricula are based upon American ideas, but cleverly adapted to the needs of the country. For instance, a strong emphasis is put upon

language study especially that of the vernacular, also the rudiments of science are given an important place.

While the mission schools and colleges fill a very important need, three American colleges under separate boards should be mentioned as embodying the very best that America has to offer to the youth of Turkey. These are the American University (formerly called the Syrian Protestant College) at Beirut, Robert College and the Constantinople Woman's College at Constantinople. All of these are admirably equipped with modern appliances and facilities and all grant A.B. and A.M. degrees under charters from America. They represent the best institutions for higher education in the Ottoman Empire at the present time. They will naturally take the lead in any plans for a future educational system.

The American University of Beirut is a university as it includes schools of medicine, pharmacy, dentistry, commerce, and arts and sciences. It has more than twenty buildings and draws upon a large Christian and Moslem population in Syria and Palestine. Robert College has added a school of engineering to its well established collegiate course and while this school is in its infancy and will need years of peace to measure its full strength, it has made an excellent beginning. The need of such a technical school cannot be overestimated in a country like Turkey, where nearly all work calling for highly specialized training, has had, in the past, to be done by foreigners. Robert College, in contrast to the American University of Beirut, draws upon a Turkish instead of a Syrian population, as well as on large Christian communities, not only in the Ottoman Empire but also in the Balkans. Constantinople Woman's College is the only college for women in the whole region and it offers the highest education obtainable. For nearly fifty years it has educated the young women who have become leaders in their several communities and has done

an invaluable service in enlightening the women of the Empire in whose hands lies very largely the hope of the future. Eastern women have been neglected, sheltered and repressed. Constantinople Woman's College shows what can be done for their minds. The College has started a series of courses in the practical arts, which in time will lead, it is hoped, to a school of practical arts. It is needless to emphasize the importance of this in connection with the period of reconstruction which is bound to come at the end of the war and in which the women will, of necessity, take a large part.

American schools in Turkey have aimed very decidedly at a high standard of scholarship but their primary aim has been character building. Their training in morality and control has been their drawing card. Their discipline also has been much stronger than that of either native or other foreign schools. There has been some proselytizing among the Armenians but that is not the main object and the youth of all creeds who desire education have an equal welcome. An interesting fact is that already the Americans have established coöperation among different types of schools. Mission schools prepare their students for higher American schools or colleges. We find evidence of an attempt to make a graded system of education, beginning with the kindergarten and leading to the college. Industrial education has as yet made little headway in theory. Practical courses in arts and crafts, however, are given in many of the schools.

Almost as much thought has been given by Americans to the education of girls and women in Turkey as to men and boys. A great many mission schools are educating girls on an equality with their brothers. This feature has been almost entirely neglected by the Government and has not been given as much thought as it needs by the other native school systems. Altogether, the American educational system in Turkey has a widespread hold upon the land.

OTHER FOREIGN EDUCATION

According to the statistics of the World's Missions for 1914 continental societies maintained in prebellum Turkey thirty-eight schools and 3,500 students. The other foreign schools in Turkey do not reach a very large number of the population, though their work is good. German, Danish, Russian and Italian were included under these. The schools are subsidized in all cases by religious societies in their respective countries, except German schools which now are given government aid as well. In the large cities, especially Constantinople, there are excellent German elementary and secondary schools, based upon the German system and making a great deal of language study and the teaching of mathematics and the exact sciences. The work is thorough and of a high grade. It should be mentioned that since the war, German schools have been planted in Turkey with great rapidity and there has been a steady influx of German teachers and professors not only into Constantinople but also into the more remote cities of the Empire. German influence in military schools has been dominant for many years.

A comparative table of schools in prewar Turkey follows:

<i>System</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>No. of Students</i>
Turkish (Government)	36,230	81,226
Armenian	803	133,100
Greek	1,830	184,568
Jewish ¹ .....	.....	.....
Syrian .....	.....	.....
French (Catholic)	500	59,414
British	178	12,800
Continental (German, Danish)	38	3,500
American	675	34,317

¹ The new Hebrew University at Jerusalem, at which the first lecture was given by Dr. Albert Einstein, is an institution of great promise.—E. G. M.

THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN TURKEY

There should be established a government system of elementary schools supported by a guaranteed proportion of the national budget. These schools should be universal, open to all. They should make no religious requirement and give no religious instruction. In addition, under certain conditions, the government should tolerate, encourage and even subsidize the work of the private schools. All private schools, however, should be under government inspection and required to conform to minimum government regulation. It is particularly in certain phases of the work such as the training of teachers and the elements of industrial and agricultural training, that such schools might with profit be subsidized by the government.

The schools should be closely correlated with the community life in industrial, agricultural, horticultural instruction. In secondary and all schools, perhaps, even in intermediate grades, forestry, horticulture, stock-raising and other forms of agriculture, as well as more technical and commercial forms of industry should be introduced.

So large a proportion of the men have been killed in Turkey during the war that the education of women now assumes a most important place. Many women are left alone to care for themselves and their children. In the new school system, vocational education should be planned for the women in all types of handicraft which will give immediate support or will find a place in the markets of the world. This expansion of this sphere of women's industrial work would have its reaction upon her new venture into freedom, as well as upon her ability, and would thus constitute another factor in the progress of the New Turkey.

Because of the present high death rate caused by unhealthy conditions of life and inferior medical practice, it is very apparent that one form of education most necessary is that along lines of sanitation, proper housing and medicine. This is the branch of education in connection with which very little has been done in Turkey. The work of the American schools in this respect, especially that of the American University of Beirut, is most remarkable, but, however, a definite professional training of physicians and nurses should be now provided for in a government system so that the work may be systematized and developed to cover the terrible needs of the population.

Training in engineering, civil, mechanical and mining, is of course, one of the great demands at the present moment in the country. Opportunities are great for both individual and social profit along these lines. Such professional education should be closely related to the various departments of government work such as sanitation and health, development of science, public works and all that has to do with the utilization of natural resources.

No system of education, is of course, possible without the trained teacher. Until within a few years, there have been no trained teachers whatever in Turkey except in a few of the colleges.

Education along the lines indicated, projected and supervised by a government with a just and beneficent purpose would do much toward bringing about unity between the various nationalities and removing one of the greatest obstacles to progress in the Near East.

One of the first important undertakings in connection with the reform of the educational system would be to bring in skilled ability to reestablish and improve existing industries and to start new enterprises in manufacturing, mining, agriculture, etc., appropriate to the environment. The schools and industries would react upon each other

so that the children and adults would be interested in the same problem and could develop together.

The government undertaking a beneficent scheme of rehabilitation and education will succeed in proportion to the usefulness, tact, energy and patience of those appointed to administer and supervise the undertaking.

THE TURKISH REVIVAL

It is indicative of the social and even political importance of modern education that the new Anatolian Turkish power turns its attention to education as of first importance and even before the military and political problems are settled, issues new laws or edicts declaring its attitude towards education. Not only are the capitulations overthrown, but as coming less questionably within its own powers, it takes a position of hostility to all the old regulations concerning education under which the systems as described above have grown up.

We, of the western world, not closely in contact with events in the East can only judge from news accounts which are sent out by observers on the ground or by the new government itself. One of the earliest acts of the Anatolian Parliament, reported after the recent defeat of the Greeks, was the requirement that all schools within the Empire should teach the Turkish language. If this requirement is simply that the Turkish language should be one of the subjects of instruction, no just objection could be raised against it. For this is what practically every government does.

It was next reported that the requirement was made, or to be made throughout Anatolia, that all instruction must be given in Turkish and not in the various vernaculars or in the French language as has been the custom. Such action raises the entire question of the right of racial minorities which was to have been settled by the

Versailles Treaty. Since it was not settled, this question of racial vernacular schools brings up the problems which so vexed the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and does every government where there is a great mixture of peoples with one dominant one.

It is quite obvious that the new Turkish government is proposing to take the most illiberal and even reactionary point of view regarding schools. The policy as announced is the most narrow of nationalistic policies and denies to the various minority races some of the most cherished fundamental rights.

Admittedly the Greek and Armenian schools were designed to preserve minority racial groups. That was their purpose. Foreigners will admit that many of the foreign schools, particularly the French, have political and cultural designs rather than philanthropic. Even when the missionary motives prevail, as with the American and British schools, it is difficult to prevent these schools from being exponents of western cultural ideas, political and social, as well as scientific and intellectual. Consequently, while the American national is usually a defender and a believer in the worthiness of the individual Turkish citizen, he is at the same time, unreservedly, an antagonist to Turkish institutions. The practical question is, can he avoid being an opponent of the Turkish government, and at the same time a representative of western culture, individualism, and democracy?

The American government is demanding for the American schools established within the territories of the new Turkish government, recognition of their property rights and of their teaching privileges.

However much we as individuals believe in the worthwhileness and the disinterestedness of these institutions, we will be forced to remember certain actions of the American people. The recently adopted constitutional

amendment in Oregon requires all children between 8 and 16 to attend public schools. No private or church school is allowed as an alternative. It is even a question whether children legally may be sent out of the State for this purpose. The so called Lusk Law in the State of New York requires all teachers to take an oath to support the existing government and deprive them of their office if they hold views hostile to the existing political and economic and social institutions. Several states in recent years have forbidden the existence of schools,—at least those of elementary grade—which give instruction through a medium of a foreign tongue, as do the parochial schools of the French Canadians, of the Poles, and of the German religious sects. The principles upon which these laws are based are fundamentally the same as those involved in the action of the Turkish government. We believe that there is a vast difference between the two cases, and that the racial minorities in the one case are very different from the racial minorities in the other. Several important problems arise and remain unsolved. The first is, do the racial minorities in Turkey view the problem of their national or vernacular school in any different light than do these component racial groups in the United States or in other countries? Another problem which the Turks answer differently from the western nationals, is whether the foreign national schools are actually free from the motive of political propaganda. A final problem is whether we can recognize the political power of the present régime and deny to it the exercise of rights under that power which we ourselves exercise in our own political jurisdiction.

The only practical solution seems to be to so identify such schools with the fundamental social welfare and with the cultural aims and activities of the peoples of the new Turkish State that they themselves will welcome and protect such schools even though the religious propaganda motive be recognized as present.

CHAPTER VI

WOMEN

By MARY MILLS PATRICK¹

The new dawn already tinges the terraces of the harem with rose. Hope, O lovely hanums! The door of the selamlık will be opened, the grates will fall, the feredje will go to decorate the museum of the Grand Bazaar, the eunuch will become a mere memory of childhood, and you shall freely display to the world the graces of your visages and the treasures of your minds; and then, when "the pearls of the Orient" are spoken of in Europe, to you, O white hanums, will be the allusion!

—EDMONDO DE AMICIS, Constantinople.

Introduction

Within recent years, the opening of the Imperial University in Stamboul to women students, including the medical department, has in a very striking way symbolized the rapid emancipation of Turkish women which has been taking place in the country. Turkish women in Constantinople are now throwing aside their veils and are now to be found working in the offices of the government and in business houses of the town. Since the war, a Young Women's Christian Association has been founded in Constantinople. So interested were the Turkish women in the activities, social and athletic, of the girls, that they came and appealed to the authorities that a Turkish branch of the Y. W. C. A. might be formed to which their daughters might go, a request that was granted.

There has been much confusion in the popular mind re-

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garding Turkish women due to the failure to make a distinction between the residents of Constantinople and Smyrna, the interior cities and towns, and the peasant women. The greatest change from former conditions prevails in Constantinople. In the urban sections of the interior, the influence from Constantinople has not permeated too any great extent although it is not uncommon to see certain Turkish women dispense with the *charshof*. The peasant women, who are active in the fields where contact with persons of both sexes is a natural state of affairs, are in this respect more liberated than are their Turkish sisters, but in other respects, they are far more conservative.

Halideh Edib Hanum, the noted Turkish feminist, in an interview at Angora (1922) spoke especially of the political sense of the common Turkish peasant woman. She is quoted as saying: "I am surprised at the common sense of the peasant women who have had no intellectual training, but are grasping political questions as easily as do their husbands and brothers. I think it very significant that the women of Angora have recently asked for a restaurant, a café, where they may come together for coffee, and cigarettes and conversation." This is the same person who was regarded by the Allied officers as the most dangerous political speaker in Constantinople during 1919 and early 1920.

For economic reasons, most Turkish agriculturists are polygamists, since the addition of wives and children to their households means larger crops and larger revenue. These women are little removed from slaves. For economic causes, but for other reasons, few of the upper or middle class Turks have more than one wife: partly because they cannot afford them. The old-time Imperial harem is a thing of the past. It is decidedly exceptional for any Turk who has had contact with Western civilization to practice polygamy.



Graduating Class at Constantinople Woman's College, consisting of Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Israelites and Bulgarians, together with Honorary Members Professor Burns and Admiral Bristol.



Headquarters of the Turkish Red Crescent.

Latifeh Hanum, the exceedingly attractive young wife of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, has set a noteworthy example in complete emancipation. Not only does she go about unveiled and travel with her husband freely but she also entertains at home in European fashion. She is the present leader in the Turkish women's movement and in public interviews is asserting freely her advanced ideas regarding the place that women should enjoy in the Republic. Her husband shares her views which, he says, are not inconsistent with native ideals. For the seclusion of women in Turkey, he blames Persian influences, and he asserts that in olden times Turkish women went to war with their husbands and also succeeded to the thrones of the Sultans. That the veiling of the Turkish women should cease is the astounding statement accredited to Mustafa Kemal whose liberal views regarding women are well known. At the Economic Congress at Smyrna (1923), its President in the closing session gave further public notice to Turkish women by an especial appeal to "Mothers! Sisters! Women teachers!"

One most vital influence in advancing the position of Turkish women has been the American schools and colleges. In the Constantinople Woman's College, the Turkish students rank high. Here and elsewhere they are embracing the opportunities offered for training for public service as teachers, as business women, as scientific farmers, and more recently in the newly opened medical school as nurses and doctors. They are taking advanced degrees in European universities and are demanding a right to choose their own husbands and to make their own homes.

The *Nludafa-a-y-Houkouki Nissvan* (Society for the Defense of the Rights of Women), organized at Constantinople, has these aims: to transform the outdoor costume of Turkish women; to ameliorate the rules of marriage according to the exigencies of common sense; to

fortify woman in the home; to render mothers capable of bringing up their children according to the principles of modern pedagogy; to initiate Turkish women into life in society; to encourage women to earn their own living by their own work, and to find them work in order to remedy the present evils; to open women's schools in order to give to young Turkish girls an education suited to the needs of their country; and to improve those schools already existing.

The emerging of Moslem women from their isolated mode of living, while not a wholly unmixed blessing, is a mighty step forward. No new departure in Turkey is of more interest or of greater power for good. In no country in the world is the movement by women for bettering the condition of women making more rapid progress than in Turkey.

Women

When people speak about the women of Turkey from any historical point of view, they probably have in mind Turkish women, without conscious consideration of the women of the other races which have been an integral part of Turkey. I shall, therefore, first of all, speak of the position, present and past, of Turkish women.

The most advanced Turkish women of Constantinople itself, and even of some other cities in the Empire, hold in many ways a unique position. The seclusion of the harems from which they have recently emerged had a very strange effect on their development, of a kind which had been elsewhere almost unknown. The property laws, however, according to which the affairs of Mohammedan women have always been controlled, are very progressive. During the centuries in which European women have been free personally, and enslaved financially, Mohammedan women have been enslaved personally and more or less free financially.

Since shortly after the time of Mohammed, when the property laws connected with the Mohammedan religion took form, women have had a liberal control of their own property. These laws were copied after laws belonging to the time of Justinian in the Roman Empire, where the property rights of women were regarded. They suited the social organization of Mohammedanism for the reason that no Mohammedan woman necessarily bears a permanent relation to any man. Her father may die, her husband may divorce her, and she therefore herself must have a permanent control of her own property. Therefore, it has come about that during all the past centuries Mohammedan women have been free to buy or sell or alienate property, without the control of any other person, and in fact without the signature of the woman herself no transfer of any kind could be made of her own property. This, of course, includes only the property that belongs to a woman by inheritance or has come to her through some other personal channel.

These property laws have, however, developed in many Mohammedan women a strong business sense and power of judgment. Some Turkish women, even, have been in the habit of pleading their own cases in property questions in the courts of law. This state of things is wholly in contrast to the personal seclusion required of them under the old customs. It is, therefore, the case that in Constantinople and other advanced cities where women are now breaking away from all outward restrictions, there is a basis of preparation in their minds for the ability to control affairs. In general, Mohammedan women are considered of strong mentality.

In Constantinople, at the present time, the most progressive among them write for the papers, advocating separation of Church and State. They belong to women's clubs, and they have social freedom in general society. Certain leading Turkish women in Constantinople

give dances in their homes to men and women of their acquaintances as freely as is done in the homes of other nationalities. Quite a number have studied in the Constantinople Woman's College, and also in leading European universities. During these years of war, the Ottoman women have necessarily become involved in political affairs and have done much to aid the Ottoman Turks; in this way they have gained a pretext for greater liberty. Today there are more than three hundred Mohammedan girls working as clerks in the general post office, as well as many in other departments of the government. There are also many in the shops, acting as cashiers and in other capacities, endeavoring more and more to enter business life.

The veil having power to conceal the face has practically disappeared in large cities, but from the veil has evolved a very graceful and becoming headdress which distinguishes Turkish women from others in the streets. This strikingly picturesque costume adds an element of charm to the general appearance of the streets of Eastern cities, and it is to be hoped that this costume will never be changed for the less picturesque headgear worn in the West.

The emancipation of the most advanced Turkish women is rather of an anomalous character; in some things ahead and in other things behind what would be found in other places. As an illustration of the irregular nature of this emancipation, Halideh Hanum, the well-known leader among Turkish women, received a number of votes from the vilayet of Konia for the office of deputy to parliament, although her name was not posted as a candidate for office. In fact, woman suffrage is advocated in the papers by leading women in a society in which manhood suffrage in any systematized form does not exist.

As an illustration of the anomaly of home life among

Turkish women not many years ago, I shall give a description of the picturesque Oriental character of daily experience in the house of the Grand Vizier of Constantinople. We of the West often make the great mistake of judging manners and customs by our own fixed ideas; and, in describing the family life in the palace of the highest official in the political life of the city, I am not writing in any spirit of criticism, but simply with the idea of furnishing a glimpse of the combined freedom and seclusion of the Oriental environment.

There were four households represented in this family, at the head of which combination was the Grand Vizier himself. His daughter was married to a man who was for that reason at the head of the inner family life of the palace. Others dwelling there were relatives and retainers. This family occupied a large and beautiful palace. The first floor was entirely given to the men. There they had their apartments, their sitting rooms, and their smoking and sleeping rooms.

The second story was devoted to the apartments of the women. The husband of the daughter of the Grand Vizier was very much of a gentleman, he had no other wife, and no other entanglements with any of the women of the harem. There were, however, many other women who resided there, relatives, servants, and friends. The man of the house was free to enter the apartments of the harem whenever he liked. In fact, when called to a sudden dinner at the British Embassy, it was there that he would go to have the maids assist him in putting on his stockings and his collar, and in arranging his shirt-cuffs, until he was finally evolved into a well-groomed gentleman of society.

In the first floor of the palace there was a large dining salon which was used on great occasions. Adjoining this was an ordinary dining room where luncheons and dinners were served. There was no regular breakfast

in a Turkish household, as a casual cup of coffee meets every need. In this dining room from twelve to fifteen people were served with luncheon and dinner. The table was first prepared for the men who often came in their dressing gowns, sometimes even barefooted, unless for some especial reason they had been obliged to go to their offices on business, or had been invited elsewhere as guests. The first object was general comfort and therefore too much attention was not given to personal preparation for the occasion, in the matter of shaving, dressing, or wearing stiff and uncomfortable clothes.

The food was brought in in the large covered dishes and trays. As many as nine courses of the delicious food, to be found only in the Turkish Empire, were served at each meal.

The food served to the men at the first table was, naturally, better than that served later, and, for that reason, my friend who was a nurse in this establishment was invited to eat with the men. The lady of the house was also sometimes present when there were no guests. At other times she either ate with the women or had her meals served to her in private. After the men finished, the dishes were removed and the table was prepared for the women of the establishment. The third table was later prepared for all the domestics and retainers of the large palace.

There were many different sleeping rooms, both in the women's and in the men's apartments. Often the residents slept in different rooms each night. When there were unexpected guests, richly embroidered beds characteristic of Eastern lands were spread on the floors in different places.

Even in the homes of emancipated Turks, there is a casual attitude toward furnishings such as one never finds in any other country. An illustration of this may be found in the experience of Halideh Hanum, who told

me that shortly after she was graduated from Constantinople College she thought she would like to arrange her house in the European fashion; accordingly, she prepared furniture, pictures and ornaments suitable for furnishing her rooms according to Western customs. And then she said the result was, to her surprise, that she felt a great loss of freedom: she couldn't breathe with so many things around, so she had most of them removed. By placing the Oriental sofas at the side of the room, she arranged large drawing-rooms with wide intervening spaces, through which flooded the abundant light and air which are common in all Oriental houses. Turkish salons, with their painted walls, their floors covered with the richest rugs, and heavily embroidered cushions on low couches, are usually very beautiful.

I believe that the probable explanation of the Oriental idea of beauty in the household comes from the mosques, where one sees large spaces; they are never ornamented except by quotations from the Koran and the hanging chandeliers which furnish light at night, but the floors are covered with the richest and most beautiful rugs that can be found in the East. This religious idea of beauty has doubtless furnished the suggestion in the consciousness of the individual that makes a typical Oriental house so different from a Western home—although from the point of view of absolute æsthetics perhaps not less beautiful.

Peasants of all races in the Turkish Empire form a wholly different class of society from the women in the cities, and constitute the conservative element that connects the present with the past. As I have described the life of Turkish women in the cities, by way of contrast, let us turn next to that of Mohammedan women among the Kurds, who live in the mountains of eastern Turkey.

Both Kurdish men and women wear flowing robes and heavy embroideries. I remember once meeting a Kurd-

ish chieftain on horseback on a wild mountain road, wearing a long gown of thin white muslin, heavily embroidered, over his other robes.

The manufacture of rugs is carried on to a great extent among the Kurds, and in their homes the artistic results of this industry form a background for the beauty of Kurdish women. There is, perhaps, no woman in the world so beautiful and so perfect physically as the Kurdish peasant. She is tall, graceful, and well-formed, with richly colored skin of the brunette type, black hair and eyes; while the habit of carrying heavy burdens on her head gives her also a personal carriage of extreme gracefulness and poise.

We of the West demand equality of rights for men and women. In the Kurdish nation this is carried to an extreme, and the Kurdish women have all the rights of working while the men have all the rights of pleasure. No Kurdish man is expected to work. His life is the life of a robber, and no Kurdish girl will marry a man who is not a successful robber. All the work of the fields and of the household is done by the women, although cultivation of land is not carried on to any great extent among them. Furthermore, the Kurdish woman is not troubled by the weakening effect of culture—her brain need not necessarily carry even the intricacies of an alphabet. She is physically well and free, and not subject to the bondage of any kind of pain.

Mountain travel in the interior of Turkey is far from easy and means many hours of climbing, sometimes with exposure to great inclemency of weather. A friend of mine, traveling over the mountains in company with a Kurdish man and woman, suddenly noticed that the woman was missing, although her husband paid no apparent attention to the fact. A few hours later she rejoined them, with her usual air of serenity, and casually bound to her back was a little child.

Polygamy is usual among the Kurds. The more wives a man is able to support, the more land he is capable of cultivating. I once had the privilege of being a guest in a Kurdish family for four or five days. There were three wives in this home, all of them were tall, beautiful young women. I think they must have been about the advanced age of twenty-five, for the inequality of rights of labor among the Kurds removes the beauty and grace of Kurdish women at an early age, so that at thirty years of age, one may have lost her bloom, her teeth, and her vigor. With the magnificent physique which they have, if the demands of physical labor were not carried to so great an excess, their freedom from weariness and pain might easily last through a vigorous old age; unless the theory be correct, which is frequently advanced, that culture is necessary to preserve the beauty of both men and women, which, although of a different type, is often enhanced in later years.

I should like to give here an illustration of the vicissitudes to which life is sometimes subject among the Kurds. About the time the Constitution was declared in the Ottoman Empire, and when Sultan Abdul Hamid II was dethroned, a certain prominent Kurd obtained enough influence through his friends in Constantinople to secure the appointment of governor of a comparatively large region of country in Kurdistan. Shortly after he was appointed, he issued a command to all the landowners in the whole region, asking them to send in their deeds to him as a mere matter of formality, as he had received official orders from the Imperial government in Constantinople to make certain slight changes in these deeds.

This command could not be disobeyed, and on receiving these official papers the Governor naturally held in his hands the key to the possession of the whole region. These papers he had made over, deeding to himself or

to some relative each piece of land mentioned, so that in a short space of time he and his family became the owners of the whole of that part of the country; and all of the previous owners of the land were now his tenants. This naturally produced a tremendous excitement, and each of the owners of the above-mentioned deeds sent on an official protest to the Turkish Imperial Government, giving the date of the deed in question and stating all the facts of this infamous transaction. Justice, however, is difficult to obtain under some circumstances, and the status of these deeds is still unsettled.

The life and characteristics of the Arab women in the peasant class are not greatly different from those of the Kurds, with the exception that the former usually lack the extreme physical beauty and poise of their Kurdish sisters. Arab women, for the most part, still live in the darkest ignorance. Even in rich families girls are not taught to read and write. In Algeria and Tripoli the government has tried to open schools for girls, but in Algeria these schools and education in general are directed by French officials, so no Mohammedan would send his daughter to them. In Tripoli the Turkish Government founded and built a school for girls of the rank of a grammar school, which was to serve as a model. But very few girls were enrolled, and those who came were for the most part daughters of officials, and not really Arab.

The harem life is very strict. The women live absolutely in seclusion, apart from the men. It is prohibited for a girl even to appear freely before her boy cousin, because marriage is possible between them. In fact, wherever marriage is possible the seclusion is absolute.

Arab women are very superstitious. Their whole life consists in household service and work in the fields; for instance, the cotton fields are always cultivated by women, and the harvesting is done by them. They also

store the food for winter, weave cloth, do needle work, and make their husbands' clothes. Their only pleasure is found in society composed of women, and in singing and dancing on the occasion of celebrations of birth and marriage.

In some of the more progressive places, like Syria or the city of Damascus, there is a great difference between the Christian Arab women and the Mohammedans, though they belong to the same race—the Christians being more advanced. The great number of Arab Mohammedans in Syria are illiterate and live in absolute seclusion; and, though they are not very moral, they are not allowed to go into the streets unveiled. Arab women in Egypt, however, have all the freedom and privileges that belong generally to civilized society.

Social restrictions among the Arabs are practiced only among sedentary people. The Bedouins have perfect freedom, both men and women. Women go unveiled. A Bedouin girl or married woman can receive a stranger, even a Christian, in her tent during the absence of her husband, and talk with him and even invite him to dinner. She is quite free and exceedingly chaste in comparison with the city women.

The Albanian women are more or less an unknown element. The peasants live the same life as those of other nationalities in Turkey. The length to which Albanian women may go, however, is well illustrated in the life of Miss Paraskev Kyrias, who was one of the very few women delegates in Paris in 1917 and 1919, and who was chairman of the Albanian Delegation and far more intelligent than the other members. Several Albanian women have been graduated at Constantinople Woman's College and have in other instances than in the one cited above shown characteristics of leadership.

The Christian women in the Turkish Empire include the Armenians, the Greeks and some Albanians. The

Greek and Armenian women are much like those of other European nations—the only great difference being that although they live mixed in with other nationalities in the same towns and cities, their social and religious life is wholly confined to those speaking their own language in their own nation, and their thought life is limited, except in such cases as those who have a knowledge of foreign languages, to that expressed in their own literature and press. The good schools among the Greeks and Armenians in Turkey have made the Greek and Armenian women of the cities cultured, and have given them the same point of view and customs in life as would be found among other European races. Both nationalities have marked individuality and have for many years included distinguished women who have written for the press and have been leaders in those activities which the restrictions of the Turkish Government allowed. With the new freedom offered at the present time, the world may expect much from Armenian women. The Ottoman Greeks, also, will not be behind those of their true fatherland in the enterprises that will further the causes of a new humanity.

The women of the Near East, especially those in the Ottoman Empire, are ready for the progress which is certain to come from outside social, political and educational world development. Although they have fewer contacts than men with outside changes, they are in many respects more susceptible to quick transformation in their point of view. They have, in many ways, made distinct advancement in education and social culture. With the barriers that separate the various races forming lesser obstacles, all the women of Turkey will attain to a larger horizon, opening before them far-reaching opportunities of activity and national influence.

CHAPTER VII

PUBLIC HEALTH

By WALTER BOOTH ADAMS, M.D.¹

There is no cure for the body apart from the soul; and the reason why so many diseases elude the physicians of Greece is that they know nothing of the soul.

—SOCRATES.

Introduction

Dr. von Düring, a distinguished German specialist, prepared a report early in the present century in which he expressed his firm conviction that “unless radical measures were taken to check the widespread diseases with which he had to deal, the Turkish population would be extinct in two generations.” (E. Pears, “Turkey and its People”). While this statement is certainly too pessimistic, still the opinion given was partly substantiated in a personal conversation which I had in 1920 with a British medical staff officer attached to the Allied Forces of Occupation at Constantinople. The discouraging features are governmental inefficiency, the ignorance and suspicions of the inhabitants, and the lack of

¹ Born at Constantia, New York, 1864; A.B. 1887, New York University; M.D. 1890, New York University; A.M. 1890, New York University. Post-graduate work in chemistry at his alma mater in preparation for the appointment to the chair of Chemistry, Materia Medica and Therapeutics in the Syrian Protestant College, universally known through the Orient as the American University at Beirut; passed his examinations before the Ottoman Imperial Medical Faculty for license to practise medicine in Turkey; after twelve years' experience relinquished teaching of chemistry; has seen and treated over 60,000 new cases of skin diseases at Beirut; lecturer on contagious diseases in the Nurses' Training School of American University; member of the Beirut Executive Committee of the Lebanon Hospital for Mental Diseases.

surgeons, doctors, and nurses, of medicines, and of hospitals for coping with the situation. The diseases and maladies prevalent in Syria are not identical in all cases with those existing in New Turkey. Each section has its own peculiar conditions. The observations of Dr. Adams, however, relative to the terrible lack of adequate sanitation and to the unprogressive viewpoint of the inhabitants apply equally well to the rest of the country.

The Ottoman Public Health Service was under the supervision of the Director General of Public Health, Department of the Interior, with headquarters at Constantinople. There were local officials in the vilayets, sanjaks, and municipalities. The Government maintained a bacteriological, a chemical, an antirabic, and a smallpox vaccine institute. Quarantine was under the Director of Ports and Frontiers. In the Lausanne Treaty a declaration relating to sanitary methods by the Turks includes a provision for the appointment of three European specialists for a period of five years, attached to the Turkish Ministry of Public Health, to advise regarding the sanitary administration of the frontiers.

The functions of the Public Health Service relate to sanitation and public health, administration of government hospitals, report and control of epidemics, and reports of diseases, deaths, and births. The organization, based on the French system, is excellent, but in practice is deficient with reference to personnel, hospitals, and laboratories. There is a general lack of information among officials concerning diseases, birth and death statistics. Inefficient attention is paid to quarantine of infectious diseases that can be traced largely to pilgrims and other travelers from adjacent territories.

A great deal in the way of education along medical lines in prewar Turkey has been accomplished by foreign institutions, especially by the medical department

of the University of Beirut. Graduates from this university are to be found practicing in almost every town and city of any size in Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Egypt and Anatolia. The newly opened medical department of the American Constantinople Woman's College, with its nurses' training school and hospital, will do much toward relieving the conditions among the Turkish women. The missionaries with their hospitals, and more recently the Near East Relief which has equipped and run hospitals and nurses' training schools all over the country, have furnished an example of modern medical science which have influenced decidedly the movement for improved health conditions.

The Government at Angora is sympathetic with the reform of the Department of Health, considerably due to the influence of Halideh Edib Hanum, wife of Dr. Adnan Bey, who as Minister of Education in the cabinet of Mustafa Kemal Pasha started a new organization among the upper class Turkish women of Anatolia similar to the settlement organizations in America, for the purpose of showing peasant women how to live and conduct their homes in a more healthful way. There exists within Turkey, nevertheless, the inevitable clash between the old and the new, between suspicion of and appeal to foreigners. Western ideas are revolutionizing many programs of New Turkey. For Turkey's sake, it is to be hoped that the pronounced movement to nationalize medical practice so as to exclude foreign influences may not be carried too far.

Public Health

This chapter is descriptive of conditions prevailing in that section of Asiatic Turkey with which I am most familiar, namely, with the region south of the Gulf of Alexandretta (the ancient Gulf of Issus), where the

Arabic tongue prevails, and where the civilization and traditions are Semitic. In this southern section there is present a stagnation in all stages of development—the unchanged and unchanging Bedouin wanders over the land dwelling in black tents, the fellaheen lives, or rather exists, in mud huts, and the civilization of cultured business and professional men of the large cities—men educated in the colleges of the country or in Europe or America, dwelling in handsome and capacious houses in the cities of the coast, interior, or mountain villages. It is thus evident that there must be a great variety and diversity of local culture, habits, and conditions.

Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, and the new sections of Jerusalem, Jaffa and Haifa, have developed like modern cities. But many of the other cities, such as Homs, Hama, Antioch, Aintab, Sidon, Tripoli, and other lesser towns, seem, like Topsy, to have “just growed.” They have narrow, tortuous streets, not infrequently completely arched over, with holes cut in the roofs letting a little light down to assist the wayfarer in dodging the meandering donkey or prowling street dogs. A narrow gutter often is found in the middle of these streets, through which trickles a little stream of water or of sewage. One may expect to find conditions and manners and ways and means of doing things in very many instances in the Orient quite the opposite to those of the Occident. For example, the sewers and ditches are not on the sides of the streets, as one naturally expects to find them, but in the middle of them. Again, a street is considered only incidentally a place in which to walk or to drive; in the East, it seems to be a place where people throw rubbish and commit nuisances. Bearing that in mind, one can readily understand why the Oriental puts off his shoes on entering his home, and regards a shoe as an unmentionable topic of conversation; and if he is forced to speak of it he asks your pardon for mentioning

it. To call a person "an old shoe" is the very last insult possible; the reason is due to the condition of the town streets. In the newer streets of some cities sidewalks are being built, but the inhabitants seem to regard them as useful mainly for displaying their goods, as places where they may sit and smoke hubble-bubble pipes, gossip, play backgammon, do tailoring—anything but let pedestrians walk. Local residents still promenade in the middle of the street.

In recent years the street dogs have been removed, either "deported," as from Constantinople by the Turks to a desert island in the Marmara and left to die of hunger and thirst, or, more humanely, poisoned in some of the Syrian cities when there have been cases of rabies. This treatment was regarded as too cruel in certain quarters of the Syrian city, Beirut, and the conservative inhabitants enticed the street dogs into their houses and fed them until the poisoning campaign was past. The next step was the importation into Beirut from Sidon of a ship load of these natural scavengers.

Sewage systems are virtually unknown in Eastern cities. There are two or three sewers in Beirut emptying into the sea, but even their construction meets with serious opposition and obstruction on the part of the inhabitants and even officials who say "it would harm the fish." The universal method of disposal of sewage in the cities is in cesspools. As far as I know, the American University and the Johanniter Hospital at Beirut have the only septic tank systems in the East. In the towns and villages of the mountains the ordinary out of doors outhouse, with a narrow slit in the floor, is the usual accommodation. This lack of sanitation and use of primitive methods, especially when coupled with a primitive water supply, is the cause of very disastrous epidemics of cholera and typhoid.

In Syria there has been a wide movement for good

and proper water supply in the cities and even in the large villages. It began at Beirut in the early '70's, when an English company put in the admirable water works—the greatest blessing which the town possesses. The Barada, anciently called the Abana, runs through the city of Damascus and is divided and subdivided, supplying not only the gardens and fountains, but was also, until a few years ago, the only water available for drinking and cooking. Anyone familiar with the careless habits of the East, and with the Arabic proverb that “water falling over three stones purifies itself,” can appreciate how a cholera epidemic would rage, and has raged repeatedly in Damascus. Only a few years ago, after repeated scourges of cholera, there was installed a water works system taking the water directly to the city from Ain Feejee, one of the purest and most salubrious sources possible. And yet too many Damascenes, wedded to custom, refuse to take that water when they may use those of the Abana, or “our father,” as their forefathers called this life-giving and death-giving stream. Aleih, one of the chief summer resorts of the Beiruteans, enjoys water brought many miles from huge springs; the resort also supplies neighboring towns. The largest town in the Lebanon, Zahleh, has followed the good example and recently installed a fine and abundant water supply from mountain springs. English engineers were putting in a system for the villages along the coast suburbs of Beirut when the Great War broke out; they were sent by the Turks into the interior as prisoners of war. A quarter of a century or more ago, Lady Burdett Coutts offered to install a water supply for Jerusalem from Solomon's pools, the ancient source for the city, but the rapacity of the grafting Turkish governor and the howls of the carriers of water (who plied with their goatskin bags from the huge cisterns

under the Mosque of Omar) frustrated the project. The residents of Jerusalem had to continue to drink cistern water until the British captured the city, and undertook the first city water works. The population of Tripoli drinks from the "sacred" Abu Ali River—unfiltered and unpurified—another source of much disease. In vain have efforts been made to install a proper supply, piped from places above the sources of contamination. Many persons use their own cisterns or wells. The water supply of Homs and Hama, those huge overgrown villages, is from the Orontes river that flows past and partly through them. Aleppo has a very poor supply: cisterns, wells, and the river supply most of the people. Fastidious people have drinking water brought on donkey back from distant springs. Artesian wells would most probably provide this city with an abundant supply of good water. Geologically it seems to be feasible. Engineers are now proposing a plan to bring the water of the Euphrates in pipes directly to Aleppo, a large and flourishing city which needs an adequate water supply.

The water is generally a matter of local pride. A villager is almost sure to ask you, "How did you like the water of our village? Is it not better than any other?" If a man from another village overhears the remark, it is almost sure to start a quarrel, at first friendly, but quite liable to develop into an acrimonious and bitter discussion and often blows. The water of the wells of the coastal towns, such as Sidon, Tyre, Haifa, and Jaffa is brakish, containing considerable quantities of salts. When students come to the American University at Beirut and drink the waters of the Dog River, which is fairly hard (14 degrees of hardness, as the Lebanon is one great mass of limestone mixed with some strata of sandstone) they become badly costived; and it requires considerable time and patience to become accustomed to

the lime in the water, and to the lack of the sodium and magnesium salts to which they have been accustomed all their lives.

The earliest record of epidemic disease in this country appears in the Bible where the bubonic plague is detailed. The buboes are called "emerods" in the King James version, but more properly are called "tumors" in the American revised version. This interesting account is given in the fifth and sixth chapters of *I Samuel*. There is also a most interesting recognition of the connection of mice, or rats (for often the Oriental calls them indifferently by the same name) with the disease. It will be recalled that the Philistines, in returning the Ark, sent back five golden tumors and five golden mice as a propitiatory offering. Possibly it was another epidemic of plague that routed Sennacherib's army when

The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold,
His cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold
And the sheen of their spears was like stars on the sea
When the blue wave rolls nightly on deep Galilee.

For the Angel of Death spread his wings on the blast,
And breathed in the face of the foe as he passed,
And the eyes of the sleepers waxed deadly and chill,
And their hearts but once heaved, and forever grew still.

Whether this was a plague epidemic that Byron has paraphrased from the thirty-fifth verse of the nineteenth chapter of the second book of *Kings* is not clear, but it seems probable. In the Middle Ages epidemics are recorded, and it is probable that there have been many that have not been noted. The present pandemic world-wide spread of plague did not strike Turkey until quite recently, when the nature and control of the disease have been better understood and the epidemics have been mild. The outbreak in Beirut in 1919 had a mortality of only thirteen per cent of reported cases. It is probable that some deaths were concealed as to the cause, and it is

certain that many ambulant cases and other mild attacks were not reported at all to the government. Thus it is more likely that the percentage of deaths to number of cases was actually much smaller than thirteen per cent. It apparently did not attack the Ottoman armies during the Great War.

There is great carelessness in regard to smallpox, an epidemic disease. Many of the common people do not recognize the difference between it and chicken pox, and accordingly do not vaccinate their children. In general, the disease is less severe than in Europe and America: Whether this is due to the milder climate, or, as some hold, to a partial racial immunity, is not settled. Certainly, I have heard people remark with a great sigh of relief, when I have pronounced by diagnosis of *bec jidry*, "Only smallpox? I feared it was some bad disease!" They have failed to enlighten me what they thought could be worse. It is the cause of much blindness, for, even though the disease is generally milder than in America, there occur not infrequently confluent cases that destroy the eyes and also badly disfigure the countenance. Local peoples are gradually waking up to the importance of vaccination, realizing that such a simple precaution will prevent a girl from being forever after an unsightly object—an almost certain bar to all chances of marriage. Since there is no career for women in the Levant but marriage and home-making, a girl with a face pitted with smallpox scars must have a very large dowry to induce the fastidious young man to take her,—there are too many others bidding through the go-betweens and other matchmakers.

Typhus had pretty much died out in Syria, at least till 1892, when a steamer brought a large company of laborers from Benghazi, that strip of country west of Egypt, where they had had no rain for three years. "There was famine in the land" and these men came to Beirut seek-

ing work on the Beirut-Damascus railroad, then in process of construction. It was soon found that they had brought typhus, which resulted in a widespread epidemic in the city. It was, however, mild and short-lived compared to the epidemics, not only in Beirut but all throughout the country, bred and spread by the Ottoman armies during the last war. It would be hard to estimate which carried off more victims—typhus, the enemies' projectiles, starvation, or massacres and deportation into the wilderness where wretched women, children and old men were left to die of hunger and thirst.

Typhoid and paratyphoid are epidemic diseases. They are more prevalent in the villages than in the larger towns, where the new water supplies are so greatly improving conditions. The Syrians are awake to this, and village after village is improving and safeguarding its water supply.

Cholera has appeared again and again, almost always being brought from Mecca by the returning pilgrims. It is believed to be carried to Mecca by the India pilgrims and from there it travels along the various routes. But the international quarantines that the nations of Europe established at the head of the Red Sea, taking the administration out of the hands of the indolent and corrupt Turks, has largely prevented epidemics—at any rate, epidemics coming from Mecca. It has been an open book, however, that cities with a proper water supply have escaped cholera epidemics. There has been no epidemic of cholera in Beirut since the Beirut Water Works Company was installed, while Tripoli and Damascus, Sidon, Tiberias, Aleppo, Homs and Hama have suffered severely. One of the causes of the spread of the disease has been the funeral customs of the Moslems who wash the body before burial beside running water at the mosque or elsewhere. The washings from cholera corpses run back into the stream from which a little

lower down the people dip out their water for cooking, washing and drinking. It is well known that several epidemics in several cities have started in just this way from sporadic, imported cases, and it is no wonder that the disease spreads through the cities like wild fire. Coupled with the fanatical belief of ignorant people that the government doctors regularly give the sufferers medicine in order to let them die easily, or even to put them out of the way so as to prevent the spread of the infection, and also coupled with the fatalism that "all things are from God" and "if they will die they will die," that "their time has come and nothing can avert it, no medicine or other treatment," one can readily see the difficulties the medical profession encounters in fighting a cholera epidemic. Again, it used to be the practice for all native doctors to clear out of town when there was cholera, to have "urgent business" in the mountains or in a distant city. Now, thanks to the teaching and example of the professors of the American University at Beirut, that day has passed. But the "yellow wind," as the disease is called in Arabic, is the greatest terror in the land. Nothing equals it in its effect on the minds of the people; and I think they are right, when one considers its sudden and terrible attack and frightful mortality.

Among the epidemic diseases of childhood, measles prevails in recurring waves, but does not seem to be as severe nor followed by pulmonary complications, such as bronchopneumonia, as often happens in America. But whooping-cough often follows in its train, and, as in America, few escape this troublesome malady.

One of the great terrors in America is absent from the Arab part of old Turkey, though it does prevail in the mountainous parts of Armenia. I refer to scarlet fever. In my thirty years' residence in Syria I have seen but one case of scarlet fever, at the same time that I have seen over 60,000 cases of skin disease. More than a quarter

of a century ago there was a severe epidemic of scarlet fever in the large town of Zahleh. Some of its inhabitants emigrated to America, where they made considerable money, but lost all their children from this red scourge. They did not realize its deadly infectiousness nor how the yet undiscovered germ can and does cling to clothing. They boxed up the fine new clothes of their children and shipped them to their relatives in Zahleh. For a week or two the proud little Zahlehites strutted about the streets, the bitter envy of their friends and neighbors, till all at once they sickened and grew steadily worse. The local doctors were puzzled over it till they finally came to recognize it as scarlet fever, and then were at a loss how to treat it. They had in the old days skipped all consideration of the disease on the ground that "it did not occur in Syria." Of course, sympathizing friends crowded in during the sickness to offer help and comfort (no people are more sympathetic than the Syrians in sickness or trouble) and also naturally every one went to the funeral, scorning the warning that the disease was infectious. Consequently the epidemic raged, took its toll of the children of the town and died out, and has never reappeared. There have been sporadic cases in Jerusalem among the Jews, brought, it is believed, from Salonika, but it does not become epidemic.

Diphtheria is not uncommon, though I must say that it is less frequent, if one may judge by general impressions and by statistics, than in America.

Cerebrospinal-meningitis cases come in epidemics which do not last long and generally are not as severe as in America. Jerusalem and Smyrna, in recent years, have suffered rather severely. It was during one of the Smyrna epidemics of this disease that Dr. Flexner's serum proved its efficacy and was found to be superior to any made in Europe. I am told that the Rockefeller

Institute sent the serum with a generosity that astonished the people as well as the doctors who used it with such marvelous effect. In the cities there are occasional outbreaks of the disease, which, however, do not persist if they happen outside the wet season.

Writing of children's diseases there is a matter of hygiene that is not a disease, and yet doubtless is a cause of much mischief and indirectly the cause of many deaths of infants. I refer to improper infant feeding. The mother has the baby at the breast "whenever he cries," and as too frequent feeding is one of the greatest causes of indigestion and colic it becomes a "cause of a cause," one of the "vicious circles" of medicine, and the direct and indirect cause of other intestinal troubles and great infant mortality. Yet it is one of the most difficult things possible to regulate the nursing of a baby. The mothers will not do it. They cite their own mothers and their grandmothers and great-grandmothers and so on back to Eve! And what does a mere man, even though he be a doctor of medicine, know about it?

Trachoma is the slow, insidious cause of so much misery and eventually of so many cases of blindness in the land. I have mentioned the blindness caused by confluent smallpox. But this trachoma thickens the lids, and curls in the lashes which are often longer and thicker than we see in America; these lashes irritate the cornea, leading to its inflammation and eventual opacity, as well as to other diseases of the eyes. These maladies are especially trying because most inhabitants of the Orient have large, handsome, expressive eyes.

Epidemics of purulent ophthalmia are not uncommon in the cities in the summer time, when flies carry the infection from one child to another. Colonel Lawrence—the famous aide-de-camp to Prince Feisal, whose disguise as an Arab was so complete that he several times entered the Turkish lines and dined at the table with Jemal

Pasha, the viceroy of Syria and commander of the Fourth army—said that he could do all things the Arabs did but one: he could not let the flies crawl over his eyes! Gonorrhœic ophthalmia is another frequent cause of infant blindness.

Both gonorrhea and syphilis were all too common before the Great War; the war and its ravages, its lowering of the moral tone, its attendant starvation of whole provinces, the rape and seduction and the temptation to starving women spread these diseases horribly. The consequences will endure for years to come.

On the coast, rheumatism and lobar pneumonia are not common diseases. I have known my colleague, Dr. Graham, professor of internal medicine, to subsidize and to bring from a distance pneumonia patients to enter the hospital in order that he might have a specific case to show to his class. In the mountains both diseases are common and severe. Rheumatoid arthritis, is, however, a common malady, and too often afflicts poor women who have to earn their living by laundry work, or the male cobblers who find difficulty in wielding the awl.

Dysenteries, both amoebic and bacillary, as in all tropical and subtropical countries, are common, and will be until the people learn proper sanitation. Here again, the improvement in the water supply is diminishing this class of disease, and when there is a corresponding improvement in sewage disposal it will mark a further advance in better hygiene. It is by a campaign of education along all these lines that improvement will come. Already the American Medical School, through the teachings of its professors and then through its graduates, has done much.

Leprosy is the topic I am questioned about most when on my furloughs in America. It is present in the country. I have seen about a dozen new cases of it annually. It is mostly of the nodular type. For many years it has

been believed that cases deported to the interior, notably at Damascus, remain nearly stationary. Such is the belief of the people. During the régime of the Turks a sort of *hospice* was established there where the lepers could live. Most of them got their living by begging in the streets, though some were supplied with money by their families at a distance. There is here no insane fear of the disease. In Jerusalem, the Germans maintained a hospital for lepers; and when I visited it in 1913 there were about seventy-five inmates, all of them cheerful, and many of them even hopeful, due to a new vaccine. I have seen many begging in the streets of Jerusalem and other places; in some instances they were shopkeepers, greengrocers, etc. During the reign of the Turks there was no segregation nor any attempt at it. It remains to be seen whether the French, with their mandate for Syria, will follow the lead of America in her wonderful work for the unfortunate lepers in the Hawaiian and Philippine islands.

But there is a disease of which the Oriental is more afraid than of any except cholera, and that is consumption, called in Arabic *sil*, which means the "creeping disease." There is a considerable and increasing amount of tuberculosis in the country and has been for a long time, but it has mostly manifested itself as bone and gland tuberculosis. I remember that the *bête noire* of Dr. Post, over forty years professor of surgery in the American University at Beirut, was tubercular glands. He would rather operate than eat or do anything else, but I have heard him confess that he was tired of glands in the neck! So great is the fear of pulmonary tuberculosis, which the people largely ascribe to the returned emigrants who have been in America, that they have been known to abandon the sick and dying to shift for themselves—which is not only barbaric, but also foreign to the naturally sympathetic nature of the people.

The American Presbyterian Mission maintains a tuberculosis hospital on Mount Lebanon; Professor Nucho of the American University is the visiting physician. An Anti-Tuberculosis League which has been started in Beirut by the Syrian community is expecting soon to build another hospital in a salubrious site in Lebanon. There is abundant need of it and of many more in the country. The success of the American Mission Hospital at Shebeneeyeh has stimulated similar good work elsewhere. There is need of much education as well as of municipal ordinances in regard to the spread of this disease. The people must learn that promiscuous expectoration is dangerous, and that fresh air, and night air especially, are not harmful.

From a dermatological point of view, one of the most interesting diseases in the Orient is the "Oriental button." It goes by many names, and in Syria is often called the "Aleppo button," because it is so prevalent in that great city. Few escape it who live there many years. (I am not going to write a treatise on this skin disease, though I might be pardoned, if I did, for it has been my good fortune to find a radical cure for it.) The germ is an animal parasite, discovered by the Scotch bacteriologist Leishman. The disease is widespread over what was once Turkey—in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, in most parts of Asia Minor, and, since the last war, far more widespread in Syria than ever before. Deportations and movements of soldiers are the causes. It is still unknown how the germ is carried from one person to another; but it is my opinion, and there is much to substantiate it, that the germ is carried from person to person by the mosquito, and not the sand-fly, as some have supposed. The scar, which the button leaves after the whole year or more that it requires to go through its cycle of development and healing, is unsightly, though it does not cause as much contraction of

the tissues as one would expect. However, as the buttons always occur on an exposed part, and the place of predilection is on the face, it is decidedly a malady to avoid. There is a common belief among many, Europeans and natives, that the button is always single. Such is not the fact. About a third of the cases I have seen have been multiple, and I have a number of times counted thirteen buttons on one patient.

The ringworms, especially of the head, are rather common among children; men who do not shave themselves, but once a week patronize a barber, sometimes contract ringworm of the beard, a common disease. Favus on the head, that first cousin to ringworm and so difficult to cure, is distressingly common in many villages and cities. Historically, favus is most interesting to all students of pathology, for it was the first disease demonstrated to be caused by a germ, and so lies at the base of our modern pathology.

In recent years, in fact, during the war, a new skin disease appeared in Turkey, which we have named the "epidemic ulcer." Its fusiform bacillus has been found in practically all the ulcers tested. It occurs on the exposed parts, like the Oriental button, but in this case most commonly on the legs, ankles and feet, though not infrequently on the hands and forearms. It is exceedingly painful during its early stages, and unless radically and heroically treated, it is likely to persist for months unhealed. I have seen ulcers that had become chronic and had lasted during a year and a half.

I cannot close this enumeration of the ills that afflict mankind in the Orient without mentioning the vulgar and almost unmentionable itch. In my polyclinic practice the attendant would often beg me in German (the faculty of the American University served the German Johanniter Hospital at Beirut for forty-eight years until the war severed our relations so long and happily maintained),

not to use the Arabic word *jurruub* in my diagnosis, "for it is a terrible word, Doctor, and the people believe that once having contracted *jurruub* there is no cure till death." This disease formed about seven per cent of my private and ten per cent of my polyclinic cases before the war; but during the war at one period, the percentage rose to over fifty. The distress and suffering were very great, and in so many cases among the poor it led to much complicating impetigo and furunculosis. Ordinarily, the disease is traced to the camel and from that ugly brute to his driver, then to his wife, thence to his son, then to the friend of his son and so into another family. And so the trial goes on, much like the nursery rhyme of "This is the house that Jack built." During the war the Turks maintained a camel hospital at Zahleh especially for the treatment of the itch in camels. This is why the "ship of the desert," like the ship of the sea, has smelled of tar. The Turks were far less solicitous about the disease in their soldiers.

There are four medical schools in what was Turkey; one, the Ottoman Government Medical School at Constantinople, with a new and finely equipped set of buildings and, contrary to the opinion of many who hardly supposed that this would be possible, some very able men in charge of the instruction. One reason for this is that during the reign of Abdul Hamid, the ablest men in the country went into medicine; it was safer than political or army life. The chief trouble with the school was the system, and sometimes the lack of system in the instruction due to the intrigue and factious caprice of the directors. And may I say, no care or attention was paid to the moral training of the student body. The professors themselves frankly recognized this great weakness.

The next school to be established was the American School of Medicine in the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, known all through the Near East as the "Ameri-

can University." In 1867, this institution began teaching medicine with a four-year graded course of nine months each year. At that time no school in America had such a course. At present it has a faculty of twenty-three members, including persons dismissed from the Johanniter Hospital during the war; it occupies three hospitals, and maintains an out-patient department of polyclinics in medicine, surgery, gynecology, eye diseases, and skin diseases, where many thousands of the poor of the city and environs are treated gratuitously by the professors who are specialists in their lines of work. The students come from all over the limits of the old Empire. There are Turks, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, Cypriots, Persians, many from nearby Egypt, and a sprinkling from Peru, Brazil, America, and other parts of the world. After they receive the coveted diplomas, they scatter all over the East to bring about a better state of sanitation and health conditions. The administration of the school has ambitious plans for a School of Applied Hygiene or Preventive Medicine in connection with the regular school, with the idea of granting the degree of Doctor of Public Health; but it lacks the necessary money to carry out the project. Well-equipped schools of Dentistry and of Pharmacy are a part of this American University at Beirut. Beginning in 1920 women were admitted to courses in medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy. In the University hospitals, a Nurses' Training School is maintained, where young women are given a three years' course in nursing. These graduates, too, scatter all over the East and are in great demand as hospital superintendents, as trainers of other nurses in more remote districts, and as private nurses.

The third institution, the French Medical School, is a department of the Jesuit University of St. Joseph. This was opened in the early eighties at Beirut, and aims to do the same work that the American University does.

It is a good school, teaching in French. No doubt the rivalry is good for both universities.

Before the war the Ottoman Government established a medical school at Damascus. The language of instruction was Turkish, and though there were some able men in the faculty, their work was much handicapped by the lack of proper preparation and preliminary education of the students. The graduates did not shine during the war. During the short reign of Prince Feisal the school was reorganized and gave one year of teaching in the Arabic language. It is doubtful whether it will reopen, as the American and French schools at Beirut can do the work for the country. Damascus is but a few hours distant by rail.

The hospitals, largely the result of foreign and missionary enterprise, have been another great boon. Scattered all over the land of the late Empire are American hospitals, some of them small, all too small to accommodate the pressing needs of the people. At Van, Dr. Ussher got a hospital built against the steady and strenuous opposition of the Turkish Government, but only to have it completely ruined in the siege and sack of Van. There is an American Mission Hospital at Kharput (sometimes spelled Harpoot) away up in the interior on the Tigris River. This, too, is small, but it has done great work. Poor Dr. Atkinson, its founder, died of typhus during the war. The Azariah Smith Hospital is in Aintab, long and brilliantly served by Dr. Shepard and Dr. Caroline Hamilton and their assistants. I have mentioned the long career of the German Johanniter Hospital at Beirut, now sold to the French and converted into a military hospital; likewise the small Roman Catholic German Hospital of St. Charles in Beirut. The American University has three pavilions, built to receive patients for the specialties of obstetrics and gynecology, of diseases of the eye, and of children's diseases and orthopedics. But

since the entry of America into the war and the expulsion of the American doctors from the German Hospital, these pavilions have to accommodate general medical, surgical and dermatological cases as well. The medical faculty members are pleading for a general hospital.

The French Jesuit University has a small, well-equipped hospital in Beirut. The Greek Orthodox community started a hospital in the city before the war, but it has not yet been completed on account of the great cost of materials. There are also two pioneer hospitals in the vicinity of Beirut—the tuberculosis hospital at Shebeneeyeh, on Lebanon, which is a pioneer and model of its kind, although too small. The other is the Lebanon Hospital for mental diseases, commonly known throughout the land as “The Asfuriyeh,” from the name of the estate on which the pavilions have been erected. It is the only hospital of the kind in Syria. The Jews have recently opened a small hospital in Jerusalem, and receive patients from the Holy City and from all the surrounding country, Damascus, Hama, Tripoli, and not a few inmates come from Egypt. It is an international institution. Its founder was Theophilus Waldmeier, a Swiss Quaker missionary. It draws its support from England, where the Central Committee is; from America, where there are several subcommittees; from occasional Swiss and Dutch contributions. The executive committee, which manages its affairs locally, consists for the most part of professors and graduates of the American University Medical School.

In Palestine there were before the war, well-equipped mission hospitals owned and operated by the Scotch missions at Damascus, Nazareth and Tiberias. These were used by the Turks, who, on evacuating, carried off or wantonly destroyed, everything. The best hospitalized city for its size in this part of the world is Jerusalem. The beautiful mission hospital of the London Jews

Society, which the Turks treated the same as those I have already mentioned, the Italian hospital, the Greek hospital, the French, Jewish, and I do not recall how many more, compete to get patients! The city is over-supplied. It is a pity that these needed institutions could not have been more scattered over the field. Mention should also be made of the Hebron Hospital of Dr. Patterson, which underwent the same fate as all British property during the war, and the English Mission Hospital at Jaffa, connected with the Church Missionary Society.

To the north, there is an American hospital at Kaisarieh, another small one at Konia, and another still at Mersivan that have done fine work for years.

At Smyrna there are several hospitals, including one well managed and well equipped by the Turks; but, no doubt, new hospitals will be built as the needs of the population call for them. Constantinople has its government and military hospitals; the French, for several years, have had a hospital there, and so have the English. Now an American college has built and opened one on the Bosphorus. I have probably omitted some that deserve mention; but in the main, these are the principal hospitals where disease is fought outside the homes of the sick in what once was the Turkish Empire. They are all too few!

The climate of most of prewar Turkey is one of the finest in the world and is a powerful ally to those who are fighting disease.

CHAPTER VIII

ARCHÆOLOGY

By HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER¹

For Art alone is great;
The bust survives the state,
The crown the potentate.

Carve, burnish, build thy theme,—
But fix thy wavering dream
In the stern rock supreme.

—THÉOPHILE GAUTIER, "Enamels and Cameos."

Introduction

Supplementing the following article by the late Dr. Howard Crosby Butler (believed to be the last he wrote for publication), in which reference is made to the work to be done within the former Sultan's domains in caring for its priceless antiquities, the subject should not be left without some mention of the work of the late Turkish scholar Hamdi Bey and of the beautiful museum in Stamboul, the building of which is due to his initiative.

Back in the seventies there was an archæological museum in Stamboul housed in a kiosk (built about 1590) in the old Seraglio. This contained a miscellaneous col-

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lection, gathered up by the Ottoman Government from all over Turkey, of Assyrian, Greek, Hittite, Arabic, Turkish, Lydian and Persian objects. Hamdi Bey, director of art in 1882, obtained funds from the Government for the erection of the present museum, a splendid building, especially designed to house the great findings of Sidon, also the unique Hittite collection gathered from all parts of the Empire. Great numbers of Babylonian tablets, seals, carvings, statues, tiles, etc., from Iraq were given places adapted to their importance and character. Housed there are the only authentic stone from Herod's Temple in Jerusalem, the Siloam inscription from the time of Hezekiah, together with a beautiful collection of ancient glass from Syria. An art lover is repaid by a visit to Constantinople merely to see the exquisite Alexander Sarcophagus which is in this museum. The end of one wing of the building is devoted to a beautiful art library, one large room of which is filled with a special historical library, presented to the museum by Jevdet Pasha, a learned Constantinople Turk.

Hamdi Bey, who as an artist, had pictures accepted in salons in Paris and London, received honors from European academies. In his capacity as director, he was constantly introducing enlargements and improvements into the museum. He died about ten years ago. His brother, Haleb Bey, is the present director.

The museum has become disorganized as a result of recent wars. The gold objects, some of them from Troy and Sardis, and the more precious bronzes were sent to the interior for safety and are not at present on exhibition. The many thousands of coins are not yet rearranged, but it is reasonable to hope that in the near future, the museum will once more take its place among the great attractions of the City.

A smaller museum, the Evkaf Museum, should not be forgotten in any description of modern Turkey. It is a



The Hippodrome contains the remains of the Colossus of Constantine; the decapitated Serpent Column from Delphi; the Egyptian Obelisk from Heliopolis, antedating by twenty centuries the Christian Era; and the Canopied Monument erected by ex-Kaiser William of Germany in 1898. The Majestic Mosque of St. Sophia ($\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\alpha\ \sigma\omicron\phi\iota\alpha$), now called by the Turks the Mehemejeh Mosque, thrice rebuilt, is supported by pillars taken from the far-flung Temples of Isis at Heliopolis, Osiris at Ephesus, Pallas at Athens, Phœbus at Delos, and Cybele at Cÿzicus.

beautiful old building (formerly the soup kitchen) connected with the Sulaimaniya Mosque. It has a valuable and well arranged collection of objects of Mohammedan art, old lights, manuscripts, illuminations, miniatures, metal and glass lanterns, tiles, wood carvings, calligraphy and many other objects. Both the larger museum and the Evkaf Museum have always been managed entirely by the State.

The territories which are perhaps the richest in archæological matter in the Ottoman Empire, and the ones with which the following article deals more in detail, have, since the writing of the article, been lost to the Turkish State. For years, archæological research, which has been going on in these areas under foreign scholars, especially German, French and British, has often been under great difficulties because of the attitude of the Ottoman Government. Now that the war is over, and even before the status of these countries under "mandatories" has been entirely established, excavating is again being resumed, especially under the direction of the French and the British. There remains, however, the wealth of hidden treasures in Asiatic Turkey of somewhat corresponding periods, of unquestioned richness—in fact, a virgin field.

Archæology

The Ottoman Empire has embraced lands which are of the greatest importance for the study of human history, especially the study of what we ordinarily call Western civilization.

No other empire, or no other nation, since the breaking up of the Byzantine Empire, to which it became successor on the fall of Constantinople in 1453, has ever controlled so much territory that is of vital importance to the history of religions, institutions, and art.

Happily those remains have been, in part at least, buried deeply beneath the ground. Such monuments of the past as were possible to destroy have been destroyed in large measure. A few are so huge and so strongly built as to have defied complete destruction. But the earth is still rich in historic records, and still holds vast treasures of art. Fortunately for archæological research, large tracts that were fertile in ancient times have become deserts. The soil of nearer Asia has been hardly more than scratched by the archæologist, and the waste places in which man once lived in productive luxury have been only imperfectly examined by the explorer.

The ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia, together with the peoples of the Nile Valley, have long been believed to have been the first to introduce the arts of life and all that these bring with them. In any event archæological research has brought to light some records of this people that can be definitely placed at the beginning of the third millennium before Christ, and others that are probably older; from which it is evident that this particular corner of the Turkish Empire was the scene of one of the oldest, if not quite the oldest, attempt of man to rise from a brutal state to a higher order of living. Here, too, have come to light records of the greatest importance for Biblical history and for the earliest origins of our own religion—side lights on the Old Testament—records which have a direct bearing not only upon theology, but upon laws and institutions upon which are based the foundations of our own social system.

It is a little over a hundred years since the archæological importance of Mesopotamia was pointed out to Europe by an Englishman, C. J. Rich, who visited Nineveh and Babylon in 1811, and brought home the first examples of tablets bearing cuneiform inscriptions. But nearly half a century elapsed before serious exploration

of the ancient sites was undertaken. In 1842 Botta began his great work, followed by Layard in 1845, and by Place in 1851. All three names stand out in the history of Assyriology as the names not only of pioneers but of great contributors to scientific knowledge. Botta excavated at Kouyunjik and ancient Nineveh, Place at Khonsabad, and Layard at Nimrud. The results of the three were somewhat similar but with interesting and important differences of detail. All three unearthed the remains of ancient Assyrian palaces, the regal abodes of great Oriental monarchs, the oldest of which are datable in the eighth and ninth centuries before Christ. A vast amount of information was brought to light bearing upon the architecture, sculpture, painting, metal work and pottery of the ancient Assyrians, and upon a number of minor arts and crafts. All preconceived notions of architecture, derived from Egyptian and Greek remains, had to be altered, the Biblical references to the building of this part of the world became intelligible, and the thickness and height of the walls of Babylon as described by Herodotus became credible. A vast new field on the history of the sculptor's art was opened up.

Explorations in Babylonia, to the south of Assyria, were begun by Layard and others. Here ancient Larsa was partly excavated by Loftus, and yielded records as early as the third millennium B.C. In Assyria the important ruins had been those of palaces and staged towers, but in Babylonia, where more ancient remains were brought to light, several great temples were discovered.

It must be remembered that excavation in Mesopotamia was a very different kind of digging from anything that had been undertaken before. The remains of cities and palaces here appear only as huge mounds, or as series of mounds of earth, which represent the disinte-

gration of the material of which the buildings were made. For unbaked mud brick was the chief material in all these huge constructions; this was often veneered with baked brick and occasionally with stone, and only the lower parts of the walls which had become buried early, and thus protected from further decay, were found in place, all the superincumbent mass being of earth, which had once been bricks, mixed with baked bricks and tile and fragments of all kinds. The excavations were carried on by means of deep pits and trenches and often by long tunnels. The cost of removing completely all this earth would have been very great, and was never undertaken at any one site, so that the ruins themselves present little that is impressive or beautiful, like the ruins of Egyptian architecture, and we owe it to the careful work of scholars who have restored the buildings in elaborate drawings, that we have now so vivid and so true a picture of these palaces as they looked to the eyes of Sargon, Nebuchadnezzar, and Nebonidus.

The first few years of archæological investigation in Mesopotamia had provided so many objects for study to the small number of scholars who were equipped to handle them intelligently that there seemed a plethora of material, and further investigations in the field were almost abandoned for about two decades. But, soon after 1870, the work of the British was resumed by George Smith and that of the French by E. de Sarzek. The former was made famous by his discovery of the Babylonian account of the Flood and other interesting records pertaining to the biblical narrative. The latter made a great reputation by his work at Tello (Lagash) where he had the good fortune to come upon extensive remains and written records of the earlier Babylonian civilization. Among his very interesting finds was a striking portrait of Gudea, priest-king of Lagash about 2540 B.C. Many other objects and records of the earlier

Babylonian dynasties came to light in this ancient center of Sumerian civilization.

Since this revival of archæological operations in Mesopotamia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century hardly a year has passed without its excavations, and few of the last fifty years have been barren of results. During that period other nations have entered the field, especially the Germans and Americans, and the results of their excavations in different parts of the country, at Nippur and at Babylon itself, have been so rich as to defy brief description. Even the names of the successful excavators of this period would make a list too long for the purposes of this present publication. Many of these men are still alive and many of them are still working upon their results. An extensive, highly organized, powerful and influential civilization, after from two to four thousand years of oblivion, has been restored in many minute details. We know almost as much about Gudea and his people as we do about William the Conqueror and his times. These later excavations have brought out material not only of the early Babylonian and Assyrian periods but of the Persian and Parthian periods, and even of the Hellenistic age.

The most significant single discovery among the mass of very important monuments is perhaps the legal code of King Khammurabi, Amraphel of the Old Testament, who reigned about four thousand years ago, of which Hancock in his "Mesopotamian Archæology" says:

To form an accurate estimate of the influence which Khammurabi's code of laws has had upon the Mosaic code, and indirectly on the European codes of today, is beyond our power; but one fact is indisputable, and that is that the legal code of Khammurabi some four thousand years ago enshrines many of those principles of justice and mercy which we are apt to regard as the peculiar offspring of our own enlightened age.

In spite of all that has been done, in spite of all the objects which we have safely stored in museums, the work has only begun. If one takes a map of Mesopotamia in which the ancient sites are indicated and on which the sites where excavations have been carried on are underscored, he will be astonished to see how many known sites of ancient cities remain unexamined. And yet there are undoubtedly hundreds of buried cities which have not yet been recognized. Then if one takes plans, or even photographs, of the excavated parts of the places that have been chosen for investigation, and compares them with plans showing the areas of unexcavated parts still worth examination, he will observe that the pits and trenches of the excavators make a very small showing upon large blank spaces. The volumes of the unknown regarding these ancient peoples, are far larger and more numerous than the volumes of the known, and it rests largely now with us to decide whether knowledge in this field shall be increased, or whether we shall rest upon the achievements of those who came before us.

Subsequent Mesopotamian archæology related to Persian and Greek, Parthian and Roman occupation of the country which seem to have left far fewer monuments, although Parthian remains of considerable extent have been found by several excavators who were in search of older things; but the Christian period in Mesopotamia is known to have been important from the standpoint of archæology. The little independent Kingdom of Edessa in upper Mesopotamia, existing from 137 B. C. to 216 A. D. was very active during the Christian period, yet little or nothing is known of the architecture of Edessa either before or after the establishment of Christianity, saving some illuminated manuscripts of rare beauty. Little is known of the great fortresses and fortified towns which the Byzantine emperors are known to have built in

Mesopotamia and which are described by Procopius, who wrote in the sixth century.

Of late, German scholars have published some very interesting remains of Christian architecture and other arts discovered by them along the line of the Baghdad railway. The unexplored parts of the country are undoubtedly full of such remains, for much of northern Mesopotamia is almost a desert and is quite uninhabited.

Our estimate of the importance of Syrian archæology is derived principally from four main sources: the Babylonian, Egyptian and Assyrian records, and the Old Testament. Even before 2650 B.C. the Babylonians knew all of Syria, and their records mention places some of which can be recognized. Egyptian records of about 2000 B.C. depict Palestine as a fruitful and prosperous country, and show that not only did Egyptian merchants visit Syria but that Syrian traders came to Egypt. On the pylons of the temple at Karnak is a list dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty (approximately 1500 B.C.) which mentions 119 Syrian towns many of which can be identified. These towns are mentioned as having sent envoys to the victorious Pharaoh bringing as tribute among other things, gold and silver vessels, inlaid furniture, and embroidered garments. The Tel el-Amarna letters (approximately 1400 B.C.), though addressed to the Egyptian king and written in the Babylonian script are actually derived from native sources. They name about 150 cities and towns, 100 of which are to be identified with modern sites from Aleppo in the north to Jerusalem, and from Tyre and Sidon to Damascus.

The Old Testament serves its most useful historical purpose as a source of information for the period after 1200 B.C. at which point the Egyptian records cease,—the period of the Judges and the Kings. These Biblical records have to do chiefly with the history of the Hebrews. From the ninth century to 625 B.C. the Assyrian records

are available for all of Syria, including Palestine, and these together with the Old Testament and the new Babylonian records, which come down to the fall of Babylonia in 539 B.C. bring the story of Syria and Palestine down to the period of the Persian invasion.

Extensive and systematic excavations, like those which have been conducted in Egypt and Mesopotamia, have not yet been undertaken in Syria and Palestine. Renan many years ago explored Phœnicia, and published a number of interesting monuments of that country, but carried on no extensive excavations. The Palestine Exploration Fund has made small excavations at several sites in the Holy Land, Harvard University has had considerable success on a small scale at Samaria, and just before the war the British Museum was beginning an important investigation at the old Hittite site of Carchemish on the Syrian side of the Euphrates; but most of the sites of great antiquity in Syria are still waiting to be examined. There are hosts of places any or all of which might yield monuments or documents of the highest value to the historian and the archæologist. Kadesh, now Tell Nebi Mindo, in northern Syria is a site marked as an important city in some of the early Egyptian inscriptions, and was later one of the capitals of the Hittites. Here is now a gigantic mound, wholly artificial, which has never been touched by the spade. The river valleys and plains of northern Syria are strewn with larger and smaller artificial mounds each of which marks the site of a Syrian town of the Babylonian, Egyptian or Hittite period, as we know from Babylonian seals, Egyptian scarabs and Hittite fragments that are found by the present inhabitants from time to time. Yet little or nothing is known of the native arts of Syria, and no native inscriptions have been brought to light. Here is a vast unworked field for archæological research, the results of which should throw much-sought-for light upon the history of a

very large part of the world that is known to have been settled in very early times, upon the religions of the ancient Hebrews and their neighbors, and upon the culture of peoples who were the connecting link between the two greatest nations of remote antiquity. We should perhaps find that many of the unexplained and supposedly foreign elements in the culture of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria had their origin in this great middle country.

Syria, including Palestine and the upper part of Arabia, is a country which presents to the archæologist a very different set of problems from those which confront him in Babylonia. Here, instead of wide alluvial plains are mountains and hilly regions and high plateaus, interspersed with fertile river valleys and broad rolling plains, and large parts of Syria which were once populous and productive, as I have remarked above, have become desert wastes. Syria requires not only the excavation of a large number of well marked sites, but thorough exploration; for the desert tracts are only imperfectly known. Then many of the most important ancient places are occupied today by large and flourishing cities. Three significant sites mentioned in the Babylonian or Egyptian records are now the thriving cities of Aleppo, Hama and Damascus. The coast cities of the Phœnicians, like Tyre and Sidon, also are the sites of modern cities or large towns. Excavation at these places is out of the question; but there are other places, perhaps equally important but still unidentified, where there are no inhabitants.

Syria, Palestine and Arabia contain innumerable monuments of the later phases of ancient history and of the beginning of the Middle Ages. We do not know what the relations of the earlier Hellenic world were to Syria, but we do know that Alexander the Great brought Greek culture to Syria and that the impress of that culture was indelibly stamped upon the country for a thousand years.

These are the things that time has not succeeded in hiding completely; the art of Greece and the language of Greece peer out at us from every heap of ruins, and some of the most splendid monuments of the later phases of Hellenistic art are to be found here in Syria.

The city of Antioch on the Orontes in northern Syria for almost a thousand years remained a center of Hellenistic culture for all Syria, repeatedly destroyed by eruptions and by wars, but as often rebuilt with all the splendor that Syrian kings and Roman and Byzantine emperors could command, was finally completely overwhelmed in one last destructive earthquake; the depth at which the old city lies buried and the presence of a modern settlement above it will forever prevent its unearthing. But there were many other cities built or rebuilt in the north by the successors of Seleukos, and in the south by these same kings or by the Ptolemies of Egypt. Some of them, like the older cities, are now occupied by modern towns, others, like Apamea on the Orontes, are entirely deserted. There are few remains visible that can be definitely referred to the time of the Greek rulers of Syria, partly for the reason that later buildings of the Roman period were erected upon many of the same sites. But excavations would undoubtedly reveal buildings and inscriptions and other treasures of the Hellenistic period of Syrian history.

The architectural glories of the native kingdom of Palmyra were depicted in the publications of Wood over a hundred years ago, but little work has been done at Palmyra since.

The Hellenistic kingdom of Commagene in northern Syria is hardly more than a name, its country has been only partly explored by archæologists, yet it must still possess artistic treasures of a high order and inscriptions of great historical value.

Little or no investigation of the monuments of this

period in Syria has been made below the surface, though excavations at Apamea, Palmyra, and many other sites would surely solve many perplexing archæological problems and bring to light many beautiful works of art.

For the periods of Roman domination and of Christian activity one may sweep Syria from end to end, to find that the settled parts yield their quota and that the desert has yielded much and will yield much more. Arabia too has already been found to be rich in monuments of these two periods and has many more undiscovered treasures. The most truly Roman monuments in Syria are the bridges and the splendid roads that still may be traced in fragments all over the country and in long sections in the desert. Syria became very prosperous under Roman rule, and the cities large and small were adorned with splendid buildings in the later styles of Hellenistic architecture, some of them bearing the names of Roman emperors and imperial legates, others marked as having been erected by rich natives or by the communities. Every part of explored Syria is strewn with magnificent remains of this period; there are Gerasa, Philadelphia, Bostra and Kanatha, cities of the old Greek confederation called the Decapolis, adorned with some of the most splendid buildings to be found anywhere in the Roman Empire; there is Petra in the far south with its marvelous monuments of combined Hellenistic and Arab architecture; and there is Baalbek, one of the most gorgeous groups of buildings of any period in the whole world. These great edifices of Baalbek are often cited as examples of Roman architecture. But very little investigation below the surface has been carried on at any of these places. The Germans did a pretty thorough piece of work in clearing up around the great group of buildings at Baalbek, and made tentative studies of the buildings at Jerash (Gerasa) and in a few other sites without excavation. The American Expedition of 1899—

1900 has published measured drawings of buildings of the Roman period at Amman (Philadelphia), Bosra, Kanawat (Kanatha) and a large number of less important sites. Scholars of many nations, French, British, Germans, Austrians and Americans have traveled through Syria in search of inscriptions in Greek and Latin, and in five or six Semitic languages, and thousands of these written records have been published. But all this is only the smallest kind of a beginning in comparison with the work that is to be done for history and archæology even in these known localities. Dig anywhere in Syria and you will discover something of archæological interest.

The desert, too, is full of ruins of this important period, and the extent of Syria which is now deserted, but which was once fertile, seems limitless. The American and the Princeton expeditions have done the most extensive work of desert exploration. It is interesting to compare the present maps of Syria, with their large blank spaces with an ancient map discovered years ago and called after the finder, the *Tabula Pentingeriana*, a map made up in the fourth century after Christ from older materials, and showing the principal roads of the Roman Empire. One may easily make a scale of Roman miles, and apply it to the roads and places which are known, and will be astonished at the accuracy of the old measurements. From this we know the ancient names and the positions of ancient towns which foreign eyes have not beheld for almost fifteen hundred years.

The period known as early Christian is better represented in the archæological monuments of Syria than in those of any other part of the world that adopted the Christian faith at an early date. Some of the settled parts of the country possess important buildings of the period, like the Basilica which St. Helena built above the Manger of Bethlehem; but the desert, though barren

of all else, is fertile in remains of the early days of Christianity.

The desert parts of the old provinces of Syria and Arabia are like a vast Pompeii. Town after town rises unburied on high plateau or in sequestered valley, often appearing like a modern city when seen from a distance. The only destruction these places have known has been caused by ravages of time and earthquake. Many buildings are almost completely preserved and require only the restoration of their wooden roofs and floors to make them habitable, and some have roofs and floors of stone and are still well preserved. Here is the material with which to build up a complete picture of the material productions of a great people during the first six centuries of our era. All this is only architecture; to this we may add thousands of inscriptions which were engraved upon the edifices. It has never been possible to secure from the Turkish Government permission to dig and to explore at the same time. The buildings of the desert land require little excavation; but all the smaller objects of art are buried under the light soil. The smallest attempts to dig have produced beautiful objects of glass and bronze, ornaments of silver and gold, and coins. The great museums of the world hold objects of the rarest beauty, such as ivories and illuminated manuscripts which are known to have come from Syria. Indeed the Syrian schools of art are known to have had a most important influence upon the architecture and the other arts of France and of Europe in general during the Middle Ages. Our knowledge of these things is only in its infancy, but the stored up potential knowledge is almost infinite.

Sixty years ago the late Marquis de Vogue first called the attention of the scientific world to the vast number and importance of the monuments in desert Syria. A large number of measured drawings of buildings published by M. de Vogue introduced new chapters into all

the histories of architecture, and his volume on Semitic inscriptions greatly widened the field of Oriental studies; while the inscriptions in Greek and Latin brought out by M. Waddington shed an abundance of fresh light upon many historical problems. These renowned explorers had been preceded in parts of their field by English and German travelers who had copied a considerable number of inscriptions: but hardly any of their predecessors had called attention to the monuments of architecture; being too learned, one must assume, to have eyes for anything outside their own fields of study. In 1899 the American Expedition went out, followed in 1904, 1905, and 1909 by other expeditions from the United States sent out by Princeton University. These expeditions, better equipped for extensive desert travel than de Vogue had been, and equipped with cartographers, an architect, and experts in Classical and Oriental epigraphy, revisited the sites discovered by the pioneer explorer, taking photographs of the monuments which he had published only in drawings (for his journey was made before the days of photography in the field), measuring and photographing other monuments in the same places, and extending explorations much farther into the desert, taking careful records of all the important monuments and making copies of inscriptions. Hundreds of miles were covered by these expeditions. About 250 ancient towns were restored to the map of Syria, with architectural monuments or inscriptions, or both from almost all of them. And yet, when the area of these explorations is added to the map, it is most astonishing to observe how much territory still remains to be explored, and it is quite probable that as much, or even more, that is of archæological interest will be discovered in those parts of the desert that are still unknown.

The history of Asia Minor is the most kaleidoscopic of all the parts of the Turkish Empire. Its culture, par-

ticularly as represented in monuments of art, began almost as early as any, under the Hittites before 2000 B.C. and continued longer, even well down into the Middle Ages in the hands of the Seljuk Turks. The land was inhabited by many different races, speaking many different languages, even during single periods; it was divided up into many independent states which encroached upon each other from time to time. It was dominated again and again by one or more of these native states that had grown more powerful than the others; it was ruled entirely or in part, at one time or another, by foreign powers—Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans and Byzantines. It was overrun by Gauls, Mongols and Tartars, and finally fell to the Turks, first the Seljuks and then the Ottomans, in whose hands it still remains. Hence its political geography and history, its archæology and philology are the most complicated and intricate in all the world.

Relics of the old Stone Age have been found in almost all parts of Asia Minor; but in the earliest historical times the Hittites dominated the high plateau of the middle of the peninsula, and had a great capital at a place now called Boghaz Köi. This place has been quite thoroughly, though not completely, excavated, and has yielded remarkable monuments of architecture and sculpture and many inscriptions in the Hittite language which is still for the most part indecipherable. To the westward, remains of Hittite art extend almost to the Ægean Sea, exemplified in such works as the rock sculptures of Mons Siloylus and the Kara Bel. This people seems to have spread well over the interior of Asia Minor, and we may yet discover Hittite remains beneath the ruins of many an Hellenistic city. We are gradually beginning to learn something about the Hittites. If we could only discover a definite key to their writing we should probably have a new Bible of information about

them; for the Hittite inscriptions already known are very numerous.

After the Hittite period, and perhaps during or even before it, the rest of Asia Minor was divided up among a host of tribes who lived in the mountains or occupied the river valleys of that region which is so completely broken up by irregular chains of mountains and high plateaus. No less than fifteen separate nations, speaking almost as many tongues, appear in the very earliest records. These records are scant indeed.

Then appears, like a flash in the dark, a highly developed Hellenic culture in Ionia, that strip along the Ægean Sea. How early it came there or by what means, we do not know. Of their civilization, their art, their languages, we know next to nothing; not because the knowledge is not to be had, but because we do not look for it in the places where we know it is buried. In addition to our knowledge of the high culture of the federated city-states of Ionia, we begin to receive information, through Greek channels, of highly civilized native states in touch with the Hellenic world. We see Persia advancing to overthrow one state after another. Then Alexander the Great sets them free, or takes them into his new empire, then they pass into a new empire, the empire of Rome, under whose sway they were encouraged to continue the march of Hellenistic culture. At Didyma, Priene, Sardis and Aphrodisias, one may see the splendid remains of temples that have been overthrown, as at Magnesia, Teos and Pergamos. From several places exquisite pieces of sculpture have been taken, after little or no excavation, to adorn the great museums of Europe, among which may be mentioned the sculptures from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassus and the beautiful marble Demeter of Cnidus now in the British Museum, and the remarkable reliefs from the great altar of Pergamos now in the Museum at Berlin. These may

be taken as specimens of the kind of art produced in Asia Minor during one of the greatest periods of Greek sculpture, and we are safe in assuming that the soil of Asia Minor hides hundreds of similar works of art.

Under Roman rule the greater cities which had already attained prominence in the field of art, cities like Ephesus, Miletos, Pergamos, Halikarnassus and Sardis, and the smaller cities, like Didyma, Priene, Cnidus, Magnesia and Klagomenai, still preserved their artistic monuments of the former age and took on a new artistic impulse, under imperial patronage, without materially altering their artistic traditions; for the policy of Rome in these provinces was to cultivate and extend Hellenistic culture. Hundreds of cities came into prominence from one end of Asia Minor to the other. We have no idea as to what these places were like during their earlier history; but, from the time of their inclusion in the Roman Empire, they began to produce works of art. Some of the small temples of the Roman period in distant parts of Asia Minor are among the most beautiful monuments of the time; theaters which are among the most interesting known are to be seen in many of the small provincial towns of the interior, monumental tombs and other monuments of great interest and of real artistic merit, are scattered all over the wildest parts of the country, and inscriptions in Greek abound everywhere. There is an almost endless amount of exploration to be done in the archæology of this period in Asia Minor, exploration that would be rewarded with important discoveries. There are hundreds of buildings to be photographed and properly published; all these above ground. The amount of investigation that remains to be done below the surface is practically unlimited.

The Christian period also was a productive one in all parts of Asia Minor and in Armenia; the remains of churches and other monuments of the period are not so

conspicuous in the large centers of population where they have been destroyed; but in the outlying districts where they are often exceedingly well preserved. The fact that a small area of ruins in southeastern Asia Minor should be called by the Turks *Binklisse* (the thousand and one churches) is significant of the extent of the remains of early Christian architecture. Of late almost every year has brought the discovery of some new group of early churches, such as those of Cilicia and Lycaonia. For a long time we have known of the existence of churches of great antiquity in Armenia. The history of this country in Christian times is unique in that Eusebius, an early Christian writer, speaks of having seen a letter written by Christ to the Armenian king. The architecture of this period, represented in mosques, monumental gateways and other structures, at many places in Asia Minor, but particularly at Konia, the exquisite tiles and other faïence, the bronze work and the wood work are all worthy of careful study and elaborate publications, yet very little has been done to place this art before the eyes of the world.

There is a vast discrepancy between the amount of archæological work to be done and the amount that has been done in Asia Minor. The areas that have been carefully explored even superficially are pitifully small in comparison with those that have been thoroughly explored, the number of ancient names of cities and towns that have not yet been attached to sites is astonishing, and the number of places that have been even partly excavated is absurdly small in proportion to the number that would certainly yield important results.

The earlier expeditions to the coast cities were little more than looting parties in search of antiquities, sculptures primarily, which were to adorn the halls of the museums of Europe.

Schliemann's excavations at Troy, between 1870 and

1882, were the first serious attempt at the excavation of an ancient site in Asia Minor, and the first to be made in connection with prehistoric or Homeric archæology. Although criticisms have been made of his methods, he was the first archæologist to excavate in Asia Minor with a true scientific spirit, and his discoveries made an epoch in archæology. Since Schliemann's time little progress has been made in the field of the earlier Hellenic or Ægean archæology of Asia Minor. The excavations at Boghaz Köi have brought to light an almost unknown phase of Anatolian history, and have made the Ottoman Museum in Constantinople enviably rich in monuments of Hittite art. Less extensive and less thorough excavations at Gordeion have begun to reveal the culture of Midas' Kingdom in Phrygia. Outside of these three sites, Boghaz Köi of the Hittites, Gordeion for the early Phrygians, and Troy for the prehistoric Greeks of Asia, little investigation of the earlier cultures of Asia Minor has been carried on, and these excavations have shed much new darkness as well as much new light upon the subject, because they tell us of our vast ignorance of peoples of whom there is much to learn and of whom we had barely heard.

In the historical period rather more extensive work has been done. The English have uncovered important remains of the early Ionian and Crœsean periods at Ephesus, and the Austrians and Germans have unearthed parts of the Hellenistic cities of Ephesus, Miletos, Pergamos, Priene and Didyma. As one might expect, remains of the period of the successors of Alexander and of that of Roman rule are inextricably mixed at most of these places. Priene turned out to be a Greek Pompeii, largely of the third century before Christ, but at the four other sites buildings of the Roman period were found among older buildings or superimposed upon older foundations, and sculptures and inscriptions of both periods were

discovered in hopeless confusion. Nevertheless most important additions were made to our knowledge of typography, architecture and sculpture, of history by means of the inscriptions, and many beautiful works of art have been given to the world by these excavations. In many instances the wonderful state of preservation in which the streets and the buildings of later periods are found rendered it difficult, or even impossible, to examine the lower strata for more ancient remains. Comparatively little was added to our knowledge of the minor arts of these cities.

The work of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, begun in 1910 and temporarily abandoned in 1914 because of the war, was the first directed toward investigations in ancient Lydia. The Lydians were known to have established a great empire in the heart of Asia Minor, they were known to have had close relations with more ancient civilizations to the east and with more recent though more renowned civilizations to the west. They were believed to have had an important influence upon Greek culture, but little else was known about them. The first four seasons' digging were devoted to the unearthing of a colossal temple of Artemis of the Hellenistic age, with details of unusual beauty; but during these excavations and during the final campaign, much important material connected directly with Lydian culture was brought to light. The Lydian language was discovered, and has been partly deciphered, Lydian architectural terra-cottas, Lydian sculptures, Lydian pottery, ivories, bronzes, silverware, gold ornaments and jewelry, and Lydian engraved seals; all showing a high development of art apparently native to the soil of Lydia. Pottery fragments found in the lower strata of the excavations are believed to show that Sardis existed as a center of culture in the second millennium before Christ. The Hittites occupied Lydia at one time,

it is not impossible that the Hittite idiographic writing and Lydian alphabetical writing existed at one time side by side. We shall soon be able to read the Lydian, and if we find Hittite-Lydian bilingual inscriptions, we shall have opened the great library of Hittite writings which is still composed of sealed books.

Excavations less important, because less thorough and extensive, have been carried on at several other places near the coast, some of these, like the excavations at Magnesia, Mæandrum, Teos and the Smintheum, consisted of little more than clearing out about one or more buildings not deeply buried. At Cnidus a few pits and trenches brought to light marvelous sculptures and gained a glimpse of the former extent and magnificence of the city. At Halikarnassus, which the ancients knew as a city of peculiar splendor, only the site of the Mausoleum has been thoroughly excavated. The excavations at Assos in the Troad were only sufficient to whet the archæologist's appetite for more information about a beautiful city, and the recent digging at Antioch in Pesidia has no more than introduced an ancient site to the world. Pits dug at Klazomenæ have yielded some beautiful painted sarcophagi of early date. The excavations of the Turkish Museum at Notium (New Colophon) had begun to interest the archæologist, a few trenches at Phœcia brought forth pottery and other significant archæological material. At other places, wherever the archæologist has employed the spade however casually, monuments of historical significance have been brought forth, and wherever the spade of the peasant delves deep enough, objects of one kind or another come to light. If these are intrinsically valuable, and if they are not melted up, they eventually reach the antiquity dealers of Smyrna; if they are fragile they are soon broken and thrown away, because their finders are ignorant of their archæological value; if they are bulky, like statues of

efficiency of oil over coal for fuel purposes have revolutionized communication; at the same time, these developments have made this whole question more important than ever before.

The significance in Turkey of modern means of transportation must be viewed more from the standpoint of strategy and exploitation of natural resources such as petroleum, metals, and cotton, than from that of strictly transportation ventures. A railway concession carries with it commercial privileges for the development of neighboring treasures, primarily mines, forests, water supply for irrigation or power purposes, and port works. Without these attractive features, neither the Baghdad Railway nor the projected Eastern Anatolian (Chester) Railways would have the slightest attraction for the investor. On the basis of military strategy, too, both railway systems, the former partly finished, the latter discarded temporarily at least, possess advantages which the Turk would be the last person to discount; for, it is well known that both in Europe and in Asia, the Ottoman railways were kept whenever possible at least ten miles from the sea—an antiquated precaution against the present-day forty mile or more range of a modern battleship. Foreign concessionaires are willing to disregard the likelihood of losses from railway operation provided there are promising sources of gain to more than counterbalance these deficits.

That the former Ottoman Empire had mortgaged a large share of the country's economic assets is a common belief. But the validity of underlying and supplementary concessions taxes the keenness of the ablest Levantine lawyers. Difficult it is to trace out a history of the individual concessions, and to locate documents some of which are still hidden from public view. Political changes are an additional annoyance. The numerous heirs of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid claim large

property rights in the Mosul oil fields and elsewhere. Nationalist Turkey has refused to recognize all concessions granted by the Sublime Porte subsequent to March 15, 1920, the date of the occupation of Constantinople (Select Document 19). The subject of concessions is treated at some length in the chapter on Levantine Concession-Hunting.

In the present chapter, the chief considerations underlying transportation and communication by water, land, and air, are noted. To this objective, there are described briefly the location of leading business centers and of trade routes, and the characteristic features of the various vehicles of transportation which compete for the carrying of passengers, mail, and freight. Among the modes of communication, shipping, beasts of burden, and railways receive major attention: the postal, telegraph, and air transport services are described briefly. The abnormal situation in the Near East since October, 1914, makes us place more reliance upon decade old rather than upon up to date data, notwithstanding the occurrence of the prior Turko-Italian and the two Balkan wars. Statistics since 1914 are of scant value. Therefore, frequent reference is made herein to the Ottoman Empire of 1914. The reader, however, should not forget that Iraq, Syria, Palestine, and the Yemen no longer belong to Turkey.

The study of local communication must take into account the following conditions under these five points: (a) the territory is undeveloped, and sparsely populated by persons who are mostly in very modest circumstances and who travel little; (b) transportation facilities are backward; (c) there is a marked tendency for the more modern facilities to supplant the others; (d) local and foreign spheres of influence are tremendous factors; and (e) the internal prosperity is more or less proportional to the progress and state of communica-

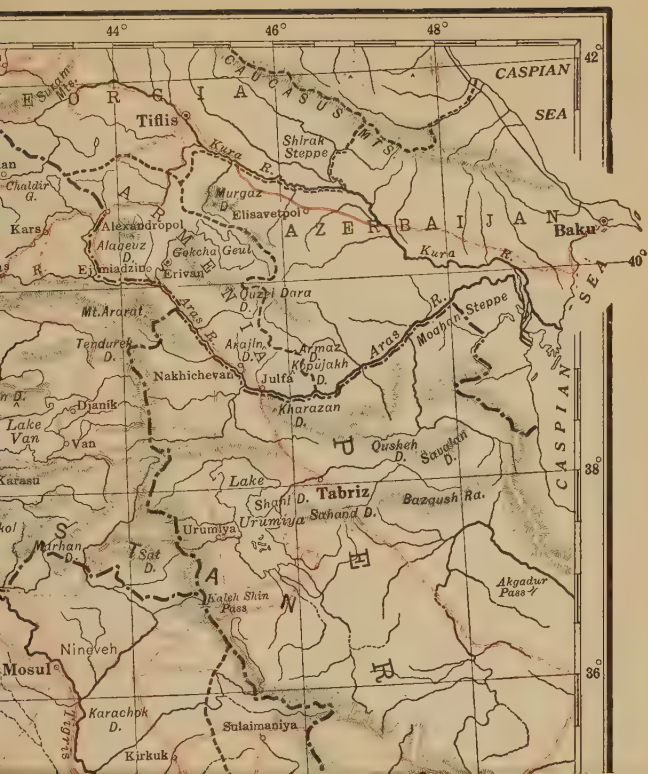
tions. Each of these five features is illustrated here with.

The traveller into the interior of Asia Minor is impressed immediately with the scarcity of population. There are few cities of any size. The straggling groups of dwellings seem to offer little reason for modern improvements in transportation. Away from the more prosperous cities the population does not number more than five to the square mile. The inhabitants of these scantily settled regions require practically no imports from abroad, nor have they money or goods to purchase local products other than the simplest articles of necessity. Because of the lack of adequate transportation, there is no incentive to provide a surplus for outside localities. There may be grain rotting in one community while a hundred miles away there is famine. Not only is the country in a primitive state in regard to the development of natural resources, but also it is noticeable that even on the part of prosperous business men of Constantinople or Smyrna, there is little travelling. To illustrate this point, the writer recalls a trip from Constantinople to Samsun in company with an Armenian employed by a leading foreign firm. This man, perhaps forty-five years old, had lived all his life in Constantinople, but this was his first experience on the Black Sea, less than twenty miles away. Likewise, many influential, internationally known citizens of former Ottoman nationality have never been in Asia. (Every true Moslem, however, hopes to make one pilgrimage to his sacred cities.) The foreign tourist traffic to Turkey is considerable, yet probably not one fifth that of Egypt. Approximately 25,000 Western tourists, about one-half of them Americans, visit Constantinople each year; their number is increasing due to the excellent Mediterranean tours conducted by well-known travel companies.

Communication facilities are simple for the most part.



Turkish Highways of Trade and Communication.



especially in the regions not traversed by railways, where the mule, donkey, camel or ox are commonly used. Railways in Turkey, though limited in extent, are well constructed, and normally would provide creditable service. (In November, 1923, the 360 mile all-rail journey from Constantinople to Angora required 36 hours.)

Primitive animal transportation persists because it has no commercial competition. Still, the carrying costs of the former are so high that only a few products can stand the charges, which, nevertheless, are not unreasonable in consideration of the modes of travel. Many recent writers have overemphasized the present importance of the camel-carried trade. The use of other animals is frequently more economical. Furthermore, the camel is unable to compete with the railway in any more marked degree than the horse can compete with the automobile. The two following illustrations are based upon Trebizond and Smyrna.

Trebizond on the Black Sea coast owes its importance in history largely to its location as the terminus of the routes from the interior, mainly, the Persian caravan route. For the five year period, 1861-1865, the average yearly exports from Persia to this port amounted to \$5,000,000, and the average imports destined for Persia amounted to \$6,500,000. But for the period 1906-1910 inclusive the average annual exports dropped to \$675,000 and the imports to \$1,580,000. This remarkable decline, which is evident both in the value and in the quantity of goods, can be accounted for partly by favorable Russian commercial tariffs and special freight rates; but the deciding factor, to the detriment of Trebizond, was the building of the Transcaucasian railway with its main terminus at Batum, at the eastern end of the Black Sea.

Another illustration of the comparative inferiority of the camel is based on information furnished me in 1921

by reliable trading firms of Smyrna. One company stated that practically all products with the exception of firewood and charcoal from nearby villages enter Smyrna from the interior by rail. Another firm stated that the "per cent of products for regions from the interior by rail was more than 80 per cent of the aggregate, although under normal circumstances the share of rail transport would be larger." A third firm prepared a table based on conditions in January, 1921, which gives detailed figures for normal imports from Baidir and Pergamos and estimated figures from other hinterland districts. This table which is reproduced here,* classifies the merchandise according to cereals, fruit, and miscellaneous, and gives estimated percentages according to the methods of transportation. Thus, despite the number of camels and other animals engaged in the carrying trade, modern railways and ships account for most of the traffic movement in the Aidin province.

Location	Tons Produced Annually (Est.)				Perctgs. Bought in by		
	Cereals	Fruit	Other	Railroads	Carts	Camels	Ships
Aidin	15,269	400	3,844	100%	.....	.....	.....
Aivali .....	.....	3,513	14,114	.....	.....	.....	100%
Edremid .....	.....	.....	Olive Oil	.....	.....	.....	100%
Ak Hisar	1,692	240	2,085	100%	.....	.....	.....
Ak Shehr	2,895	3,385	239	100%	.....	.....	.....
Kassaba	32	14	4,295	75%	12½%	12½%	.....
Chesme .....	.....	127	269	.....	25%	.....	75%
Endemish	3,950	2,313	7,042	100%	.....	.....	.....
Kirk Agach	367	532	322	100%	.....	.....	.....
Magnesia	2,000	4,000	3,200	90%	10%	.....	.....
Muradieh	90	641	833	100%	.....	.....	.....
Salahiya	9,513	2,820	32,142	100%	.....	.....	.....
Thyra	5,298	1,045	8,051	100%	.....	.....	.....
Vurla .....	.....	8,974	1,089	.....	80%	20%	.....

(Normal)

Baidir	2,564	423	9,035	100%	.....	.....	.....
Pergamos	3,705	432	2,769	100%	.....	.....	.....

The lack of adequate communication¹ is one of the greatest handicaps which Turkey is experiencing at the present time. It is noteworthy that the regions traversed by railways have been those which have become conspicuously productive² in the space of a very few years.

But before describing the present status of railway transportation, it may be well to describe other means of communication, some of which have been in use from time immemorial.

SEAPORTS AND SHIPPING

The sea lanes are the natural western approach to Turkey, whose frontiers are still mainly along the coast. Before the Great War, the land boundaries in Europe were Bulgaria and Greece, and in the Middle East, the Caucasus and Persia. In 1923, the European boundary remains practically the same: but in Turkey-in-Asia, there is no national outlet to the southeastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, or the Indian Ocean. The southern frontier is now roughly contiguous to the northern land limits of Syria and Iraq. To appreciate the import of the diminished area of New Turkey, with particular reference to port commerce, consult the special table in the chapter on Foreign and Domestic Commerce. The seacoast cities have a large part in Turkey's welfare both because of the inaccessibility of

¹ There are the special territorial privileges accorded to foreign nationals, described in considerable detail later in this chapter. The parcelling out of these special privileges has hindered the possibility of a unified transportation system and at the same time it has turned trade from its natural routes.

² But not only should physical means of transportation be adequate but also travelling should be made safer. The German scholar, Ratzel, has shown that the periods of prosperity in Asia Minor have been those times when roads were adequately protected and travel was reasonably safe. This observation has been a result of researches extending from six centuries before the time of Christ until the present day. This conclusion requires no elaboration.

interior places and on account of the very extensive coast line. For present-day Turkey, the ports may be classified into those on the Black Sea, on the Straits (Bosporus, Sea of Marmara, and Dardanelles), and in western and southwestern Anatolia.

The leading Turkish Black Sea ports are Trebizond, Samsun, Ineboli, and Songuldak. Trebizond suffers from the competition of Batum (returned by Soviet Russia to Turkey in 1921, subsequently turned over under a special arrangement to Georgia), and also from that of Samsun. Products, principally tobacco, filberts and eggs, produced in the immediate vicinity will continue probably to be exported through Trebizond; but the tendency along the Black Sea coast is towards decentralization of trade entrepôts. Thus, to the east, Batum takes away considerable business; a few miles to the west, Tireboli has some importance; while Samsun stands out as the most promising port along the southern coast of the Black Sea. Trebizond is handicapped by a difficult hinterland which does not permit the building of serviceable roads or railways. Samsun, however, is the sea terminus of important Anatolian trade routes extending in southeasterly and southwesterly directions. The projected Black Sea railways, initiated by French interests before the Great War but included with many extensions in the abortive concessions of the Ottoman-American Development Company, would enhance tremendously the economic development of this rich region. Under present conditions, the roads back of Samsun are nearly impassable during several weeks in the year when the journey between Samsun and Angora requires nearly a month. Ineboli is a more advantageous port for the Turkish capital. It seems likely, however, that the usual method of communication from the outside world with Angora will continue to be by the Anatolian Railway line which has been in operation for many years. Songuldak, together with Koslu

bay and Eregli (Heraclea), are conspicuous as the only Turkish coal exporting ports of Anatolia. Other Turkish Black Sea ports of local importance are Rizeh, Ordu, and Sinope.

The leading coast cities along the Straits are Constantinople, Haidar Pasha, Izmid, Mudania, Panderma, and Chanaq. Of these, the foremost place falls naturally to Constantinople due to its superb location which is concerned with all Black Sea-Mediterranean through shipping, and to its excellent harbor. As a transit port, Constantinople has a unique place among world shipping centers, well-illustrated by the accompanying table of arrivals and clearances in the year 1914. Noteworthy is the fact that less than 25 per cent of the Black Sea shipping in either direction has Constantinople as the port of origin or of final destination. Yet the maritime, and to a less degree, the commercial importance of the City rests more largely with the fortunes of the Black Sea territory outside of Turkey than with those of Turkey-in-Asia. With an unproductive European hinterland, the surplus produce provided for export is small. Its shipping activities are devoted primarily to through traffic and transshipment. But transshipment charges are heavy. During 1919 and 1920, landing charges from ship's side to warehouse, separated by only a couple of hundred yards, were maintained for a time at a price in excess of \$35 a ton because of inadequate quay and warehouse accommodation,—with the result that many commodities grown on the Turkish Black Sea coast, including tobacco, were not handled locally if this procedure could be avoided. Unless conditions are improved at Constantinople, there is every likelihood that also in an era of peace the numerous smaller ports may increase their shipping totals.

Across from Constantinople there is the port of Haidar Pasha, which is the starting point for the Anatolian Rail-

ARRIVALS AND CLEARANCES AT CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1914

(Excluding sailing and small coasting vessels)

<i>Regular Mail Steamship Services</i>	<i>Arrived from and Cleared for Mediterranean</i>		<i>Arrived from the Mediterranean and Cleared for the Black Sea</i>		<i>Arrived from the Black Sea and Cleared for the Mediterranean</i>		<i>Arrived from and Cleared for the Black Sea</i>	
	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage	Number	Tonnage
British: Khedivial Mail Steamship Company	55	77,296	1	2,106	1	2,106	..	.....
Austro-Hungarian: Austrian Lloyd Steam Navigation Company	86	119,095	139	204,886	141	208,780	7	9,410
French: Messageries Maritimes	45	91,326	44	75,196	45	76,907	..	.....
French: Fraissinet & Cie	8	10,951	16	22,651	17	23,572	..	.....
Greek: Panhellenic Company .....	..	.....	55	53,699	56	54,591	..	.....
Italian: Florio Rubattino Line	5	8,140	113	192,510	112	190,901	..	.....
Russian: Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company .....	..	.....	158	265,129	155	259,657	114	82,581
Turkish: Mahsussie Steamship Company	23	25,883	36	27,112	18	17,495	49	39,986
Turkish: Courtgi & Company	79	23,245	35	16,506	33	12,492	39	29,034
Other Vessels:								
British	92	141,388	1,897	3,536,718	1,894	3,530,497	1	1,203
Austro-Hungarian	1	1,995	188	350,715	187	350,132	17	9,320
German	11	28,815	155	241,905	153	240,904	1	1,389
Greek	191	45,798	915	1,092,554	910	1,097,013	18	10,432
Italian	8	8,397	236	356,001	236	356,157	..	.....
Other nations	124	60,699	441	594,256	427	605,556	249	181,034
Total	728	643,028	4,429	7,031,944	4,385	7,026,760	1,495	364,889

Total number of arrivals and clearances, 10,037; tonnage, 15,066,621.

way, the northwestern connection of the Baghdad Railway. Many projects have been advanced for connecting the ports of Europe and of Asia by either a tunnel or a bridge. The proposal which has met with most favor has been to erect one or the other structure from Stamboul, near the site of the Mosque of St. Sophia, to Scutari, on the Asiatic side between the landing places of Salajak Skelese and Harem Skelesi. Plans have been drawn for making this bridge serve railway, street car, carriage, and passenger traffic. A suitable European-Asiatic connection of this character would solve many shipping difficulties and would prove the most valuable boom conceivable for both water and rail services in the metropolitan area.

There are valuable possibilities in the development of a high-grade but rather small port on the Gulf of Izmid (perhaps at Derinje), fifty miles from Constantinople, which has the present advantage of being the outlet for extensive handling of cereals and other bulky products from nearby sections of Anatolia. This latter port received considerable attention from German railway interests before the World War, and following the Armistice was the main storage and distribution center for the Near East Relief. Mudania is the terminus of the railway from Brusa. Panderma is the terminus of the Smyrna-Kassaba railway. Chanaq, strategically located on the Asiatic shore near the entrance of the Dardanelles, and not far from the site of ancient Troy, can assume somewhat larger commercial importance than at present, but its value should continue predominantly military and naval. A French company is reported to have the concession for a railway from Smyrna to Chanaq. Mention should also be made of the small European coast town of Rodosto in eastern Thrace, a midpoint between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

The Mediterranean ports of Turkey are many. By

far the most important of these is Smyrna, situated at the head of the deep, attractive gulf of the same name, the natural inlet and outlet for an exceedingly productive hinterland. Its economic importance exceeds that of all other Turkish cities in Turkey-in-Asia. It is second only to Constantinople as the leading commercial city in the State, but in certain respects it has even greater significance than the former Imperial City. Despite the preferential freight rates on the German railways before the War which diverted much traffic away from Smyrna to Constantinople, in 1914 the exports from Smyrna exceeded those from Constantinople, while from the standpoint of imports, it ranked second only. The railway and road connections from the interior are unusually good. The great, fertile stretch of country surrounding Smyrna can produce several times its best past record. In order to improve its economic status, however, the warehouse facilities which are owned by the powerful Quay Company, a French enterprise, should be enlarged and improved. A reduction in their onerous charges would profit the whole region. Due to the vast conflagration of 1922 which swept over the Armenian and Greek sections, business has become exceedingly quiet; but it seems inevitable that Smyrna will be rebuilt as in the past, but next time, probably on more modern lines. Immediately after the World War, the Italians developed actively shipping and trade at the nearby port of Scala Nuova, to the extreme detriment of Smyrna. This situation which was produced by the Nationalist boycott on Smyrna, then under a Greek High Commissioner, illustrates the potential competition between adjacent ports.

Of the other ports along the Anatolian coast, Aivali, Makri, Adalia, Mersina, and Yumurtalik are the most conspicuous. Makri is noteworthy as the chief emery-exporting port. Mersina, as the terminus of the Adana-Tarsus-Mersina railway, is the natural outlet for the



For Centuries, the Sand Walls of Stamboul were the Chief European
Barricade against the Barbarian Hordes.



Courtesy National Geographic Magazine

Contrast between the Old and the New in Modern Turkey.

fertile Cilician plain. It is reported that a French firm has secured the concession for port works. Mersina does not tap Syria and the back country but the Nationalist Government has announced its intention of developing the port at Yumurtalik which is on the western side of the Gulf of Alexandretta and is likely to become a serious competitor of the famous port of Alexandretta. Yumurtalik (practically synonymous with Ayas) can become a superior port to Alexandretta providing its harbor is dredged and that it is protected from further silting through an undertaking whereby the river Jihun is turned back to its former channel. In the Ottoman-American Development Company concessions, great importance was attached to the early construction of the railway from the Persian border terminating at this newly devised outlet. To date, the Turks in Turkey and the French in Syria have an artificial barrier through the enactment of high customs duties and due to the failure to provide for easy transfer of commodities. (See the chapter on Foreign and Domestic Commerce.) The future of ports around the Gulf of Alexandretta, as well as in other parts of western Asia, seems likely to be governed largely by special interests accorded to foreign national groups, based on considerations not confined to those of transportation merely.

The shipping situation in 1923 differs from that of 1914 chiefly in the greatly lessened traffic, the aftermath of events following 1918, and in the displacement of Austrian and German vessels mainly by those of Italian, British and American nationalities. In 1914, the carrying trade was controlled by foreign companies, mainly British, German, Austrian, Greek, French, and Italian. The British are maintaining their shipping in Turkey. As yet infrequent German ships visit Turkish ports although a change in this regard would not be unexpected. The excellent former Austrian liners are now owned and

operated by the Italians. The typical, small Greek liners and "tramps" in Turkish waters are both finding little business and are subject to many restrictions which are proving prohibitory in character. To compensate for this heavy loss, the Hellenic shipping interests are endeavoring to cultivate close maritime relations with the Soviet States touching the Black Sea. Striking is the fact that it was not until May 9, 1919, that an American owned and registered merchant vessel had ever appeared in Constantinople harbor; yet, during the balance of that year, 56 vessels flying the American flag called there. Very few Turkish vessels have engaged in foreign shipping.

In 1914, Turkey's merchant marine amounted to approximately 110,000 tons, of which somewhat less than 50,000 tons remain. The Turks have made limited purchases of small craft during the past decade but the vessels are mostly small. The Turkish Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople announced on November 1, 1923, that the Seri Sefain firm owned six vessels in excess of 3,000 tons while no other Turkish company has any vessel larger than 1,000 tons. The condition of practically all Turkish ships leaves much to be desired. The foregoing information, which applies apparently only to ships registered at Constantinople (although the November issue of the *Bulletin* of the Turkish Chamber does not make clear this distinction) has been presented in this table:

TURKISH MERCHANT MARINE, NOVEMBER 1, 1923

<i>Operating Company</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Tonnage</i>
Seri Sefain	35	37,494
Chirket-i-Hairie	27	4,815
Golden Horn Shipping Co.	16	1,397
Other companies	47	30,242
Miscellaneous vessels in the port of Constantinople	17	4,300
Tugboats, etc.	123	1,200
Steam barks	190	3,500
Total	455	82,948

The Turkish coastwise shipping (maritime cabotage) has in the past been open to all nations. Until recently, Greek ships have figured most prominently in this business. Italian, British and Turkish small craft have also been conspicuous. By agreements signed at Lausanne, however, Turkey is reserving for herself as far as possible this internal shipping. In the correspondence exchanged between Ismet Pasha and Sir Horace Rumbold, the former wrote that "the Turkish Government having decided to reserve cabotage to the national flag," extends the privilege of engaging in this trade to three British firms—the Khedivial Mail Steamship and Graving Dock Company, Ltd., M. and J. Constant, and the Ellerman Line, Ltd.—by virtue of "reciprocal treatment on the coasts of Great Britain." Nevertheless Turkey may permit ships of other nationalities to operate between Turkish ports in accordance with Article 9 of the Commercial Convention whereby "Turkey undertakes, on condition that reciprocity is accorded in this matter, to grant to the ships of the other Contracting Powers a treatment equal to that which she grants to national ships, or any more favorable treatment that she grants or may grant to the ships of any other Power." As an indication of the increasing share in local cabotage by Moslem Turks, it is well known that Mustafa Kemal's father-in-law has become a leading factor in this business. A report (November, 1923) from Athens announced that two ships formerly belonging to the Anglo-Belgian-Greek Company of Smyrna have been purchased by him and that a third ship has also been added to his fleet. (The names given to these three ships are said to be Mustafa Kemal, Smyrna, and New Turkey.)

The bulk of the shipping in Turkish waters has been by boats of less than 800 tons, which have acted both as main carriers and as feeders for the regular liners and the large "tramps." In fact, the logical shipping prac-

tice in Turkey calls for loading and unloading cargoes at a limited number of distributing centers, with the smaller craft serving as auxiliaries. Since the War there have been two shipping "conferences," one Greek and the other British. Neither conference, however, embraced all national liners. The plans devised by the separate conferences, of according shippers a 10 per cent deferred rebate for exclusive patronage, has been the cause of little criticism, because their regular sailing schedules have helped to bring stability into chaotic conditions on the principle of "live and let live." Yet the small, dirty craft, consisting of both steamers and sailing vessels, travelling on a will-of-the-wisp schedule, still is the most typical means of passenger and cargo transportation seen in Turkish waters.

The most successful shipping companies are those which have made a careful study of both Turkish and adjacent ports. Generally it is possible to pick up different classes of cargo at the various ports during most of the year. Ships calling in the eastern Mediterranean and Black seas can secure cotton and cotton-seed oil at Alexandria, silk and fruits at Beirut, emery at Makri, dried fruits and rugs at Smyrna, tobacco at Samsun, nuts and eggs at Trebizond, petroleum products at Batum, manganese at Poti, wheat at Novorossisk, and valuable cargoes as well at Nicolaev, Odessa, Galatz, Constanza, Varna, Burgas, Kavala, Salonika, Piraeus, and Patras.

INTERIOR CITIES AND WATERWAYS

To discover the main interior centers of trade and communication, one cannot go far wrong in naming the capitals of the vilayets and sanjaks. Among the most prominent are Eski Shehr, Afium Qarahisar, Konia, Adana, Angora, Amasia, Sivas, Diarbekr, Nisibin, Van,

Bitlis, and Kharput. Primitive conditions exist in all these localities. Their importance is due not to industrial development or commercial enterprise but rather to their situation on through travel routes. Of immeasurably less importance than the coast cities from the standpoint of foreign trade, the interior distributing points, nevertheless, are the scene of the great majority of domestic trade transactions.

Lakes and rivers provide very little transportation in Turkey. The only large lake, Lake Van, which is situated in eastern Asia Minor, is used only by small sailing craft; but with the logical development of the surrounding country it can achieve considerable importance. In the Konia region, the Smyrna-Aidin railway has navigation rights on Lake Egerdir, and in coöperation with the Baghdad Railway, holds similar rights on Lake Beyshehr.

The rivers of Anatolia are of scant present importance, since they are for the most part navigable merely for a short distance from the coast, and cannot be relied upon due to the frequent torrents in the rainy season and to the dry summer weather. Their possibilities lie more in connection with irrigation and with hydroelectric power. The main streams are the Sakkaria (sanjak of Izmid) and the Kizil Irmak (vilayet of Trebizond) which flow into the Black Sea, the Su Sığirli Çayı which flows into the Sea of Marmara, and the Sihun and Jihun (vilayet of Adana) which enter the Mediterranean.

By far the most important rivers of the Ottoman Empire were the Tigris and the Euphrates; but save for the headwaters, these rivers are located wholly outside of New Turkey. Above Baghdad, the Tigris is utilized only by rafts made of inflated skins. The Euphrates, which is navigable to Hit, situated somewhat northwest of Baghdad, offers a possibility for an all-water route between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea.

Chesney, in his famous expedition a century ago, reported that the Euphrates was navigable on a latitude approximately ninety kilometers east of Aleppo, and that it could be made navigable as far as Birejik. The present handicaps largely relate to shifting sand banks and to shallow water; but these difficulties are not insurmountable. Further information regarding the water supply is contained in the chapter dealing with Irrigation.

HIGHWAYS AND ANIMAL TRANSPORT

The most famous caravan routes in the Ottoman Empire were the pilgrim trails across the Arabian deserts to the holy Mohammedan cities of Mecca and Al Madina and to Karbala near the Euphrates river, and the three great trade highways known as Baghdad-Aleppo-Damascus, Baghdad-Samsun, and Baghdad-Hamadan. These routes, together with many of lesser importance, are available for wheeled vehicles.

There are five main highways in Turkey-in-Asia. The famous Baghdad highway from Samsun passes through Amasia-Tokat-Sivas-Kharput-Diarbekr-Mosul. A second important road is that along the Eregli-Kaisarieh-Malatia-Kharput-Diarbekr-Mardin course. There is a fairly good road between Sivas and Kaisarieh, and one from Aleppo to Urfa and Diarbekr. The fifth highway is the historical caravan route from Trebizond via Biaburt to Erzerum, which has been adopted as a road for wheeled vehicles since 1872. This last-mentioned road, which has an average width of eighteen feet, is kept in fairly good condition, and despite heavy snows, is open to traffic most of the year. Other roads in Anatolia, which have less importance, however, are those from Kharput to Khozat, Kharput to Egin, Unieh to Tokat, and Adalia to Elmalı. There is an exceedingly good road through the Cilician gates from Eregli to Tarsus, crossed by a road running

to Adana and Alexandretta in one direction and to Mersina and Karaman in the other.

Turkish roads are placed by the government into three classes: (a) those which connect the capital of a vilayet with the nearest port or railway station, such highways to have a width of five meters; (b) those which join the capitals of vilayets, these to have a width of four meters; and (c) those which connect the chief towns of the kazas with one another, with other highways, or with harbors or railways. Forced labor on the road may be required of the inhabitants of the vilayet by the *vali* (governor). Notwithstanding this legislation, neither has the forced labor produced unsatisfactory results, nor have the roads been kept in repair. Frequently, the fields are traversed in preference. Recognizing the deficiencies, in consultation with the War Department the Ottoman Minister of Public Works ten years ago issued a report (a copy of which is in the possession of the author), which laid out a program of public roads to be constructed within a period of nine years. The total mileage under consideration was 9,711 kilometers, of which 3,447 kilometers were in need of repair, 3,238 kilometers were being maintained by continual repairs, and 3,026 kilometers should be newly constructed. Shortly before the War, arrangements were made with French construction companies to undertake a part of this work. But the world conflict caused the program to be abandoned; moreover, these contracts have not been renewed.

In their present condition, few Turkish roads are even possible for automobiles. Latest estimates are that there are one thousand automotive pleasure cars and trucks (mostly the former) in Constantinople and not over two hundred in the rest of the country. Most of these were left, first by German, then by Allied military forces upon their departure: the importations have resulted from military stores. True to form, the Ford car is the most

common (as well as the most popular) pleasure car for foreign diplomats as well as for influential Turks of Constantinople. But the chief means of interior communication is the *araba*, a two-wheeled vehicle generally drawn by two or four bullocks, a terribly squeaky slow-moving but comparatively cheap native contrivance. An official of the Near East Relief has stated that he had charge of *arabas* pulled by water buffaloes which drew as much as 1600 kilos in a single load. Horse *arabas* often carry over 1000 kilos. While much speedier than ox or buffalo *arabas*, their use is largely confined to short hauls from railway stations. By comparison, the maximum pack load of a camel is about 300 kilos.

Pack animals are controlled by rural merchants, located away from trade centers, and by peasant owners who sometimes act as drivers.

The merchants, aside from using their own capital, frequently act as purchasing agents for wealthy capitalists in leading Turkish cities. The commissioners or forwarding agents generally operate also as merchants on their own account. Their function as forwarding agents is to unload, count or weigh, store, and transport merchandise to more distant points where it is sent by other conveyances to its final destination. This system has arisen, because merchandise is frequently brought by wagon transport on a journey requiring fifteen days or more before it reaches a railroad center or a seaport. It is often impossible to secure conveyances which will cover the entire distance. The drivers, or *arabajes*, are exceedingly well organized, frequently controlling as many as one hundred ox or buffalo carts. This gives them a bargaining advantage over their business competitors. The rates charged, which include labor, equipment, and other expenses, average somewhat less than forty cents per ton mile. It is not out of place here to add a good word for the honesty and faithfulness

given by animal drivers to merchandise under their protection, even to the point frequently of risking their own lives. Immense quantities of cereals, tobacco, potatoes, hides and wool are transported by *arabas*.

The typical camels belong to a well known species of dromedary, raised and tended by the Yuruks—nomadic peoples of Anatolia. To train camels is not an easy task, since it generally requires two to three years to teach them to kneel. They are broken to loads at three years of age, but they can do their maximum work when they are from five to twenty years old. Their average length of life is twenty-five years. The ordinary caravan consists of seven camels, the maximum that can be reasonably intrusted to a single driver. It is, however, not unusual to witness a line of a hundred camels, led by the one small donkey. In certain parts of Asia Minor, camels will presumably always have a use because of their general adaptability and their low cost of maintenance: the average working cost of a camel before the war amounted to approximately fifty cents a day. The camel is far less common in Turkey than in Arab lands.

In mountainous districts, camels, mules, oxen, and horses are used. On the famous road from Erzerum to Trebizond, a distance of 205 miles, the journey generally requires between twelve and fifteen days, at a cost of from 250 to 400 piastres per 200 kilos (approximately twenty-five to forty cents per lb.). On this great caravan route there are sometimes as many as a thousand loaded camels in a single train. Banse ("Die Türkei," p. 207) writes in 1916, that 50,000 laden camels pass annually through Erzerum.

Thus far in the chapter emphasis has been given chiefly to means of communication still employed that were in use for many centuries. There remains to describe the newer agencies of communication, viz., the railway, the

postal service, the telegraph service, and travel through the air.

RAILWAYS

On January 1, 1913, the railways in the Ottoman Empire totalled 1,046 miles in Europe and 2,836 miles in Asia, a total of 3,882 miles or less than that of Belgium. The territorial losses resulting from the Balkan Wars reduced severely the European mileage left to Turkey; while in detached Asiatic provinces, including railway construction since 1914, Syria has now 850 miles of railway, Palestine 479 miles, not to mention the Hejaz railway in Arabia and the developments in Iraq. In the Turkey of January 1, 1924, there is a dearth of rail communications, best illustrated perhaps by the non-existence of any railways in central or eastern Asia Minor (except the Baghdad line near the extreme southern frontier), or anywhere near the Turkish Black Sea coast. From a railway standpoint, Turkey, similar to China, India, and other backward countries, is greatly underdeveloped.

There is nothing resembling a unified railway system in Turkey due to independent penetration by nationals of foreign countries in their desire to cultivate special spheres of influence. The sordid story of blackmail and bribery which accompanied the promotion and the operation of railways in Turkey reflects little credit on concessionaires, foreign chancellories, or Ottoman officials. Because these concessions involve agricultural, mineral, and building privileges as well, all of which required the Imperial *iradé*, the diplomatic negotiations are described in the chapter on Levantine Concession-Hunting, to which the reader is referred for interesting details.

The serious obstacle to railway development has been the financial problem. The Turks have been unable to provide the necessary funds. The many internal troubles

and the uncertain rewards to the pioneers have made foreign capital timid. In view of the doubtful success awaiting these undertakings, an unusual device, the kilometric guarantee, was introduced whereby a certain fixed revenue based on mileage was guaranteed by the Government. The yearly payments were handled by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration acting for the foreign creditors. Under this system, a railway company was assured a definite minimum revenue irrespective of the number of trains run (in excess of one trip), the nature of the traffic, or the character of the management. This arrangement offers little incentive to efficiency. The State was thus able to secure railways, although in the case of most lines, the guarantees are a serious drain on the public treasury, with the burden usually falling heaviest upon the localities through which the lines go. As a rule, the Government participates in the financing of railways in Turkey, either by according them guarantees, or by sharing in profits above a certain fixed minimum.

The character of the general traffic is worth noting. As on the Continent, there is provision for three classes of passengers; most persons ride third class. Practically the only persons who ride either first or second class are rich foreigners or Government officials (the latter usually have passes). The railways carry to the seacoast principally bulk products, such as wheat, barley, wool, mohair, tobacco, and dried fruits. The quantity of minerals transported is almost negligible. There are practically no industrial establishments of any kind in the interior, so this important class of goods does not figure among the freight items. Railway rates are high, and ship rates so low in comparison that there is only a small amount of merchandise that can stand long rail carriage; moreover, as already stated, sea routes are preferred. Since the imports from abroad are largely consumed by the more

prosperous residents of the seacoast cities, the amount of traffic on the railroads destined for the interior is much less than that in the reverse direction, a situation true of animal transportation as well. Thus railway traffic is hindered by the backward development of an agricultural and pastoral country, in which little opportunity is afforded for "back hauls."

Certain detailed information regarding the railway systems in Turkey is desirable. The Salonika-Monastir line is now entirely outside of Turkey. The eastern section of the Salonika-Dede Agach-Constantinople Railway, a strategic Macedonian-Thracian line owned by Belgo-French capital, is in Turkish territory. In European Turkey, the chief line, however, is the Oriental Railway, promoted (1872) by the noted German, Baron Hirsch, which provides through connection between western Europe and Constantinople.

In European Turkey, the Oriental Railway is poorly laid out, with no attempt at avoiding severe curves since an underlying plan in the construction was to obtain as large mileage as possible in order to benefit from the kilometric guarantee. Thus, although Constantinople is only 148 miles distant from Adrianople, by highway, the railway has a length of 198 miles including 24 miles in Bulgarian territory. This line is far less important than formerly from the standpoint of central and south-eastern Europe, due to the improvement in other types of transportation; but it still offers the most available overland route to the Straits and is the connecting link with the Anatolian and Baghdad railways. The control was vested in German and Austrian nationals who transferred their interests to a Swiss holding company, the Banque des Chemins de fer Orientaux (referred to in the chapter on Levantine Concession-Hunting as the Swiss Bank).

The Anatolian Railway, which has its Asiatic starting

point at Haidar Pasha, on the Marmara Sea, is a single-tracked road except between Haidar Pasha and Pendik, and of 4 ft. 8½ in. (standard European and Turkish) gauge. This is probably the most important railway in Asia Minor, because it connects Constantinople with Angora, and it extends southward to Konia, the northern terminus of the Baghdad Railway. There is also a branch from Hamidiya, on the Haidar Pasha-Eski Shehr line to Ada Bazar, approximately six miles distant. The Turkish Government has granted it liberal kilometric guarantees. Similar to the other railways in Turkey, this company is a Turkish société anonymé, until recently at least under German financial control. There are no reliable figures to indicate future earnings, since so much of the recent traffic has been purely military. The region tapped, however, is one of great fertility and should prove prosperous under even fair working conditions.

The Baghdad Railway, which must not be confused with the Anatolian Railway although developed under interlocking German interests, is wholly within the confines of prewar Turkey. The project called for a through rail connection between Berlin and the Persian Gulf. During the World War, the Anglo-Indian forces constructed an excellent line from Basra on the Shatt al Arab to Baghdad; this section is under the British Civil Administration in Iraq. According to last reports, there is a line operating from Baghdad to Tikrit (133 miles), now extended to Qalat Sharqat. To the northwest, in Turkey, the Baghdad line from Konia goes through the Taurus Mountains and the Cilician plain to Nisibin. These two ends, which are considerably less than two hundred miles apart, doubtless would be quickly connected provided strategical considerations made this desirable. Freight originating east of Nisibin would then be diverted to the Persian Gulf, while that between Nisibin and Konia would find its outlet mainly by sea, and partly

by the Anatolian main line to Haidar Pasha. In Turkey, the region traversed by the Baghdad Railway east of the Taurus in the Cilician plain is the more productive country; west of the lofty mountain ranges the territory, except in the immediate vicinity of Konia, is not conducive either to agriculture or to easy transportation. In return for the rectification of the Turko-Syrian boundary so as to give Turkey more of this southern territory (originally included in the French mandate for Syria and Cilicia), it is reported that the Nationalist Government has assigned to a French syndicate the Deutsche Bank's concession "for those sections of the railway, including branches, between Bozanti and Nisibin, together with all the rights, privileges, and advantages attached to that concession." (E. M. Earle, "Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway," page 325.) The Chester concessions have introduced conflicting claims in the neighborhood of the Turko-Syrian-Iraqi border. It appears that the Turkish section west of the Taurus is operated by the Turkish Government, that the section in Turkey east of the Taurus is in French hands, while the control in Iraq is certainly British. Information relative to the whole Bagdad enterprise, too vast and complicated to be detailed here, is brought up to the middle of 1923 by Professor E. M. Earle in his noteworthy book just cited.

The Smyrna-Aidin (Ottoman) Railway, the oldest railway in Turkey, is a standard-gauge, single-track line of 607 kilometers. It follows a route from Smyrna through Ephesus to Aidin, and then up the Mendere valley to Egerdir. Although the original concession of 1856 had a provision that the government should pay annual interest at the rate of six per cent on the original capital, this understanding was not carried out. Twenty-three years later a renewal of negotiations resulted in changes in the concessions, with an agreement that thereafter the

Smyrna-Aidin Railway should not receive any financial State guarantees. In 1914, the Company was organized as a Turkish société Anonymé, with continued predominant British control, prior concessions consolidated, and the franchise extended to the year 1999. New concessions granted in July, 1914, were (1) navigation rights on Lakes Egerdir and Beyshehr, the latter to be shared with the Baghdad Railway Company and (2) branch lines as follows: (a) Aidin to Mughla (95 km.), (b) Buldur extension to Kizil Kaya (90 km.), (c) Lake Egerdir to Lake Beyshehr (66 km.), and (d) Dineir to Sandukli (55 km.). The Smyrna-Aidin Company, which operates without any kilometric guarantee and has been as efficiently managed as any railway in Turkey, has been a great factor in the prosperity of the Smyrna region.

The Smyrna-Kassaba Railway connects Smyrna with the Anatolian Railway at Afiun Qarahisar, a distance of 421 kilometers; it has a line from Magnesia to the sea-coast town of Panderma (282 kilometers), and a suburban service to Burnabat. The original concession (1863) was British; in 1893, the company was taken over by the Ottoman Government which later made over the existing concessions, together with important extensions, to a Franco-Belgian group. The new Soma branch to the Sea of Marmara has benefited the agricultural development of its territory, and has become a strategic line for the Dardanelles. Although the Smyrna-Kassaba has proved a drain on the State funds, an average of half a million dollars yearly was paid over the period of 1908-1913 on account of kilometer guarantees, yet this enterprise shares with the Ottoman Railway great credit for the agricultural and industrial productivity of Smyrna and the back country.

The Mudania-Brusa Railway, forty-one kilometers in length, connects the important but isolated city of Brusa with a small port on the Sea of Marmara. It is a narrow-

gauge line, operating without kilometric guarantee, with the concession expiring in the year 1990. Originally built by British capital, it is now controlled by a Franco-Belgian syndicate. While the company operates normally at a small profit, the prospects would be greatly enhanced by extensions and railway connections (thwarted in the past through German influence) with the nearby fertile regions.

The Mersina, Tarsus and Adana Railway has had an interesting history. The first concession was granted in 1883 to two Turks. Three years later the railway was in operation under Anglo-French direction. In 1896, control was purchased by these same interests. This railway, which did not have the benefit of State financial aid, was not a paying enterprise, and, moreover, the German interests represented by the Deutsche Bank blocked prospective extensions in the Cilician plain as well as towards the Turkish Black Sea coast. In 1906, and shortly thereafter, the Deutsche Bank bought out the French and British stockholders, and secured control with the purpose of linking up this well-situated railway with the Baghdad company. Through a community of interests, the Baghdad has operated trains over the local company's tracks between Yeniji and Adana. The Mersina, Tarsus and Adana Railway, which is only 67 kilometers in length, serves the rich Cilician plain and the port of Mersina; its future is bound up (1) with success in competition with ports on Alexandretta Bay, and (2) with a working agreement with nearby railway companies.

The future international status of railways in Turkey is problematical. Especially consequential are the understandings in 1914 between the French and Germans (February 15), between the British and Italians (March 26), between the British and Germans (June 15); and finally, there is the French loan to the Ottoman Govern-

ment (in the spring) of 800,000,000 francs, of which 500,000,000 was actually paid over in return for special concessions in northwestern and central Asia Minor, notably for the following new railway projects: Samsun-Sivas (210 km.), Sivas-Kharput-Arghana (263 km.), Arghana-Bitlis-Van (40 km.), branches to Egin and Malatia (90 km.), Tokat-Kastamuni-Bolu-Eregli (600 km.), Kastamuni-Ineboli (90 km.), and Boyabad-Sinope (97 km.), total 1790 kilometers. (The validity of this entire French concession is open to question, despite the large payment made by the French in good faith before August, 1914, on the grounds (1) that the loan has not been paid in full, and (2) that the terms were never approved by the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies. Since Nationalist Turkey has recognized the prewar acts of the Ottoman Government, these agreements and concessions seem likely to play an important part in the mapping out of new lines: in fact, a protocol signed at Lausanne specifies compensative measures in regard to the French Black Sea concessions.) For further data, refer to Earle's "Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway," to Mr. G. R. Montgomery's article in *Current History*, October, 1921, and to the chapter on Levantine Concession-Hunting.

Events in 1923 furnish a new basis for railway developments. Railway and general economic developments in eastern and central Anatolia are provided for in the late Chester concessions, which, it is fair to presume, represent the wishes of the National Assembly.¹ The

¹ With reference to new railway construction, one of the most perplexing questions relates to the determination of the gauge. While every railroad man must view with apprehension the introduction of more than one gauge on any line which may form part of a unified system, there are both financial and geographic considerations which cannot be overlooked. In typical interior sections of Anatolia, swift streams have cut out channels through mountain ranges, leaving isolated fertile basins which can be connected up only at enormous expense. In many instances the only alternative to heavy tunnels and gorge construction would be a prolonged climb of severe

public draft provides for the construction of the following railway lines: (1) Sivas through Kharput, Arghana, Diarbekr and Bitlis to Van; (2) the environs of Kharput to Yumurtalik, traversing the valley of Jihun; (3) starting on line (1), passing through Mosul and Kirkuk to Sulaimaniya; (4) Samsun through Amasia and Zile to Sivas; (5) a branch leaving line (4) at Mussa Köi and ending at Angora; (6) Chalti upon line (4) to Erzerum; (7) a branch from the Chalti-Erzerum line to the Black Sea; (8) Erzerum to Bayazid and the Persian frontier; (9) Sivas to Kaisarieh; (10) Haji Chefatli, on the Angora-Mussa Köi railway, to Kaisarieh; (11) Kaisarieh to Oulu Kichla; and (12) the environs of Haji Bairam upon the Samsun-Sivas line through Chorum to the end of the Angora-Mussa Köi line.

Regarding western Anatolia, British financiers may have been promised control of the Anatolian Railway and the Mersina-Tarsus-Adana Company, in which event that nationality has a dominant influence in Turkish railways. In the case of the Anatolian Railway, the British, somewhat prematurely, have extended the right of participation to the Italians and the French; the former accepted promptly, while the French have protested but may accept. Dr. Franz Guenther of Dresden, for twenty years the able manager of the Anatolian Railways, stated at Lausanne on May 16, 1923, that there was a community of interest between the British group and the Oriental Railway Bank of Zurich; also that it was contemplated to spend \$25,000,000 for rebuilding a greater grades in order to reach elevated plateaus and ridges sometimes five to seven thousand feet above sea level. Although engineers state that careful surveys disclose the practicability of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ to 3% compensated grades, the adoption of narrow gauge (3' 6") is economically preferable to the present standard Turkish gauge (4' $8\frac{1}{2}"$). The choice of narrow gauge should mean a saving of approximately 25% in construction cost. For many projected lines the expenses of operation should not be prohibitive if we may rely on the figures of the French railways and the Baghdad line, which give the unusually low average operating expenses of less than 50% of gross revenue.

part of the 900 miles destroyed in the Greek army retreat; and that it was proposed to build as well 1,200 miles of new lines provided for in the former German concessions. While the so-called Chester Project is in a questionable state of fulfillment, there is distinct promise of new railway construction as well as consolidation of existing systems in the richest sections of western Asia Minor. The concessionary aspects are described in more detail in the chapter on Levantine Concession-Hunting.

POSTAL AND TELEGRAPH SERVICES

Modern business enterprises could hardly be carried on anywhere without the aid of modern methods of communication, such as the postal and telegraph services.

Before the Great War, six European Powers maintained postoffices in Constantinople with branches in leading ports of the Empire. This arrangement secured by the capitulations was declared a dead letter by the Turks on October 1, 1914; but after the 1918 Armistice, postoffices were resumed by the Entente Allies. The postal service in Turkey under foreign auspices was never intended to be available to the Turk, who had his own postal system. Similar postoffices which have been in existence in China have now been abolished as a result of the Limitation of Armaments Conference at Washington. By the terms of the Lausanne treaties, all foreign postoffices in Turkey have been abolished.

In Turkey (1914), there were six postoffices per 1000 inhabitants, the identical figure for British India, compared with 40 postoffices per 1000 inhabitants for the U. S. A. Turkey has a fair parcel post system. Under the new order the administration of the Turkish post-office, which is of great concern to natives and foreigners alike, is making a very auspicious start. A considerable part of the postal business of prewar Turkey, however,

has been entirely lost. One of the important as well as interesting developments in the Middle East, is the weekly motor transport of mail between Baghdad and Haifa through the arrangement between the Government of Iraq and the Nairn Transport Co. (a British firm). This desert route requires a stop at Rutba wells, the only available water supply along the route between Ramadi and Damascus. The Iraq mails to Haifa, the latter handled via Port Said, provide nine day service from Baghdad to London, contrasted with four to six weeks formerly when the mail was handled via the Persian Gulf. The Haifa-Baghdad route is preferred to the route from Amman, Transjordan (Kerak), because of the lava country on the latter route which is damaging to chassis and tires. The latter route is used, however, for air mail. Eventually Turkey will doubtless make some arrangement for an overland and possibly overair postal connection.

The Turkish telegraph service, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs, maintains a fairly satisfactory service. The rates are somewhat lower than the rates of the Eastern Telegraph Company, a British company which owns the Tenedos-Syra and the Odessa-Invo lines. Before the World War, there was a European line to Constantinople owned by German interests, but it did not function during the Allied occupation of Constantinople.

In Turkey (1914) there were 91 miles of telegraph lines per 1000 square miles, compared with 28 miles in British India and 236 miles in the United States; and 175 miles per 1000 inhabitants compared with 116 miles in British India and 1849 miles in the United States. In 1914-15, there were approximately 5,500,000 messages sent throughout Turkey.

Until 1908, when the government installed a telegraph system for its public offices, there was no telegraph serv-

ice in Turkey. An Anglo-French company, predominantly British, secured in 1911 a concession for thirty years for the purpose of operating a system in Constantinople and its suburbs, under a provision whereby the Ottoman Government had the right after ten years to purchase the system; if this option is not exercised, the time of the concession shall be extended ten years. The first public telephone service in Turkey was inaugurated in 1913. Few Turkish cities have telephone service.

The same year, 1913, witnessed the introduction of wireless telegraph for military use under the direction of General von Sanders. Early in the period of the War, wireless apparatus was placed at Ok-Meidan on the Golden Horn. Little is publicly known regarding stationary wireless apparatus erected in Anatolia and elsewhere during 1914-1923. Many ships in Turkish waters are equipped with receiving apparatus and are thereby able to pick up messages direct from Europe as well as from Annapolis. But the sending of messages from Turkey involves several relays to foreign countries: for instance, a wireless message from Constantinople to New York involves not less than four repetitions.

AIR ROUTES

The developments by air are being watched with the keenest interest by both Turks and foreigners. In Iraq, there are eight air squadrons concentrated at Baghdad under the control of the Royal Air Forces, by which means local police over all the country are being supported and the authority of the Iraq Government rendered effective. Experimental trips are being made to map out the best courses (consult the *Geographical Journal*, April, 1920, and April, 1923). Major G. H. Scott, who commanded the British airship R-39 when it crossed and recrossed the Atlantic, outlined a scheme before the

International Air Congress (June, 1923) for vessels with displacement of 180 tons, with speed of 80 miles an hour capable of a non-stop flight of 2,500 miles and a range of 24,000 miles. Such airships would be designed to carry 200 passengers and 11 tons of mail and freight.

In June, 1923, the British Air Ministry called for three types of aeroplanes: (1) an aeroplane with a single engine for transport to be used in Europe; (2) a three-engined machine for Imperial communications connecting Croyden-Egypt-India-Australia; and (3) an aeroplane for transport in the Middle East. The specifications for the Middle Eastern type called for one or three engines (total horsepower not to exceed 1,000), the ability to fly level on two-thirds of its total horsepower while carrying three-fourths of its load capacity, to be built preferably of metal construction in order to withstand great variation of temperature and humidity. Long flights are contemplated since it is specified that the machine must be able to fly 500 miles at full throttle against a wind of thirty miles per hour while the machine travels at a height of 10,000 feet. Among other details, there must be provision for refrigeration, an adequate supply of drinking water, and cooking arrangements. The machine requires a crew of two persons and must be able to accommodate at least eight passengers with an allowance of 236 pounds per passenger with baggage. In December, 1923, details regarding the formation of the British-subsidized Imperial Air Transport Co., Ltd., were published. These various plans call attention to a revolution in Near and Middle Eastern communications.

Already, regular air travel has been inaugurated, connecting the leading cities of England, France, Switzerland, Germany and Russia. In the middle of 1923, a new airway was opened between Moscow and Tiflis (Soviet Georgia); and since London and Manchester are already linked aerially with Berlin and Moscow, air travel is

now possible from England to the Persian border in forty hours' time. This route has the great advantage of avoiding most sea and mountain stretches until it reaches the Caucasus, and so offers a not too difficult trip to adjoining and nearby countries including India and Turkey.

Turkey has done little experimental work of her own in connection with developments of travel by air. The consequences of fresh means of communication affecting nearby countries are, however, a matter of interest and concern to her.

CONCLUSION

Future transportation and communication developments in Turkey are being considered by the Turks more closely from the economic viewpoint than has been true in the past. The Ottoman Turks exhibited neither technical skill nor did they provide the capital for these enterprises. The leaders in New Turkey are little better equipped in these regards than their predecessors; but they are insisting upon a more direct participation both in the work of construction and in the character of the ownership. For instance, Article 24 of the Chester Concession starts, "The company shall choose its functionaries, employees, and laborers from among Turkish subjects." The native financial control is expressed in various articles: it is stated, "At the termination of the concession, the Government of the Grand National Assembly shall acquire all the rights of the company," etc. Thus the plans of the present masters of Turkey are to eliminate as far as possible foreign influences by the substitution of Turkish authority.

Prospects in Turkey, however, cannot be considered apart from expansion in nearby countries. For example, attention is again being given to a proposed Mediterranean-Euphrates railway, dating back to the Chesney

project, since students of the Middle East are emphasizing more and more the international importance of the trade route between Syria and Palestine and upper and lower Iraq. In the early stages of the Baghdad Railway scheme, careful consideration was given to the advisability of avoiding Anatolia altogether by the construction of the main line from the Syrian coast rather than at Haidar Pasha. A leading German economist, Dr. Rohrbach ("Die Bagdadbahn"), wrote in 1901:

If merely economic and not political advantages were taken into account, the question might perhaps be raised whether it would not be better to leave the Anatolian section alone altogether and begin the Baghdad Railway from Seleucia (on the Syrian coast). The future export trade in grain, wool, and cotton will in any case do all it can to lengthen the cheap sea-passage and shorten correspondingly the section on which it must pay railway freights. The fact that the route connecting Baghdad with the Mediterranean coast in the neighborhood of Antioch is the oldest, greatest, and still most promising trade route of Western Asia is independent of all railway projects.

The geographical features of the country lend themselves readily to this strategic route (the Euphrates is only 130 miles from the Mediterranean Sea), and on this right of way there are only 40 miles more than 1,000 feet above sea level, and even this 40-mile section has no heavy gradients. London is approximately 6,700 miles by sea from Basra; the rail journey from Basra to Mosul is 500 miles. By the construction of a railway from the Syrian coast to Mosul, the distance from London would be approximately 3,400 miles by sea, and approximately 400 miles by rail from the coast to Mosul. The distance from Mosul to Baghdad by rail is approximately 200 miles. Thus, while the rail difference is not great as approached either from the Syrian coast or the Persian Gulf, there

is a distinct saving in the former case through the elimination of the Suez Canal dues and an additional sea journey of 3,300 miles.

A most interesting new shipping route has been tried out in a preliminary way by the voyage of the steamer *Pioneer*, which has recently completed an entire water journey from Hamburg across Russia to Persia. The route was from Hamburg to Petrograd, then along the Neva and Lake Lagoda, then crossing the Marien Canal to the Volga River whence the *Pioneer* entered the Caspian Sea with its final destination at Enzeli. Her cargo was transported by automobile trucks from Enzeli to Teheran in thirty-six hours which is a saving of nearly a week contrasted with inbound goods from the Persian Gulf ports by the use of camel caravans. Should Soviet Russia devote its efforts to improving this combined river and canal waterway, the course of transportation in the East would likely become revolutionized.

Externally and internally, therefore, Turkey's destiny is closely associated with developments in Eastern Europe, the Near East, and the Middle East. Foreign lenders are considering carefully alternative methods of transportation and communication before committing themselves in Turkish projects. At the same time, the leaders of New Turkey have frequently given expression to the great difficulty of bringing about any economic revival in the country without greatly needed improvements in existing methods of transportation and communication.

CHAPTER X

LAND TENURE

By LOUIS STEEG¹

Let not Ambition mock their useful toil,
Their homely joys, and destiny obscure;
Nor Grandeur hear, with a disdainful smile,
The short and simple annals of the poor.

—GRAY.

Introduction

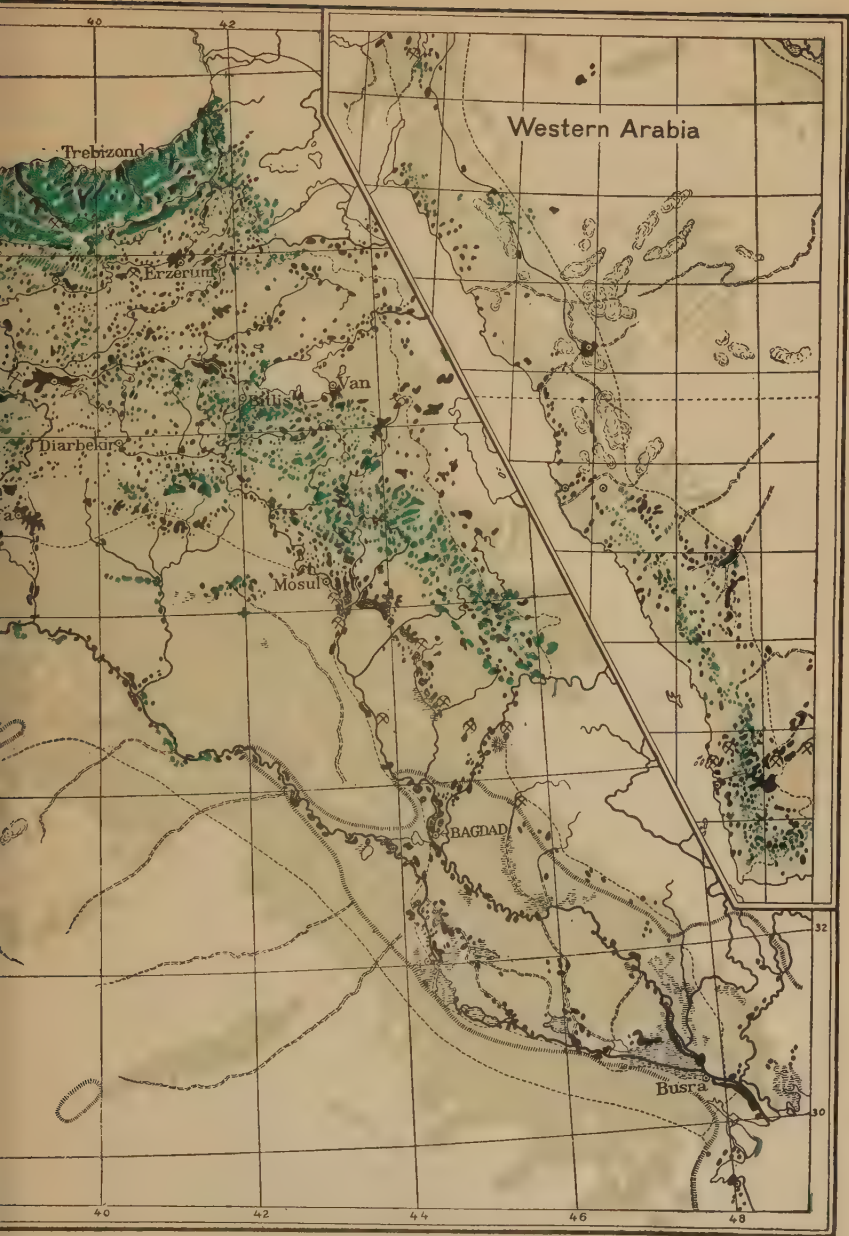
One of the most dramatic chapters in Ottoman history was the defiance of the centralized government at Constantinople by the Dere Beys, or "Valley Lords," of Asia Minor. The power of these local families had grown during the 17th and 18th century until almost all the peninsula of Asia Minor was parcelled out among them. Although feudal families and hereditary chieftains in Arab-dwelling areas still continue to exercise a large measure of independence, the power of the Dere Beys of Asia Minor was broken definitely in 1840 by Sultan Mahmud II; none of them dared any longer to defy the power of the Imperial officers.

The ownership of land in Anatolia is not necessarily an indication of prosperity. It is noteworthy that among the peasants who are the most well off are those who

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Translated from the French.





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After Banse.

dwelling in villages which have been absorbed into the Imperial property. This condition recalls a similar situation in the Roman Empire when the Imperial authorities took over the privately owned lands. The private land owners in Turkey suffer from burdensome taxes but are much better satisfied than are the peasants who work on estates belonging to non-resident, private owners.

Only since the year 1867 has it been possible for foreigners in Turkey individually to possess land. No foreign corporation, however, may hold real property in its own name. Ordinarily, foreigners own building sites or control land concessions by having these titles to real property made out in the name of Turkish subjects.

As in the case of the great majority of Turkish laws, the regulations in regard to land tenure are prepared intelligently but frequently are not respected in their execution.

Land Tenure

Real property in Turkey is divided into five classes, subject to different systems of laws, which are based mainly upon Moslem religious law, and to a lesser extent upon the civil law. These various classes are known as: (a) mulk lands, or freehold property; (b) miri lands, or crown lands; (c) vakuf lands, or pious foundations; (d) metruke, or vacant land; and (e) mewat, or unused land.

Mulk land consists of property subject to a full ownership tax. The ownership of mulk land, vouched for by a deed (*hodget*), entitles the proprietor to convey title, sell, mortgage, give it away, or convert it into "vakuf."

Miri land includes cultivated lands, meadows, winter and summer pasture land, forests, and other varieties of land, possession of which is conferred by the State, and attested to by a deed (*tapou senedi*) delivered to the possessor. The purpose of the concession is to put the

land under cultivation; and an owner who leaves the land untouched for three years, without a satisfactory reason, may be deprived of its possession. The possessor of miri land enjoys, under the supervision of the State, the essential privileges of an outright owner. He may dispose of the land freely or as a gift or for a consideration; but, he is subject to special formalities implying the assent of the State (which the latter, moreover, cannot refuse). He can transmit it to his heirs, the number of whom is more restricted than that of persons who may receive mulk land, but he cannot dispose of it by will.

The word "vakuf," derived from the verb "vakf," which designates the act by which an object is consecrated to a pious purpose, is applied both to the object so consecrated and to the work which is benefited by it. The obligation imposed on Moslems to give alms was the origin of vakufs, which is an institution peculiar to Moslem countries. The founder of the vakuf may be an Ottoman or a foreigner, a Moslem or non-Moslem, or may belong to a religion other than that of the person who will be benefited by the vakuf. But from the time of its inception the vakuf must be both definite and everlasting.

The existence of rights belonging to third parties does not hinder the object from being validly constituted a vakuf; a property leased or mortgaged may be constituted a vakuf, but the vakuf has no real existence until the lease or the mortgage expires. A vakuf may not become a mulk again unless another mulk of the same value is changed to a vakuf. When the formalities necessary for the establishment of a vakuf have been complied with, a certificate is made out by the Moslem religious authorities testifying to its description. This certificate, legalized by the Fetvahan, is presented for registration to the Cadastral Bureau, which records the nature of the vakuf on the land registers, but retains

the original deed. The same procedure must be followed when real property is made vakuf for the benefit of non-Moslems. When the possession of vakuf real property is conceded to an individual, the Cadastral Administration, after having entered in the land register the new status of the property, delivers to the purchaser a deed of possession. The deed is renewed at each transmission of the property by transfer or succession, on the same conditions as those pertaining to mulk property or miri land.

The person instituting a vakuf must state the conditions by which the consecrated property shall be administered, and also the conditions regulating the assignment of revenues to the beneficiaries. The first administrator (*mutevelli*) of a consecrated property is generally named by the originator. After the death of the latter the designation must be made by the court. The judge chooses the new *mutevelli*, who must be a mature person of sound judgment, either from the descendants of the founder (providing the latter have retained administration of the real property) or from a list of names submitted by the late administrator. Should the founder of the vakuf wish to name a minor, the judge must designate a substitute to serve until the incumbent is no longer a minor. Women are not excluded from the administration of vakuf property.

In principle, the administrator is subject to the supervision of the Ministry of the "Evkaf" (Ministry of Religious Foundations). A great number of vakuf properties, such as the vakufs created by the Sultans or their families, are managed by the Ministry of the Evkaf. Other exceptional vakufs (*mustesna*) are administered in complete independence and without the intervention of the Evkaf, notably those belonging to churches of non-Moslem religions, the administration of which is intrusted to the respective religious heads of those

churches. The vakufs put under cultivation for religious profit are divided into rural and urban. The rural vakufs constitute rural real property (gardens, vineyards, etc.) which yield a revenue (*musteghellat*). The urban vakufs (*moussakafat*) are those on which buildings have been erected or are to be erected.

There are three kinds of vakufs as follows:

(a) The vakuf subject only to one form of tax (*idjare-i-vahideli*) rented on fixed conditions for a specified period not to exceed three years, the rent thereof to be allotted to religious work and maintenance of the property. This has the characteristics of a simple lease.

(b) The vakuf subject to a double tax (*idjaretein*) is leased for an unlimited period, for a sum paid in cash, equivalent to the value of the property, and a second charge payable monthly or annually, the collection of which is intended to prevent the occupier of the property from laying claim to the reversion of the property after a certain number of years' possession, by pleading the right of prescription. The lease is granted on condition that the buildings, trees, etc., which the tenant shall add to the property, shall be considered as a donation made by the tenant, and will in consequence revert to the vakuf. In other words, property improvements acquire the attribute of vakuf.

(c) The vakuf subject to a fixed charge (*moukataa*) covers a contract providing for a double charge but allows the tenant to make improvements which become the property of the tenant. Since ownership of improvements involves also full right to the possession of the land, land converted into moukataa cannot escheat and revert to the foundation. That is why the fixed charge is one per cent annually of the estimated official value.

Property uninhabited, not privately owned, or unused, as far as can be ascertained from the best records, is classed as waste lands (*mewat*). Among such lands are

mountains, barren areas, brushwood, and sections where the grass is too scanty for practical use. Waste lands are generally situated a considerable distance away from the nearest inhabited district.

Any person who clears mewat land, who "vivifies" it, according to the expression of Moslem law, acquires certain rights thereby. The preliminary consent of the authorities, secured without expense, is necessary for placing waste land under cultivation. The land thus cleared assumes the status of miri land. The erection of building sites reclaimed from the sea is comparable to the restoration of waste land, except that the act creates a mulk proprietor. All forests and salt marshes are subject to special laws. The state has the exploitation of the salt monopoly, which it has transferred to the Dette Publique Ottoman. A special law governs mining exploitation and development.

The ghedik is a unique Ottoman institution in the history of real property law. This term is applied to an industrial establishment, an "ensemble" of equipment and tools, or fixed capital investment in a workshop located on a specified parcel of land. The appellation includes both this investment and also the tools necessary for the carrying on of occupation and the place of business. The ghedik is distinguished from the vakuf in that it is not generally dedicated to religious purposes, but profits the founder himself, his successors, or third parties acquiring it. There have been, however, ghediks constituted as vakufs. The foundation of new ghediks has been prohibited since the year 1247 (1831) and the law of February, 1328 (1913), ordered their suppression. The ghedik has existed only at Constantinople and the sacred cities, where it still remains in force.

Metrukated lands are those which are not and cannot be privately owned; they remain vacant for common use. The rights of ownership belong to the State, which may

turn it over for use to selected coöperative organizations. The lands thus designated are forests, communal woods, thrashing floors, or pasture lands. Of the lands left to public authorities, there are roads, public squares, camping places, and sites for markets and fairs.

All formalities concerning the possession of real property are handled exclusively by the Cadastral Administration which delivers the deeds to the owners or possessors. Possession without deed is prohibited. For all the formalities relating to vakuf property, whether or not buildings have been erected on it, the directors, agents, and clerks of the Cadastral Administration are invested, in case the mutevelli (trustee or managing administrator of vakuf property) should not be present, with the capacity of mandatories of the mutevelli, and are authorized to carry out the prerequisite formalities. Deeds to property have executory force. No deed can be annulled, unless a court has lawfully issued a decree invalidating its provisions. Whoever possesses, by virtue of a deed to property, demesnal lands, or those given the status of "mekuf," can either alienate them, sell them with privilege of redemption, rent them out, or mortgage them as guaranty for a debt. He derives the benefit of their improvements or natural products. The owner of real property can use the land for making mortar, bricks, or tile. For these purposes, however, he must comply with the prescribed special regulations.

In court cases concerning reversionary interests, possession and escheat, the agents of the Cadastral Administration represent the Treasury, in the capacity of plaintiffs as well as defendants for a period of thirty-six years.

Demesnal or vakuf lands as well as vakuf property, with or without improvements, constitute security for the owner's debts during his life as well as after his death, irrespective whether or not these properties have

been escheated. However, if the debtor is a farmer, the amount of his land which would be necessary for the subsistence of his family cannot be sold, unless it has been mortgaged to guarantee the said debt representing precisely the purchase price of said land. The same is true of dwellings necessary for the habitation of the debtor either during his life or by his family after his death. By virtue of special laws, application for sale by auction must be brought before the Cadastral Administration before the real property can be definitely adjudicated.

A provisional law promulgated February 18, 1913, provided that all real property located within the territory of the Ottoman Empire shall be delimited and registered, that revenues and values shall be estimated and determined by special commissions. It also establishes commissions of delimitation, of registration, of estimates; it determines the fees and charges for making out deeds; it contains also penal provisions.

Persons of good character have the right to own real estate. Real property may be owned by the Government and the municipal administration, by associations existing in conformity with the law relating thereto, and by incorporated joint-stock companies organized for carrying on commerce, industries, or construction work. Ottoman incorporated agricultural joint-stock companies, the shares of which are privately owned and the holders of which are of Ottoman nationality may control real property. In conformity with agreements, stipulations and regulations approved by the Government, Ottoman communities and charitable establishments may own real property only in the cities and villages, thereby deriving possible income which is subject to taxes and imposts. Real property owned by persons of good character is subject to an annual tax, so long as it remains in their possession, of one tenth of one per cent if it is

classed as demesnal or "mevkuvated" land; one twentieth of one per cent if it is absolute property; and a fixed annual charge of one per cent if it is property. Mulk and demesnal lands owned by the State are not subject to these provisions.

A special law governs the succession of real property; it applies only to demesnal, mevkuvated, and vakuf land. The law divides the claimants of the inheritance into three classes.

Claimants of the first class are the descendants in direct line. A direct descendant deceased is represented by his children or grandchildren. If one or more of the children of the deceased die without leaving issue, the right of inheritance belongs to the other descendants or the heirs descending from the latter. The succession continues indefinitely in the direct line of descent, and the children, irrespective of sex, have equal rights. The claimants of the second class are the father and the mother of the deceased or their descendants. The father and the mother inherit in equal proportion. If one of them is deceased, his or her descendants are substituted in the order established by the claimants of the first class. If the deceased parent has left no descendants, the surviving parent then living shall be the only claimant to the inheritance. If the father and the mother have both previously died, their portions revert to their respective descendants in the determined order. If one of them has no descendants, his or her portion reverts to the descendants of the other. The claimants of the third class are the grandparents or their descendants. The order of succession of the descendants of the father, mother, and grandparents is the same as that of claimants of the first class. Each heir of the first, second, or third class who shall have a right to the inheritance on various grounds is entitled to the portions due him or her. The claimants of an earlier class take precedence.

When, however, the deceased has left children or grandchildren, his or her father and mother or the one of the two surviving inherits a sixth of the estate. If the surviving husband or wife of the deceased participates in the inheritance with the claimants of the first class, his or her part is one fourth. If he or she participates with those of the second or third class, he or she has a right to one half. If there is reason to assign a right of inheritance to the grandfather or grandmother along with their descendants, the portion of the husband or wife surviving is equal to that coming to these descendants. If there is no heir of the first or second class, nor any grandparents, the husband or wife surviving the deceased is the only claimant of the inheritance.

The provisions of the law apply also to vakuf properties, whether built on or not, subject either to the double charge, the single charge, or a specified charge. Absolute real property (*mulk*) forms a part of the estate of the deceased on the same grounds that chattels and the succession thereto are vested in conformity with the religious law, of which the part pertaining to successions is certainly the most complicated. The religious law does not recognize the representation of an heir by another party and it requires that the heir be living at the death of the deceased. If the deceased leaves real property of different kinds—*mulk*, *miri*, *vakuf*—the succession for each class of property is governed by different legal provisions.

The three principal classes of heirs recognized by the religious laws are reserve heirs, or heirs with fixed portions to whom a definite portion of the inheritance devolves; the residuary devisees, who receive the remainder when those of the first class have inherited their share; and the legatee. The total of the succession can be assured by testament only in the absence of intestate claimants to the inheritance. If there are heirs of this class,

only a third of the succession can be transmitted as a bequest. The Treasury becomes the heir when there is no other heir of any description.

The Moslem law of succession provides four causes for incapacity to inherit, namely: slavery, homicide, difference of religion, and difference of nationality.

(a) To be able to inherit, one must be free. An incapacity applies even to the female slave who bears her master a legitimate child. And yet, in the Moslem law, the female slave who becomes mother of the offspring of her master, is fully emancipated at the death of the latter. She is, nevertheless, incapable of inheriting from him. The master inherits from his slave.

(b) The person who commits the act, even if the homicide is the result of an accident independent of his personal wishes, is incapable of inheriting from his victim.

(c) Difference of religion constitutes, in Moslem law, an obstacle to the right of succession. Differences of sect or of ritual do not constitute an obstacle if the deceased and his heirs belong in principle to the same religion. Thus, there is no difference of religion between Moslems belonging to different sects, or between Christians, Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, and Protestants. Between Moslems and non-Moslems difference of religion forms an absolute obstacle to the right of succession. A non-Moslem cannot inherit from a Moslem and vice versa. With respect to difference of religion between non-Moslems, there is no uniform opinion among the lawyers, although the majority maintain that an Israelite may inherit from a Christian and vice versa.

(d) In Moslem law, a difference of nationality between the deceased and his heir or heirs constitutes an incapacity with respect to succession. No foreigner can inherit from an Ottoman. This general principle applies to mulk real property as well as to vakuf property and

demesnal lands. According to the most authoritative opinions, there is no incapacity on the part of Moslems to inherit on account of difference of nationality.

Does the difference of nationality which makes a foreigner incapable of inheriting from an Ottoman reciprocally prevent the latter from inheriting from a foreigner? The question is a disputed one, but it generally is decided in the negative; that is, the rule in question does not apply to Ottomans and the latter may, with entire legality, inherit from foreigners. Is difference of nationality between foreigners an obstacle to inheritance? May a Frenchman inherit from an Englishman? This question is also a disputed one, but it is generally decided in the affirmative, unless the foreign heir belongs to a power which has not adhered to the law permitting foreigners to acquire real property in the Ottoman Empire, a law which will be discussed later.

A woman of Ottoman nationality who has married a foreigner loses her Ottoman nationality. She, as a foreigner, loses all right to inherit from her Ottoman relatives. If she becomes a widow, she can reclaim within three years her Ottoman nationality. The foreign woman who marries an Ottoman becomes Ottoman. This legal situation has, moreover, been contested by certain foreign powers.

An Ottoman subject who has acquired a foreign nationality with the authorization of the Turkish Government is considered and treated as a foreign subject; but if he has been naturalized without the previous authorization of the Turkish Government, his naturalization is considered void, and he continues to be treated in every respect as an Ottoman subject. Children born of an Ottoman subject before the change of nationality authorized by the Government, remain Ottoman. Children of a foreigner, born before the acquisition of Ottoman nationality by the latter, retain the foreign nationality.

Prior to the promulgation of the law of 7 Sefer, 1284 (June 16, 1867), foreigners were not allowed real property rights in Turkey. Yet, even at the time when they were legally prevented from owning real property, they had recourse to several means by which they succeeded in eluding this prohibition. Thus, a foreigner who bought a piece of real property had it recorded in the name of a third person of Ottoman nationality; or else he had the property recorded in his own name, by having himself referred to as Ottoman, which did not, however, deprive him of his foreign nationality. Lastly, certain foreigners, married to women of Ottoman origin, had their property recorded in the name of the latter, who were referred to as Ottoman subjects. This state of things was the source of a great many difficulties. Negotiations were opened between the law of Sefer, of which Article 1 says: "Foreigners are admitted on the same footing as Ottoman subjects, and without other stipulation, to enjoy the right of ownership of urban or rural real property throughout the whole Empire, with the exception of the province of Hejaz, on submitting to the laws and regulations which govern Ottoman subjects." There is a modification to Article 1 with regard to properties situated in the neighborhood of mosques and Moslem cemeteries, but it is rarely applied. There are also restrictions for real property situated on the frontiers of the Empire. The provisions of Article 1 do not apply to subjects, Ottoman by birth, who have changed their nationality. They are provided for by a special law.

According to Article 2 of the law, "Foreigners owning urban or rural real property are in consequence placed on an equality with Ottoman subjects in everything relating to their real property." This equality means three things: firstly, that foreigners are obliged to conform to all the laws and all police or municipal regulations which

govern in the present or may govern in the future the enjoyment, transmission, alienation and hypothecation of landed property; secondly, to clear off all charges and taxes in whatever form or under whatever name they may be, which are or may be in the future levied on urban or rural real property; and thirdly, to make foreigners directly amenable to the Ottoman courts with respect to all questions relating to landed property and for all real actions, whether as plaintiffs or defendants, even when both parties are foreign subjects.

Although a foreigner is on an equality with an Ottoman in the matter of landed property, the dwelling house of this foreigner and its outlying buildings are inviolable by virtue of the treaties; and police agents cannot enter there without the presence of the consul, or the delegate of the consul, of the foreigner's country. Special provisions apply to dwellings remote from the consular residence.

According to Article 3, in the case of bankruptcy of a foreigner who is owner of real property, the assignees in bankruptcy must enter an appeal with the Ottoman authorities and civil officers to demand the sale of the real property owned by the bankrupt, which can be held for the debts of the owner. In the same way, in foreign courts, when a foreigner shall have obtained a judgment against another foreigner, who is owner of real property, he must apply to the competent Ottoman authority for the execution of this judgment on the real property of his debtor, in order to secure the sale of that part of the property which can be held for the debts of the owner.

Article 4 relates to the ability of disposing, either by donation or testament, of that part of the real property which is permitted by law. As to the real property of which he may not have disposed or of which the law does not permit him to dispose either by donation or testa-

ment, its succession is regulated according to the Ottoman law.

Article 5 states that every foreigner will enjoy the benefit of this law as soon as the Power of which he is a subject shall have agreed to the arrangements proposed by the Sublime Porte for the exercise of the right of ownership. The Powers which have adhered to this law are hereby given according to the date of acquiescence: France, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Prussia and the North-German Confederation, Spain, Greece, Russia, Italy, the Netherlands, the United States, Portugal, Persia, Serbia. The Romanians and the Montenegrins are excluded from the right of ownership of real property. It appears that the Swiss, who have no representation of their own in Turkey, must present themselves as French or German protégés.

The law of *Sefer* has given rise to numerous conflicts of jurisdiction between the Ottoman courts and the consular courts, since the latter say they are competent in numerous questions of real property, especially when they are of a personal character, involving, for example, disputes about renting and promises of sale.

Mulk land is the only property owned outright and is, therefore, the only kind which can, strictly speaking, be the subject of a sale. The sale of mulk lands is subject to general rules applicable to the sale of property of all kinds. The legal conveyance of these lands without consideration is subject to the rules applying to donation. Miri land may also be transferred, either gratuitously or for a consideration, by means of a "*firagh*." Whether the transfer involves absolute ownership or simple possession the act of sale or transfer includes the same essential elements: agreement of the parties, specification of the thing transferred, and the price. The sale, the transfer and the donation are based on contracts

which arise from the mere agreement of the parties. The free will of the parties is the first condition of every contract. A contract, imposed by violence, lacks an essential element. The transfer of title of lands belonging to incompetent parties or minors is subject to special legal provisions.

The law authorizes every competent person to make full agency arrangements. The sale of mulk lands and the transfer of miri lands may, therefore, be effected by attorneys or both parties. As soon as the deal has been closed by the contracting parties (providing, naturally, they are possessed of the necessary capacity and when a mutual agreement has been reached) the sale is definitely concluded without further formalities or the need of making actual delivery. After the contract is concluded, the buyer of real property may resell without awaiting delivery, although the law expressly forbids selling a real chattel before it is delivered. As distinguished from the procedure in case of sale, delivery is an essential condition of the contract of donation.

Although the sale of mulk real property is validly effected by mere contract, deeds are obligatory. The delivery of these deeds requires certain formalities for mulk lands as well as for the transfer of miri lands. A person who wishes to sell mulk land, or the owner of miri land, must provide himself with a certificate (*Ilmouhaber*) signed by the "Mukhtar" and the "Imam" of his district, and then appear with the purchaser before the official of the Cadastre in whose presence the act of registration will be performed. With a view to accomplishing these formalities the Mukhtars and the Imams are obliged to notify the agents of the Cadastre of all sales of real property which come to their knowledge. For the same reason, notaries are forbidden to legalize contracts relative to sales of real property.

The contract to transfer miri lands can be put into

effect only after obtaining the consent of the State, which retains eminent domain of landed property. For foreigners, the certification is delivered by the consuls of their respective countries. The act by which the grantor declares that he has transferred the property to the grantee who, after the latter makes due acknowledgment, having purchased it, is called "takrir." After its accomplishment, a notation is entered in the land records, and the purchaser receives a provisional deed (*mouvakkat senedi*) delivered by the local Bureau of the Cadastre. It is later replaced with a specific deed. The provisional deeds have the same juridical value as the specific deeds. For mulk real property, however, the transfer is considered as completed and the property as transferred by the accomplishment of the takrir in presence of the authorities, without noting whether the deed has been delivered to the purchaser. But with respect to miri lands, the contract becomes irrevocable only when the State has given its assent. So long as this assent has not been granted the contract can be annulled by either party.

The selling price must be specified at the time the contract is closed, failing which, the sale may be annulled at the instance of either party. In case of sale for cash, the vendor retains possession until the purchaser has paid the price in full. The right of retention is not lost even when the purchaser gives a pledge or furnishes security; but the vendor who makes delivery before receiving the full price forfeits his right of retention. In case of sale on credit, the vendor does not have the right to retain the thing sold; he must deliver it immediately to the purchaser and await the date of expiration to collect payment. The vendor, who, after having stipulated a cash sale, has granted a delay to the purchaser, forfeits his right of retention, and is obliged to deliver immediately though he will receive the price only at the end of the period agreed upon.



Courtesy Gertrude E. Knox

A Shepherd of Asia Minor Tending the Famous Angora Flocks.

The contracting parties may validly agree on the time for payment with the proviso that, failing payment at the time agreed on, the sale will be voided. In a sale of this kind, the contract becomes void, if the purchaser should die before payment. Failure to mention the price does not annul the contract, but the transfer is then considered as gratuitous. When an act of transfer shall have been effected as gratuitous or without specification of price, neither the grantor nor his heirs can claim subsequently any sum whatever. The sale is voidable when, as a result of fraud, a price has been paid which differs to a considerable extent from the real value of the thing bought, to the considerable disadvantage of either party. Every portion of a thing sold which cannot be separated from it must be considered as sold at the same time, even if it is not mentioned in the act of sale. Crops in the ground and fruits of trees are not appurtenances of the soil. The mulk structures or appurtenances of miri land can be acquired only by including them specifically in the act of purchase.

Sale or transfer effected by the grantor on condition that he shall be supported up to the time of his death by the grantee is valid. The grantor cannot later secure the return of the real property, unless it is decided that the terms are not being lived up to. If the grantee dies before the grantor, the heirs of the former are obliged to furnish subsistence: in case they do not comply, they are obliged to return the property. If there are no heirs, the property is restored to the grantor. So long as the grantor is living, neither the grantee nor his heirs can dispose of the property. The necessity for furnishing subsistence must be mentioned in the deed; otherwise, the grantor cannot take advantage of it to claim the restitution of the property.

The transfer of mulk, miri, or vakuf property between non-Moslem Ottoman subjects is allowed on con-

dition that in case of dissolution of the marriage, on account of death or divorce, the property will be returned to the former owner or possessor. Its grant as a dowry must be mentioned in the deed; in the absence of such reference, the property cannot be claimed by the grantor. One who wishes to make such a dowry must present to the Cadastre (a) a certificate drawn up by his religious head, and (b) a certification in Turkish, certified by this authority, of the marriage.

There is no doubt but that foreigners may make use of the same privilege of conditional grant, since they enjoy the same rights as Ottomans respecting real property.

By exercising the right of preëmption (*choufa*) or of preference (*rudjhan*) the law confers on third parties the right to annul a sale or a transfer validly concluded. The causes which justify this right are:

(a) Joint possession of the thing sold. The joint owner of an undivided property may exercise his right or preëmption in case of sale by the other joint owner of his undivided portion.

(b) The state of joint possession of a real right by reason of an improvement of the thing sold, such as the joint ownership of thoroughfare, the privileges of drawing water, or the possession of a blind alley.

(c) Contiguity to the thing sold.

Preëmption is exercised in the order indicated. Any one wishing to exercise his right of preëmption must do it fully, since this right is not divisible. Several persons, having the right of preëmption based on the same grounds, can exercise their right jointly. In order that this privilege may be exercised, it is necessary that there shall have been an effective sale or transfer; that is, the vendor no longer shall have any right to the property sold. There is no ground for preëmption in case of gratuitous acquisition, of legacy of succession, or of dona-

tion, unless an equivalent consideration is involved. The power of preëmption is lost when approval to the act of sale is given openly or tacitly. It cannot be exercised on real property of a different class. A mulk owner cannot exercise this right on miri or vakuf land, and vice versa. The right of preëmption applicable to mulk property is not applicable to miri or vakuf lands. Neither is it applicable to mulk buildings on lands of other classes.

There is, however, with respect to miri lands an analogous right called right of preference, which may be exercised by the owner or owners of the property. This right is also granted to the owner of mulk trees, shrubs, plants, etc., and to buildings on miri lands. If the possessor of the right of preference has given his assent to the transfer, or if offers for the property have been made to him and he has refused them, he cannot later make any effective claim respecting the land. The right of claiming the alienated portion belongs, during the period of five years, to the heirs of the person who could make this claim effective; it can be exercised against both the grantee and his heirs. The right of preference respecting miri land may even be exercised in case of a gratuitous grant. But the possessor of miri land cannot grant it gratuitously or for payment to another person, if the owner of the mulk trees, shrubs, plants, etc., or buildings on it made the grantee a cash offer. If the transfer has been effected, the owner of these improvements, by payment of its real value when making the claim, retains for ten years the right to claim the land.

The law promulgated in February, 1913, very complicated before that time, has simplified the form of mortgages.

Mulk real property, demesnal and mevkuvated lands and vakuf properties with or without buildings, possessed as a whole or jointly, may be mortgaged as collateral. Real property may be mortgaged to the Banque

Agricole, to the vakuf administrations as a guaranty of sums lent on lands belonging to these vakufs, and to Ottoman companies or banks authorized by the government to issue loans and advances on property built on, and on lands. But these companies and banks cannot own the said real property unconditionally. When the property mortgaged is a productive property, there must be presented a report certified by the municipality stating whether the property is rented or not, and for how long. If this period is longer than that of the loan, the tenant is required to state that he is willing to abide by the operation of the law on expiration of the loan. If he refuses, the creditor signs a statement whereby he pledges himself not to carry out the formalities of execution before the expiration of the lease. The papers, in connection with the loan attesting to the mortgage, are made out in duplicate by the administration of the Cadastre, and signed by the two contracting parties. After having filled out before the witnesses the binding takrir, these papers are certified to and a copy thereof is delivered to each of the two parties. These papers are admitted as binding evidence.

The revenue accruing to mortgaged properties belong to the debtors. Losses and damages which occur on these properties are charged to the debtors. The creditor may, by the intervention of the Cadastre and with the consent of the debtor, transfer his claim to a third party offering as security the mortgaged property. If the instrument or loan is made out "to order," he can transfer it just the same, the consent of the debtor being necessary. The debtor can also, with the consent of the creditor, definitely transfer his debt to a third party who accepts this transfer, the property mortgaged remaining subject to the mortgage itself. The debtor has the privilege of clearing off the mortgage before the date of payment becomes due. The amounts of the debt and fees

are then paid into some financial institution recognized by the State, to the credit of the creditor and in the name of the Cadastre. The latter gives notice thereof to the creditor and proceeds to cancel the mortgage. The law prescribes the procedure to follow in case the debt should not be paid at the stipulated time. If the proceeds of the sale are not sufficient, the creditor may claim from the debtor the balance of the amount due him.

Miri lands and vakufs subject to double charge may be seized and placed on sale on the same conditions as mulk property in order to satisfy debts fixed by judicial decisions. The sale is not lawful if the debtor proves that he has turned over the revenues to his creditors, and that the net revenue of the property is sufficient to pay within three years the amount of the debt together with legal interest and court charges. The person to whom a claim has been ceded may carry out the sale of the property on the same conditions as the creditor himself. If a portion of the real property of the debtor is sufficient to guarantee payment, the debtor may specify the property which is to be sold by auction. In the case of miri or vakuf lands subject to double charges, the crops are not seized, but remain under the care of the debtor until the harvest is completed. The seizure of real property does not deprive the owner of his property. He retains possession of it until the accomplishment of the sale and even afterward when the crops on it are not yet ripe for the harvest. In case of a forced sale of real property belonging to foreigners, the only way to execute judgments rendered by their consular authorities is to apply for their execution to the Ottoman judicial authorities.

Expropriation must be justified by reasons of public interest, such as widening of streets, establishment of public markets or gardens, or construction of railroads or highways. The law defines it as the act of "taking

possession by the State of lands (built on or otherwise) in consideration of payment corresponding to their value." The law specifies the procedure to follow in case of expropriation. Where real property has increased in value, as the result of widening the streets, the proprietors thereof are subject to the "cherifie," or tax, equivalent to the surplus value acquired. This tax is collectable in four annual payments.

According to Ottoman law, the right to exploit the mines is not collateral with ownership of the soil. The proprietor of the land has no more right to exploitation of the mines than any other individual, except in the matter of obtaining a permit to carry on investigations.

The regulations governing the exploitations of minerals are of three categories; namely, those applying to ores located under ground, those applying to ores scattered on the soil surface, and quarries. Mineral waters are governed by the same laws as mines, and for exploitation the owner must obtain special concessions.

The owner does not have the right to dig for minerals on his own land until he obtains a permit from the governor of the province or independent sanjak. In the case of Constantinople, an Imperial decree is necessary. While the permit may be granted by other than the owner or possessor without the latter's approval, nevertheless, without his permission, borings cannot be made, wells opened, nor warehouses constructed. This permit, which is delivered for a moderate, but variable, fee is not valid for more than a year from date of issuance, but may be extended. If the person who has obtained the research permit does not request the definite concession for exploitation within the extension of time allowed him, the permit may be withdrawn and granted to another. The right of exploitation turned over on certain conditions and in consideration of a transfer fee to a third

party, cannot be granted to more than one person for working the same locality during the specified time.

Ownership of mines and placers is conferred by decree of the Sultan. The concession is generally granted for ninety-nine years. It may be granted for a shorter period, but never for less than forty years. The concession may be granted either to Ottomans or to foreigners belonging to one of the nationalities which have adhered to the law of *Sefer*. Certain formalities and qualifications are necessary in order to obtain a concession. The concessionaire receives a real right transferable by sale or inheritance, distinct from the ownership of the soil. This consists in the privilege of exploiting the minerals during the period of the concession. Subsequent transfers of this right follow, in general, the regulations for a succession of real property.

The concessionaire must pay these charges and fees:— the charges for the firman of concession; a fixed duty which goes to the owner of the soil, or to the *Evkaf* or the Treasury, and a proportional duty, varying with the revenues of the mine and generally calculated on the average selling price of the ore. This duty is divided, according to the nature of the property (*vakuf*, *mulk*, *miri*), between the owner of the soil, the *Evkaf*, the Treasury and the administration of mines.

Whatever may be the category to which the land belongs, the right of opening and exploiting the quarries which are found there belong in principle to the owner or possessor of the land; but this right must be exercised in conformity with the special provisions of the regulations. The owner of the land may take from it stones or materials necessary for his personal usage without being held therefor to the observance of any formality or the payment of any fee or charge whatever. But if he desires to exploit the quarry, he must then request the authorization of the Imperial Government, through the

Ministry of Mines. To obtain permission to exploit a quarry, the consent of the owner is necessary. If the land is included in the category of demesnal lands not granted to individuals, the consent of the state as owner is necessary. As to communal lands, the quarries found on them cannot be placed under exploitation, until it is shown that this exploitation is not of a nature to cause any damage to the beneficiaries dwelling there. In general, a quarry can only be placed under exploitation by virtue of a special permit. If the concession is given for a period of less than twenty-five years, the permit is secured from the Ministry of Mines; if the period is twenty-five years or more, the concession can be granted only by virtue of an imperial decree issued on the proposal of the Council of State and based on specifications enumerated in the permit.

Ownership of the following antiques mentioned in the law is vested in the State: gold, silver, ancient coins of all kinds, historical inscriptions, tablets, paintings, and pieces of sculpture, objects of stone or terra cotta, vases, arms, instruments, rings, temples, castles, amphitheaters, fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, and monuments. No one, not even the owner of the soil, has the right to make excavations for antiques without the authorization of the government. The exportation of antiques is absolutely prohibited. They belong to the Imperial Museum of Constantinople. Their discoverers have no right to them other than to take copies or prints of them. Antiques found by accident in digging foundations or in a similar manner, however, give half ownership to the owner of the land; the State, by paying half of their value, can preserve them for the Museum.

When the possessor of miri land dies without leaving an heir capable of succession, the land does not revert purely and simply to the Treasury as free property destined to be the subject of a new concession; on the other

hand, a certain number of persons have the right to claim it after making due payment. The property, therefore, does not simply become "mahloul," or vacant land, destined to be put up at auction; it remains subject to the right of "tapou," which is the right indicated above. The claimants of tapou are the individuals who would have inherited in equal proportions mulk trees or buildings found on the land; the associates or partners of the deceased; and those inhabitants of the locality to whom it may be seen necessary. Their right of revendication extends for ten years, five years, or one year. The right to tapou is not transmissible by inheritance. When the possessor of miri land dies without leaving heirs or claimants of tapou, or when the grantees refuse to exercise their rights, the land becomes absolutely vacant "sirf majloul." It is put up at auction and turned over to the highest bidder. With respect to vakuf, the vacancy cannot be complete and absolute; relative vacancy and the right of tapou apply exclusively to miri lands. When a vakuf becomes vacant, it reverts immediately to the pious foundation to which it is consecrated. It may thereupon be put at auction to be granted to a new purchaser; the adjudication represents the rent paid in advance. However, when an undivided part in a piece of vakuf real property becomes vacant, the law grants to the possessors certain rights, the exercise of which is subject to conditions which vary according to each individual case.

Ottoman recognizes only three methods of acquiring property; (a) sale or donation, (b) succession, and (c) acquiring *monbah* or mountain lands.

As a general rule the period of the limitation is fifteen years, which applies to cases concerning the ownership of mulk property and the possession of vakuf property with fixed charge and double charge. However, different periods have been established for various special actions.

The reversionary interest (*rakkaba*) is limited to thirty-six years. The State's right of reversion on miri lands is also prescribed at thirty-six years. Thus, if anyone has possessed a piece of real estate as mulk property for more than thirty-six years, neither the vakuf administration nor the Cadastre can claim it any longer as vakuf property or miri land. Actions relative to the right of possession of miri lands are prescribed at ten years. Those relating to thoroughfare and water supply are limited to fifteen years, when the former serves mulk lands. The vakuf actions can be applied for a period of thirty-six years. Those which are attached to miri lands are prescribed for ten years. Prescription does not affect actions relative to "metruke" lands, which cannot form the basis for individual rights; it is continued by intervening persons, purchaser or heir.

Limiting the right of possessing miri lands is exercised against the State as well as against individuals. When the legitimate owner has died without leaving an heir, the later occupation of the land by the State for a term of ten years carried with it all the rights of possession, but it is necessary that the soil be cultivated regularly. This procedure does not apply in the case of private persons. Limitation does not apply to (a) those persons who have valid excuses for not bringing suits; (b) minors and insane persons who cannot be held responsible for the negligence of guardians; (c) persons absent for good reasons. An action at law is necessary to suspend the statute of limitations.

CHAPTER XI

IRRIGATION

By SULEIMAN SIRRI BEY¹

Have ye considered if your waters on the morrow should have sunk,
who is to bring you flowing water?

—THE KORAN.

Introduction

The water supply through prewar Turkey is imperfectly utilized. The statements of Sir William Willcocks about its utilization in Iraq are extremely sanguine. The remainder of Turkey, while lacking any water supply in any way comparable to the Tigris and Euphrates, does present possibilities for development: the German works at Konia are symbolical of the potentialities in other fertile plains. The arid lands present conditions which are not dissimilar to those found in our western states. Their drainage presents no difficult physical problems.

As an illustration of the terribly extravagant irrigation

¹Born in Salonika. Completed elementary and secondary studies in Salonika and then entered the Engineers' School in Constantinople, securing diploma in 1897. Road Engineer, Syria, 1898-1901. Also acted as member of the Committee which surveyed the prevention of the destruction caused by the river Barada. Superintended construction of government building of Kastamuni and was chief engineer of roads in Yannina and Erzerum. During two years attached to the survey of the Hindiya barrage and the construction of the Huveyyeh barrage. Chief engineer of Jerusalem transferred to Brusa, where he stayed two years and secured the water distribution of the town. In 1910 was appointed Assistant Director of Roads and in 1912 Turkish Director-General of Public Works. Has superintended construction of many roads and bridges. Lecturer on water works and improvement of rivers. The following are his published works: Practical Algebra (Turkish), Water Constructions (Turkish), Draining and Irrigation (Turkish), Huveyyeh Barrage (German) and at present is writing a book on the Improvement of Rivers and Inland Navigation.

Translated from Turkish by a Cypriote Mohammedan.

methods used by the Iraqis, results show that the Shamiyeh sheikhs use about twenty cusecs (cubic feet per second) of water per acre for rice cultivation compared with less than one-tenth this amount by the cultivators of southern India. A late British official report states that the Shamiyeh area is being worked with excellent results for the cultivation of dates: a region, however, which does not compare in productivity with the date gardens about Basra. Such possibilities of new cultivation are proving attractive to the roving tribes which formerly eked out their existence by the well-known practice of robbery. It is impossible to venture the wildest guess relative to the quantity and value of the possible output from these drought areas.

Internal disturbances are partially responsible for the tardiness in the initiation of irrigation projects. The greatest obstacle to early development along these lines, however, is due to the small population. Under these circumstances, capital is not easily obtainable.

Only those persons who have lived in arid or semi-arid countries can appreciate the tremendous value of water. The decay of Babylon and other famous Oriental cities has been attributed largely to a widespread diminution in the supply of ground water—the result of the physical changes of the centuries.

Irrigation

Any consideration of irrigation projects must be based upon the physical features of rivers and lakes in local areas. Prewar Turkey may be divided into Turkey-in-Europe, Anatolia, Syria and Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Arabia.

Turkey-in-Europe has no important water basin on account of its low level. For instance, Lake Derkos on the Black Sea littoral is only 0.08 meters above sea level,

while the lands in the Marmara littoral, which are high enough near the sea, soon drop off, making a bed for the River Erghene, a branch of the Maritza. Kiaghad Khane River, European Turkey, can supply only part of the water required for Constantinople. Therefore, this basin is not worth consideration for irrigation, navigation, or even electric power.

The Anatolian Peninsula includes also the basin of the Persian Gulf, as the Tigris and the Euphrates spring within its boundaries. This district, however, will be considered under Mesopotamia, with which the Persian Gulf basin is more closely connected.

With one or two exceptions, a study of the Anatolian river basins indicates that high lands border the sea. A plateau covers most of the peninsula, but the basins are separated from each other by mountain ranges and lofty hills. This type of formation is unfavorable for railways, while navigation becomes limited. It is impossible, moreover, to construct networks of canals because the rivers cannot be joined to each other. The plateau cannot produce crops in abundance without irrigation. The mountains, however, stop the north wind and make the lands favorable for the cultivation of crops such as rice, cotton, figs, grapes, lemons, oranges, mandarins, and even sugar cane, which grows only in Adana. Extensive basins such as the Su Sighirli in the Marmara littoral, Kediz, Menderez, and Adana and small basins such as Edremid, Bakir Chai, Kutchuk Menderez, and Antalia are all sheltered to the north by high mountains. The irrigation possibilities of these areas are great. In extensive basins such as those at Adana, Kediz, Menderez and Su Sighirli, cotton cultivation should prove more profitable than the lands of Egypt, which suffer from the north wind.

The water basins of Anatolia are of three classes: large rivers, small rivers and lakes. The larger basins

are those of Kizil Irmak, Yeshil Irmak and Sakkaria in the Black Sea littoral, Su Sighirli in the Marmara littoral, Kediz and Menderez in the Archipelago littoral and Sihun and Jihun in the Mediterranean littoral. The more utilizable small basins are those of Philios in the Black Sea littoral, Kionan, Bigha and Kuchuk Menderez in the Marmara littoral, Bakir Chai, and Kuchuk Menderez in the Archipelago littoral, Dalman, Akchai, Duden Chai, Ak Su near Antalia, Kiopru Su near old Antalia and Sukat Chai and especially Berdan in the Adana plain.

Because of their potential use as reservoirs at a small initial outlay, a few Anatolian lakes are of considerable importance. The rivers are torrentlike, capable of furnishing a valuable water supply if harnessed. It is true that owing to their topographical situation, some of these lakes cannot be utilized as reservoirs. Many of them are large enough to be utilized for reservoirs as well as for navigation purposes. For instance, Lakes Karaviram and Beyshehr, in addition to draining the Konia plain, can also be utilized for navigation purposes. Sailing vessels already in use in Beyshehr could be replaced by steamships. Among other lakes suitable for both purposes are Lakes Manios, Simav, Marmarajik, Egerdir, Van, Tuz; Apollon and Amik provide an example of the smaller basins. Unfortunately, electric power can be obtained only from Lakes Iznik and Sapanja.

In Syria there is a narrow strip of hinterland, running north and south, divided by the rivers Sheria and Ayas; the former an interior basin; the latter forming a basin by turning westward after approaching the sea littoral.

In spite of the fact that these rivers are small, they are of real utility because favored by the climate there can be produced yearly valuable crops, such as oranges, mandarins, and lemons. The Elujeh is important because it might be used to irrigate the Jaffa plain. The

Sheria plain is absolutely unique, since it is in a position to supply Egypt and Jaffa with early-producing crops, which are certain to be very profitable.

While the rivers of Syria are not suitable for navigation, the Dead Sea can be utilized for this purpose, affording transportation with regard to the crops of Kerek and of Jerusalem and Jaffa.

Mesopotamia is a world by itself. Here scientific irrigation was first practiced. It is an historical fact, that at a time when the lands in Egypt were irrigated by means of inundations, this country was employing far advanced methods. *Ors*—the old Turkish word for dikes—were constructed during the reign of Orkhan and Samirkhan who ruled there before the Babylonians and the Assyrians.

Although the principal basins are those of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the Diala, a branch of the Tigris, should not be overlooked because it supplies forty-two cubic meters at low water, which is entirely utilized. In Mesopotamia there is almost no rainfall except in certain easterly places. Nothing grows in this country without irrigation, but analyses show that when irrigated it becomes as fertile as Egypt. Fertilizers are unnecessary for many years, as the lands have not been cultivated for centuries. There grow the famous rice (*amberbu*), cotton, and dates.

Navigation is good as far as Baghdad; it can be continued to Samarra and Tikrit at little expense. The Euphrates can be adapted for steamer navigation. Communications would be further developed if a large interior harbor were established at Korna, where the rivers join; in fact, this matter was considered when the construction of the existing irrigation works and also projects for future constructions were prepared. In the Hejaz there is no water even for drinking purposes. As for the Yemen, remains of old dikes show that reservoirs

were built there for irrigation purposes during the flourishing period of the pre-Islamic Arab culture. Unfortunately, the Yemen is an unknown country at present as no survey was ever made relative to the extent of the irrigable area and of the possible crops obtainable.

By referring to Table I it becomes evident that there is less water available during the irrigation season than during the flood season.

The Euphrates is so wide and deep that its waters cannot be properly used without the Habbaniya reservoir. The water, brought down during the floods, should be accumulated in the Habbaniya lowland and returned to the Euphrates during the irrigation season, at the rate of 50 cubic meters per second. The same application is possible for the Marmara basin, due to the many swamps and two large lakes produced by floods. In reality, at the present time, the waters of the rivers Nilofer, Kermasti, Kara Dere, Manias, and Su Sighirli are not sufficient for irrigation purposes, and the lake Manias has to be used as a reservoir. There are no lakes in the Mendere plain, so dikes need to be constructed to accumulate water for irrigation purposes. The lake Marmaris, however, can be utilized for the Kediz basin. Irrigation in the upper parts of the Kizil Irmak requires large dikes. The only rivers which have plenty of water are the Berdan, Sihun, and Jihun which are ample for the irrigation of the Adana plain. Syria is in the same condition as Anatolia. As for Mesopotamia, there is no suitable place for the construction of a reservoir for the Tigris, although a large reservoir can be constructed on the Hamrin hills for the river Diala.

Considerable expense would be saved by the utilization of lakes. Reservoirs accumulating 30,000,000 to 50,000,000 cubic meters of water cost at the rate of 0.20 franc (4 cents) per cubic meter, while those of 200,000,000 cubic meters cost at the rate of 0.10 franc (2 cents) per

TABLE I

<i>Name of the river</i>	<i>Extent of the basin (in square kilometers)</i>	<i>Supply during flood time (in cubic meters per second)</i>	<i>Supply during low water (in cubic meters per second)</i>	<i>Difference</i>
Maritza	25,458	800-1000	80	10-15
Su Sighirli	23,730	650	7.5	86.6
Nilofer	(included in Su Sighirli basin)	500	0.60	833
Kermasti	(included in Su Sighirli basin)	1000	15	66.6
Manias	(included in Su Sighirli basin)	280	unknown	—
Kara Dere	(included in Su Sighirli basin)	350	unknown	—
Muruvvetler	(included in Su Sighirli basin)	90	unknown	—
Sakkaria	50,860	1100	.4	275
Philios	14,260	unknown	30.88	unknown
Kizil Irmak	68,100			
Yeshil Irmak	39,260			
Kionan	2,440	1000	10-15	66.100
Bigha	2,260			
Menderez (Chanaq) ..	8,120			
Bakir Chai	3,200			
Kediz	17,860			
Kuchuk Menderez ...	4,460			
(Aidin)				
Boyuk Menderez	23,840			
(Aidin)				
Dalsman Chai	6,020			
Ak Chai	3,520	450	15	30
Kiopru Su	4,400			
Kiok Su	8,020			
Sihun	21,080			
Jihun	21,480			
Sheria	12,760			
Euphrates	118,640			
Tigris				
Diala	30,100			
		5500-6500	220.250	22.30
			45	

cubic meter. The Habbaniya reservoir on the Euphrates cost 0.011 piasters (4.84 cents) per cubic meter against 0.035 piasters (15.4 cents) spent on the dikes of the Assuan in Egypt. If one takes into consideration the fact that the dikes stopped the destruction which used to be caused by the floods, it will be concluded that the

TABLE II

<i>Name of operations</i>	<i>Extent of the lands to be irrigated (in dunams)</i>	<i>Extent of the lands to be drained (in dunams)</i>	<i>Kind of crop</i>	<i>Estimated costs (in Turkish pounds)</i>	<i>Average profit per annum (in Turkish pounds)</i>	<i>Profit per annum after 35 years (in Turkish pounds)</i>
Maritza valley . . .	1,100,000	250,000	Wheat, Maize, Rice	1,600,000	320,000	522,000
Su Sighirli	300,000	300,000	Wheat, Maize, Clover	1,100,000	204,100	321,500
Menderez plain . . .	1,117,000	150,000	Wheat, Cotton, Grapes	2,000,000	476,580	1,065,733
Kediz plain	165,000	120,000	Wheat, Barley, Cotton, Grapes	220,000	130,800	221,800
Extension of Konia works	490,000	200,000	Wheat, Beet root	350,000	126,250	224,750
Eregli plain	50,000	20,000	Wheat, Beet root	40,000	9,000	18,000
Bafra plain	115,456	146,480	Wheat, Rice, Maize	575,000	30,000	80,000
Adana plain	2,175,160	—	Wheat, Cotton, Sugar-cane	3,500,000	590,625	1,172,500
Amik plain	330,000	330,000	Rice, Cotton, Wheat, Barley	312,400	64,000	118,720
Kasimiyye valley . . .	77,000	—	Banana, Pomegranate, Orange	70,000	20,000	60,000
Sheria valley	110,000	—	Banana, Pomegranate, Orange	100,000	30,000	100,000
Eluje valley	44,000	—	Banana, Pomegranate, Orange	40,000	20,000	35,000
Huleh swamp	44,000	71,500	Every kind of cereals	250,000	1,300,000	—
Mesopotamia	15,000,000	—	Wheat, Cotton, Fruits	28,500,000	5,000,000	13,500,000

An acre is equivalent to 4.4 dunams.

The Turkish gold pound or lire is equal to \$4.40 at parity.

water is being accumulated without any cost whatever. Likewise, 2,880,000 cubic meters of water could be accumulated in Lake Manias at a total cost of 25,000 Turkish pounds (\$1,100,000); that is 0.0086 piasters (4 cents) per cubic meter. Also, 1,700,000 cubic meters of water could be accumulated in the Beyshehr Lake at a correspondingly low cost per cubic meter. The foregoing figures are based on prewar costs.

These data show what an amount of benefit could be derived from these lakes of the Ottoman Empire, most of which could be utilized for this purpose.

The selection of the best available lands to be irrigated or drained appearing in Table II has been determined mainly by the expectation of profitable investment (reckoned in prewar figures), the character of the crops, the climate, and the local economic situation.

It is naturally conceded that works to be constructed on fertile lands will yield larger profits. In the same way, there will be a great difference in costs, according to the character and location of the lands. For example, expenses on the Tigris works would exceed by five times those on the Euphrates. Therefore, the Euphrates operations should come first. The human element deserves prime attention. Desirable immigration should be encouraged. The question of roads, while perhaps not so important in those countries where there are well developed railway lines, must never be overlooked in Turkey either where railways are inadequate or in those parts where the transport is exclusively by animals. Because of excessive transport expenses crops of excellent quality and quantity cannot be exported.

Underlying this whole subject we are confronted by an imperfect system and abuse of land distribution, which retards the development of both large and small holdings.

As there are various works to be built and as it is advisable to start those first which should yield a profit-

able return, the Government had prepared a program for a period of fifteen to twenty years, and made its own surveys. It recognized that when surveys are entrusted to private concerns, it becomes difficult to obtain access to information. The construction work might be undertaken by concession or contract; the latter appears less objectionable. As a rule, concessions would be neither as profitable nor as attractive to private firms, while, on the other hand, should title to the lands also be sought, the present inhabitants would suffer. The latter either might lose their lands outright or at least would be subject to inconveniences and hardships.

In order to expedite the operations and to secure the cultivation of the lands which would otherwise be left uncultivated during the first years, companies might be allowed to cultivate those lands for a few years and also possibly be granted concessions for navigation purposes and for producing electric energy. It is also being contemplated to encourage the people of small holdings to form companies for initiating construction works.

Existing irrigation enterprises, some of them dating to antiquity, can be classified in general under three periods—areas irrigated: (*a*) since earliest times, (*b*) in recent times but before the first Constitution (1876), and (*c*) since the restoration of the Constitution (1908).

There is no information available regarding the plans, costs, and the workings during this first period, as it dates back to the rulers in Mesopotamia before the Babylonians and Assyrians. Details of the irrigation in construction with the river Barada, near Damascus, are equally unknown. Likewise, there is no information regarding old irrigation works of Anatolia, supposed to have been built by the Hittites. It is interesting to note that the name Yeshil Irmak means Iris, to whom an idol was erected near the spring of the water supply at Eregli, within the vilayet of Konia.

No information either can be given for the second period when smaller undertakings were made by the people themselves, while the larger works were built in Mesopotamia, and elsewhere, by Sultan Abdul Hamid in the name of the Crown Treasury. Troops and civil groups were employed in the construction.

The only reliable information which can be given is for the Konia plain and Mesopotamia plain where works were undertaken after the Constitution and are already in operation.

Konia development serves the following villages which are situated on the railway line between the Kashin-Han and Chomra station, at a distance of 20 and 40 kilometers, respectively, from Konia:—

Kiok Hoyuk, Ali Bey Hoyuk, Chomra, Chariklar, Boruk Dulu, Fethiyye, Dedem Oghlu, Alemdar Kuchuk Köi, Karghin, and Kara Hoyuk. Also, three cubic meters of water is supplied to the villages already irrigated by the Charshamba River. It was found that the Charshamba River was insufficient to irrigate the whole plain, so it was decided to drain Beyshehr Lake. Therefore, the Beyshehr River, which runs down from the Beyshehr Lake was improved over a distance of 60 kilometers in such a way as to draw 60 meters of water per second. This water drained into the river Charshamba through a canal 30 kilometers in length. In addition, water from Lake Karavivan drained through Balikliova, 22 kilometers in extent, and thus the water flowed into the River Charshamba and thence to the Charshamba plain. Because of its irregular course, it was necessary to do considerable work on the bed of this river.

Total expenses of these works amounted to 19,500,000 francs (\$3,900,000). Since but one third of this amount was spent on the improvement of the Beyshehr and Charshamba rivers, on the Beyshehr channel and on the two canals, the relative insignificant cost for draining

becomes evident. After reaching the plain, the water is distributed by means of primary, secondary, and tertiary canals, their total length amounting to 746 kilometers. The surplus discharge is through canals, 565 kilometers in length. It is worth noting that only one main canal was constructed for irrigating the Kara Arslan district, near Konia, and for increasing its water supply. Various barrages were constructed to hold back and store the water. Also forty stone-laid roads, as well as those of other description, were constructed in addition to the bridges, large and small, alongside the canals. Moreover, there have been established telegraph and telephone lines of 225 kilometers each with further extension of these lines under contemplation. Houses for the officials and huts for the barrage employes have also been constructed. The Anatolian Railway Company, which was and is greatly interested in the traffic possibilities, undertook this work which they completed in four years, or a year before the date called for by the contract.

The first results of this irrigation work date from the year 1913 when the profits, as it was the first year of operation, were approximately only half of the expected amount. The operations during 1914 were seriously affected by the outbreak of the war. During the first year, only about 300,000 dunams were cultivated, and of this 225,250 dunams were devoted to wheat, 46,655 to barley, 14,370 to melons and fruits, 1325 to oats and rye, 4875 to chick peas and vetches, and 1000 dunams to maize. Thus the greater part of the locality was left uncultivated. Only in the Kara Arslan locality and in the model farm were the profits up to expectation. Three and one half cubic meters of water was supplied throughout. The profits from this valuable enterprise could be increased by the following measures: (a) immediate registration should be made to establish the limits of the lands

belonging to the State, and the Ministry of the Evkaf (Religious Institutions); (b) ownerless lands, amounting to 200,000 dunams, should be distributed to immigrants; (c) part of the large landholdings now in possession of the inhabitants should be acquired and distributed to immigrants.

After making these changes, based upon pre-war figures, the profits should increase 200,000 Turkish pounds (\$880,000) per annum. Besides, this, further improvements could be made by irrigating work to include the Moram Chai river near Konia.

Turning to the irrigation of Mesopotamia, approximately a century and a half ago an Indian, named Assaf-un-Dovleh opened a small canal on the Baghdad-Karbala road, 12 kilometers south of Museyyeb, for the purpose of diverting water from the Euphrates to the holy town of An Najaf. But as the gradient of this canal was in excess of that of the former bed of the Euphrates, water ran into this course, deposits began to heap up. It was of small utility, except when there was high water. To prevent this, a barrage was constructed on the new bed, but still this did not improve matters as it was found impossible to restore the old bed to its previous condition, owing to deposits which were 11.5 meters in depth. Therefore, it was thought more practicable to use it as a canal and to supply it with water by means of a barrage. This project, planned in 1905, was not completed until four to five years had elapsed, when it was constructed according to revised specifications. This barrage, which is 237.5 meters in length, is supported by 36 arches, each 5 meters in breadth. Near this barrage was constructed also a regulator, 33.5 meters in length, supported by 7 arches of 3 meters each. The amount of the water which this barrage could accommodate amounted to 120 cubic meters. Since both the old and new beds were navigable there were also constructed floating tanks, 86 meters in

length and 8 meters in breadth. These facilities allowed the Karbala, Museyyeb and Mahmudiya canals to be supplied with any needed amount of water.

In order to accumulate the vast quantity of water carried down by the Euphrates during the flood season, there was constructed a reservoir in the Habbaniya lowland, near the town of Ramadi. The advantage of this reservoir, capacity of which is 2462 cubic meters, is that the barrage is smaller, thereby effecting a large saving on initial outlay, and at the same time allowing navigation and irrigation to be in operation during the drought. Moreover, destruction caused by floods has been stopped and the building of dikes rendered unnecessary. When the military occupation took place, the Hindiya barrage and that of the old bed had been already completed and work had been started on the construction of the regulators of these two canals, as well as those of the Karbala canal and the Habbaniya canal.

It is a mistake to suppose that these irrigation projects, because not yet completed, are of little use. Such is not the case. In Mesopotamia, and in this locality in particular, effective irrigation has existed for a great many years, and, due to the construction of the Hindiya barrage, the water was immediately used extensively—even vessels appeared in the old bed.

It was originally intended to have the works undertaken by a contractor, but in order to expedite matters the John Jackson Company, Ltd. was asked to carry out the work temporarily on behalf of the Government. Meanwhile the Government called for tenders, but had been obliged to agree to the conditions that the tenders should be restricted to the Jacksons and Pearsons. This first agreement was interrupted for periods by the Italian, Balkan, and European wars, with operations still in the hands of the British company. When the Turkish Government took part in the European war, these busi-

ness relations came to an end and the work was taken over by the Government.

Although the extent of the lands covered by these operations has not been definitely ascertained, it is known that 50 cubic meters of water flowing into the old bed was consumed. The extent of the lands, therefore, can be roughly estimated. This information gives a good clue to the irrigated areas, but at the same time it is most likely that the peasants drew more water than was actually required. On the other hand, the amount of the water flowing into the Museyyeb, Mahmudiya and Karbala canals has not been ascertained. Our only certain information is that the increase on the tithes received from the lands surrounding the old bed amounted to 60,000 Turkish pounds (\$264,000). An equivalent of this amount might be estimated also for the lands which formerly belonged to the Crown Treasury and were afterwards handed over to the Government, since no tithes were being received from these lands. Therefore, the total excess of the tithes amounted to 130,000 pounds (\$572,000) including the 10,000 pounds (\$44,000) estimated for the Karbala section. Thus receipts amounted to 150,000 pounds (\$660,000); the previous receipts were estimated at 20,000 pounds (\$88,000). From these figures it may be concluded that the profits were equivalent to 33 per cent since the total initial costs of construction amounted to approximately 450,000 pounds (\$1,980,000). Later on, the rate of profit should redouble, owing to increased crops and the construction of the Shamiya and Hindiya canals which have been already started. If the lands were distributed gratis, the receipts would meet or even exceed the annual costs of operation.

CHAPTER XII

AGRICULTURE

By EDWARD FREDERICK NICKOLEY¹

An old fashioned Turk in discussing the Christians said, "Yes, effendi, it is true that the Christians are very tricky and cause our Government a lot of trouble. But"—with a slow smile—"they have their uses, too. If a Turk has an apple tree, it bears, maybe, three apples; but if he employs a Christian to look after it for him, it will bear eight apples. True, the Christian will steal three of them, but the Turk gets five. I know of what I speak, effendi, and I tell you that the Christians have their points."

—THE CARAVANSERAI, *The Near East*.

Introduction

Nature has made of Turkey an agricultural country of marvelous richness, yet the lands mostly lie fallow. Little has been done by the Government or by private initiative to aid the cultivators or laborers. The peasants are universally fond of sheep and goats, and enjoy a pastoral life. The methods of plowing, harvesting and threshing are almost identical with those adopted over two thousand years ago. There is no incentive to greater production, since the increased crop is grasped immediately by the tax collector (*zaptieh*), or by raiding bands. The situation is pitiful, especially since approximately three quarters of the population dwell in rural communities, and the economic hope of the country lies solely in land products. Prince Sabaddine, the enlight-

¹ Born near Chicago, 1874. Educated in country schools. For four years teacher in rural schools. Entered University of Illinois, 1894, graduated from School of Arts and Sciences, 1898. Teacher of English in Aurora (Illinois) High School. Organized School of Commerce of American College at Beirut. Principal of this institution, 1900 to present time. Acting President of American University of Beirut, 1919-1922.

ened nephew of the recently deposed Sultan, told me of his strong conviction that the future strength of Turkey must center around Anatolia, where agricultural reforms should be inaugurated without delay. Likewise, the new leaders of Turkey appear keen to apply the fundamental principles of agricultural economics. At the Smyrna Economic Congress, after giving as examples former regions of the Ottoman Empire, Mustafa Kemal Pasha said: "Gentlemen, those who effect conquests by the sword finish by being beaten by those who employ as their arm the plough, and by ceding their place to them. . . . In the struggle between the sabre and the plough it is always the latter which comes out on top."

Under modern farming methods, the soil is capable of bountiful crops. It is wonderful that the lands are so productive under the present unfavorable conditions. They receive no enrichment, since usually the animal dung is mixed with straw and made into cakes for use as fuel. No artificial fertilizers are used. Modern machinery and implements are little known. The cheap labor in Anatolia often makes their use uneconomical. It is hard to change the customs of Oriental peoples: this statement is particularly true of the Moslems, since they are not mechanically inclined and soon abandon any mechanical contrivance when it gets out of order. All peasant women work in the fields.

The Banque Agricole is the only financial establishment which is prepared to lend money to the cultivator. Generally, however, the loans granted are actually used for his home. The bank is authorized to lend money against land but not against crops. These advances are made at such usurious rates of interest that the principal can practically never be repaid; thus the loan often is the first step in a foreclosure of a later sale. Further, the resources of the bank have never been sufficient for the country's needs. In every respect, this useful institution

should be the recipient of strong State support and wise direction.

In Turkey, as in most countries, agriculture is considered a despised occupation. The farmer or peasant prefers to live in the town. He encourages his son to enter a career other than agriculture. If the young man is bright, he may receive extra schooling; then he seldom becomes a cultivator. The knowledge of improved agricultural practices in other countries must be brought to the attention of the Anatolian peasants, who can be taught the value of education as applied to their occupation. The material and social benefits that would result cannot be exaggerated.

Agriculture

The regions which comprised the Ottoman Empire in August, 1914, are essentially agricultural. Only in exceptional cases have their inhabitants risen above their present level of economic development. They have at no time taken kindly to change in their methods of living or to economic progress. The pressure of growing population has been met by migrations, wars and massacres, and, only after an agelong struggle have they remained in their present low grade of the agricultural stage, while large tracts of land and great masses of the population are still nomadic in their method of living. So far as the knowledge of the past history and the present condition of these peoples throws any light upon their probable future, it seems to be a safe and conservative statement to make that the lands of the Levant seem to be destined for an indefinite time to come to remain predominantly agricultural. While certain cities may possibly develop into thriving commercial centers or sporadic manufacturing industries acquire local importance, these will have for their purpose the serving of the greater

mass of the population who will remain on the land. In the international division of labor where in the long run every group finds its proper occupation upon the basis of the twofold standard of efficiency, the former Turkish Empire is destined to play the part of the hewer of wood and drawer of water. So far as investigations conducted in the past indicate, the lands seem to be lacking in those resources and the people appear to be deficient in those qualities which constitute the indispensable prerequisites to further advance towards what is conventionally described as a higher stage of development, namely industry and commerce.

As an agricultural country, the former Ottoman Empire possesses certain distinctive features. It has, first of all, an extraordinarily wide range of climatic conditions. It extends from approximately twelve degrees to forty degrees north latitude, having a wider reach than any other compact political unit except Russia, possessing the advantage over Russia that it lies wholly within the productive zone, whereas the latter extends into the tundras of the frozen north. The extremes of heat and cold are still further accentuated by the difference in elevation, ranging from the tropical alluvial plains of lower Mesopotamia and Yemen to the elevated tablelands at the foot of Mount Ararat in the north. Soil conditions are equally diverse. There are fertile plateaus where nature produces generously with but little assistance or urging from man, and there are terraced limestone mountain sides where scarcely a living income is vouchsafed the hard-working winegrower and truck gardener. There are vast stretches composed of the richest fluvial deposit alternating with sandy deserts. In general the rainfall is not such as to serve the best interests of agriculture, being so scant in some regions as to make agriculture impossible.

Data concerning area of land suited for agriculture are

not available for all of Turkey. The following table for the vilayets of Anatolia presents useful information based on fairly normal conditions:

	<i>Cultivated area (Hectares)</i>	<i>Arable but not Cultivated (Hectares)</i>	<i>Per Cent Cultivated</i>	<i>Per Cent Possible to Cultivate</i>
Aidin	600,626	864,374	10.53%	25.70%
Angora	571,115	728,885	7.61%	17.33%
Trebizond	550,000	500,000	7.85%	33.54%
Adana	467,780	1,375,090	11.69%	47.07%
Erzerum	337,772	2,551,740	4.40%	37.66%
Kharput	182,274	1,614,264	4.82%	47.53%
Van	74,269	2,078,731	1.55%	45.13%
Diarbekr	38,479	3,610,921	.82%	77.97%

Comparative differences between the last two columns may be due to many intermingling causes such as topography, climate and weather, and the use of land for grazing purposes rather than agriculture. Moreover, the possible cultivated area has no direct reference to its possible profitableness; for example, take the vilayet of Aidin, which has a lower given percentage in regard to potential production than is true of the vilayet of Trebizond, although the latter vilayet consists almost wholly of mountainous country which does not compare in richness with the territory adjacent to Smyrna. The Turkish Government published in 1912 a résumé of agricultural conditions in Turkey in Asia and Africa (figures for Turkey in Europe published separately), covering the Turkish year 1325 (1909-10), which gives the actual and percentage crop distribution among the vilayets and independent sanjaks.

Of the agricultural products of Turkey the item of greatest importance is that of cereals. To a greater extent, perhaps, than anywhere else in the world, bread constitutes the staple article of food for all classes of people. Wheat bread is the most common article of

<i>Vilayets</i>	<i>Cereals</i>		<i>Vegetables</i>		<i>Industrial and Oleaginous Products</i>		<i>Vines</i>	
	<i>Hectares</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Hectares</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Hectares</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Hectares</i>	<i>%</i>
Constantinople	8,146	78.87						
Erzerum	334,283	98.99	45	0.43	1,396	13.55	738	7.15
Adana	298,445	63.89	3,114	0.90	138	0.04	254	0.07
Angora	516,490	90.45	4,753	1.03	151,604	32.45	12,313	2.63
Aidin	436,905	72.81	6,757	1.18	1,463	0.25	46,411	8.12
Bitlis	244,082	94.63	24,207	4.03	34,665	5.77	104,434	17.39
Basra	42,928	98.18	1,885	0.73	3,104	1.21	8,834	3.43
Baghdad	39,058	95.83	276	0.63	477	1.09	41	0.10
Beirut	233,960	78.54	42	0.11	485	1.19	1,172	2.87
Archipelago	29,804	56.89	27,963	9.41	29,813	10.02	6,049	2.03
Aleppo	278,987	79.04	7,093	13.53	2,148	4.11	13,348	25.47
Brusa	401,730	79.47	11,184	3.16	12,647	3.58	50,212	14.22
Diarbekr	249,422	81.08	9,586	1.89	14,138	2.79	80,167	15.85
Damascus	309,822	89.16	10,952	3.55	8,812	2.86	38,497	12.51
Sivas	392,673	92.53	10,252	2.94	1,183	0.34	26,269	7.56
Tripoli	47,937	96.54	9,057	2.13	5,389	1.26	17,309	4.08
Trebizond	327,823	89.49	1,012	2.03	110	0.02	701	1.41
Kastamuni	232,353	94.85	26,638	7.27	11,901	3.24	4	0.001
Konia	572,936	90.50	3,973	1.64	2,299	0.93	6,342	2.58
Kharput	134,125	73.58	11,065	1.74	10,393	1.64	38,759	6.12
Mosul	202,649	87.22	5,123	2.83	16,474	9.03	26,553	14.56
Van	72,096	95.37	2,067	0.89	9,138	3.93	18,515	7.96
			315	0.42	2,050	2.72	1,131	1.49
<i>Independent Sanjaks of</i>								
Izmid	53,215	74.79	1,896	2.66	4,712	6.63	11,327	15.92
Urfa	51,206	78.35	1,374	2.10	274	0.41	12,513	19.14
Bolu	89,363	95.01	2,533	2.69	1,963	2.08	207	00.22
Bengazi	129,301	99.99	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bigha	51,294	83.67	4,513	7.35	224	0.36	5,289	8.62
Zor	36,928	97.78	423	1.12	414	1.09	.....	.....
Jerusalem	93,976	83.52	3,706	3.29	11,413	10.14	3,437	3.05
Karassi	172,407	83.10	18,634	8.98	7,932	3.82	8,517	4.10
Totals	6,084,344	84.73	210,438	2.93	346,659	4.83	539,348	7.51

diet, but barley, millet, and maize bread are also eaten, especially in the regions lying in the interior of the country. Considerable quantities of barley are exported to Europe where it is used for malting purposes. On the other hand, large quantities of wheat flour are in normal times imported, principally from Russia. In 1910 the value of imports under this head was over L. T. 3,000,000 gold (\$13,200,000). The explanation of this anomaly is, first, the cheapness of water transport as compared with the cost of carriage by pack animals and carts from the interior of the country, and, secondly, the fact that industrial methods have not kept pace with the advance in the standard of living. The demand is for finer grades of flour than the native mills can produce.

Next in order of importance, and easily ranking first as an article of export, stands tobacco. Before the Balkan wars Turkey held a high position as a grower of high-grade tobacco. Even after the loss of the European provinces, however, value of the exports in a single year has amounted to \$10,000,000. The greatest quantity as well as the finest quality is grown in the provinces bordering on the Black Sea, and a smaller amount of a specially high grade is produced in the Latakia plain in northern Syria. Smyrna has a vast production of medium grades. At one time the greater part of the tobacco produced in the country was consumed in the country, but at present Turkey produces to a large extent for export. The systematic and steady demand for the crop on the part of American manufacturers has greatly stimulated production both as regards quantity and quality. The table on page 287 gives the production in Turkish territory for 1914 and 1920.

Olives thrive in all parts of the Mediterranean coast and to a considerable distance into the interior. Both the preserved fruit of the tree and the oil extracted from it constitute an important article of diet among the peo-



Courtesy Sebah & Joaillier

Road in Western Asia Minor.



Courtesy Sabra Claire Bradley

Camel Train Laden with Tobacco near Baffra on the Euxine.

<i>Region</i>	<i>1914</i>	<i>1920</i>
	<i>Kilos</i>	<i>Kilos</i>
Samsun and vicinity	7,000,000	4,400,000
Trebizond	3,000,000	600,000
Tashova	4,000,000	2,000,000
Izmid, Brusa, and Duzjeh	6,000,000	3,000,000
Panderma	500,000	200,000
Smyrna and vicinity	7,000,000	4,000,000

ple. It is produced almost wholly for home consumption. There is no market abroad for Turkish olive products. Recently under the stress of competition with imported cottonseed oil, the demand for olive oil was materially diminished. Landowners were obliged to cut down century-old trees which might have continued to supply fruits and oil if these could have been disposed of abroad. But the methods of extracting the oil are so crude that the product is usually acrid and easily becomes rancid. The low quality of the oil is the obstacle to securing a foreign market.

Grapes grow everywhere in the country. They are valued not only as a fruit but large quantities are converted into raisins and exported, especially from Smyrna but also from other ports. In some parts of the country much wine is produced from grapes. In general this is of a low quality but several of the Jewish colonies, also monasteries in the Lebanon, have demonstrated the possibilities of this industry, if properly organized, both in production and in marketing. Large quantities of other fruit are produced and dried for export. The most important single item in this class are figs from Smyrna and dates shipped from Basra.

Citrus fruit is abundant and of excellent quality, especially in Palestine and Syria. The Jewish agricultural colonies have organized coöperative societies and have succeeded in improving the fruit produced; they have also reclaimed much land for orange growing and have

succeeded in creating a large, steady and growing demand for their output, not only in Europe but also in Australia.

Cotton has been produced during the past twenty years in the regions about Smyrna and in Mesopotamia, but of late on a larger scale in the Adana Plain. In 1904 the total production in the latter region amounted to 42,000 bales of 200 kilos each, although the cotton was of a decidedly inferior grade. Under the encouragement of a German syndicate operating in that district, the production increased so that in the year 1907 it amounted to 65,000 bales, and in 1913 it amounted to 105,000 bales. Two interesting and suggestive aspects of the development were: first, that the area under cotton culture had not been materially increased but the yield per acre had been advanced from 75 to 95 pounds; second, that while the quantity had been more than doubled, there had been even a more marked advance in the improvement of the quality.

The mulberry grows well in several districts. Silk culture has been most successfully carried on in Syria and in the vicinity of Brusa. The development of this industry reflects the possibilities of improvement which characterize almost every line of agricultural production. Formerly silk growing was carried on in a haphazard manner characteristic of Oriental industry. After the tithes from silk products were placed at the disposal of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, this organization took steps to increase the value of the yield. By a campaign of education and enlightenment among the producers, by assuring them of a steady market and by protecting them against exploitation on the part of the government and foreign buyers, they caused silk production to advance in the most phenomenal manner.

Opium is cultivated in the hinterland of Smyrna, near Afiun Qarahisar, but also in Konia and Brusa. Most

of the output is exported to America. In 1880 the total output was 180 cases, in 1913 it had risen to 1700 cases.

Stock-raising,¹ though not strictly agricultural, cannot be separated from tilling the land. Large areas in all parts of the country are suitable only for grazing. The mountainsides support large flocks of goats, the level stretches in the interior produce sheep and the marshy grass-growing valleys are utilized for the rearing of cattle. Further inland in the south camels and horses are raised in large numbers, the former for domestic use, the latter to a considerable extent for export, although now placed under an embargo. Owing to the lack of proper means of transportation, meat products are consumed almost wholly in the country. Flocks of sheep and goats are driven long distances from the grazing

¹ There are very few cattle in Turkey now as compared with 1913. Among the causes of the depleted numbers are the past and present requisitions for military purposes, some cattle disease, and greatly diminished reproduction. Taking these factors into consideration and subtracting the territories of Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria and Arabia, the Minister of Agriculture estimates a postwar decrease of over 40 per cent in the number of farm animals.

A live-stock census for the years 1913 and 1919 disclose the following approximate situation (useful only for suggesting future possibilities in Asia Minor):

<i>Kind of Animal</i>	<i>Number</i>	
	<i>1913</i>	<i>1919</i>
Buffaloes	300,000	378,000
Oxen	2,397,348	
Bulls	175,085	
Cows	2,501,000	3,740,000
Calves	1,158,494	
Horses	506,750	
Ponies	204,400	630,000
Draft and burden horses	339,430	
Mules	144,600	
Donkeys	1,373,700	825,000
Sheep	13,347,750	
Lambs	5,373,800	
Goats	14,424,180	2,065,000
Angoras	2,039,000	
Camels	314,000	
Miscellaneous	30,000	18,000

(Eliot G. Mears, *Commerce Reports*, April 6, 1920.)

grounds to the markets. Some live cattle and sheep are shipped, mostly to Egypt. Dairy products are also consumed locally. Wool is abundant but of an inferior grade. In the past it has been almost wholly consumed in carpet and rug-weaving. With proper encouragement of wool-growing such as could be given through the organization of an export market this product could be developed into an item of the greatest importance. Syria and Asia Minor together might well become one of the chief sources of the wool supply of the industrial countries of Europe. The fleece of the Angora goat, which comes into the market under the name of mohair, is an important product in a limited region of Asia Minor. The exports, which were shipped almost entirely to England before the war, amounted to 10,000,000 pounds a year. Skins and hides represent an important by-product of stock-raising, as do also guts or sausage casings of which America alone purchases at least \$150,000 worth in a single year.

The Smyrna grape (*sultana*), a variety with white berry, free from seeds, the *rosaki* variety with large white berry, very sweet, good for drying, resembling the malaga, the Smyrna drying fig, the table grape (*chauch*) of Constantinople, the peaches of Brusa, the apples of Amasia, the pears of Malatia and of Angora, etc., are probably not surpassed by any.

The above enumeration of agricultural products does not claim completeness. The items have been selected as being typical in that they illustrate the possibilities of expansion and improvement. In none of these lines of production has the maximum been reached and what has been or can be accomplished with these commodities is also possible with many other products.

The following tables give government figures for various products sown and harvested during the agricultural season 1328 (1912-1913). The total area shown, about

5,000,000 hectares, represents approximately only one third of the lands put under cultivation on account of the fact that the Turkish farmer sows annually only a third, at the most, of his lands.

1. CEREALS

<i>Variety</i>	<i>Metric Quintals</i>	<i>Area in Hectares</i>	<i>Yield in Hectares</i>
Wheat	38,620,000	2,653,000	14.50
Spelt	1,084,000	82,000	13.10
Barley	20,661,000	1,236,000	16.70
Oats	1,760,000	100,000	17.60
Rye	2,972,000	169,000	17.50
Corn	5,274,000	297,000	17.70
Rice	302,000	23,000	13.10
Millet	677,000	65,000	10.40
Canary grass	61,000	8,000	7.60
Miscellaneous	100,000	18,000	5.55
Total	71,511,000	4,651,400	

2. LEGUMES

Common beans	320,000	20,000	16.00
Kidney beans	508,000	40,000	12.70
Green peas	28,000	2,500	11.20
Chick peas	371,000	41,000	9.00
Lentils	180,000	36,000	5.00
Dolichos	15,000	2,700	5.50
Vetch	70,000	100,000	.70
Total	1,492,000	242,200	

3. ROOTS, TUBERS AND BULBOUS PLANTS

Potatoes	595,000	14,000	42.50
Beets	256,000	5,120	50.00
Carrots	84,000	14,000	6.00
Onions	1,000,000	28,000	35.00
Garlic	60,000	6,000	10.00
Total	1,995,000	67,120	

4. PLANTS USED AS TEXTILE MATERIALS AND IN INDUSTRIES

Cotton	200,000	40,000	5.00
Flax	89,000	8,000	10.50
Hemp	54,000	6,750	8.00
Opium	9,000	36,000	0.25
Tobacco	385,000	55,000	7.00
Total	737,000	145,750	

5. FRUIT CULTURE AND MISCELLANEOUS PRODUCTS

	<i>Kilos</i>		<i>Metric Quintals</i>
Figs	70,000,000	Olives	1,314,000
Apples	25,000,000	Olive oil	844,000
Pears	18,000,000	Linseed	71,000
Plums	14,000,000	Linseed oil	2,000
Peaches	370,000	Poppy seed	110,000
Oranges	6,000,000	Poppy oil	22,000
Almonds	2,500,000	Sesame seed	235,000
Apricots	6,500,000	Sesame oil	7,000
Hazel-nuts	30,000,000		
Walnuts	14,000,000		
Chestnuts	6,500,000		
Grapes	800,000,000		
Honey	3,000,000		
Wax	325,000		
Cocoons	8,000,000		

Turkey is in its entirety a country of cereals exclusively of the autumn variety. The fall sowings begin in the latter half of September, following the first rains, and continue until December, according to location and altitude. Plowing is done mostly with a hand-made instrument composed of a beam and a piece of iron which serves as a share. The use of the modern plow is confined to the plains of Adana, Eski Shehr, and Ada Bazar, and in the vilayets of Adrianople, Smyrna and Brusa. Plowing with mechanical tractors is very little done in Turkey. Trials have been made in the plains of Adana with multi-share cable plows drawn by two road engines of 30 h.p., which have given fair results. German petrol or benzine tractors were imported and tried during the war, but these trials have not been repeated since the armistice. Fertilizer is rarely used on the lands devoted to cereals. The manure from the villages or the farms is generally adapted to industrial or market crops.

The seeding is absolutely unscientific. The choice of the best varieties is not carefully made, nor are the seeds treated with sulphate of lime or copper. On some farms sorters for the preparation of the grain have been adopted, but generally speaking the Turkish farmer takes his seed from the bulk of the harvest and does not

even take the trouble to remove from it defective kernels or seeds of other varieties. Sowing is generally done by hand on plowed ground. The use of the mechanical seeder is still unknown in Turkey. The seed is buried with a turn of the native plow; it is rolled after spring sowing; it is seldom hoed and weeded, and then only by hand. The harvest begins generally during the last part of May and continues to the end of August. It is estimated that the sickle is employed in 85 per cent of the cases and the harvester-binder in 15 per cent of the total undertakings. Most of the mechanical instruments come from America.

The threshing of cereals begins in June and continues until November. It is done by treading the grain by means of the *deughene*, a plank of .04 m. in thickness, incrustated with pieces of flint and moved over the threshing floor (*harman-yeri*) by a pair of horses or oxen. The particles of straw, known as *saman*, are used alone or mixed with barley, for feeding cattle and draft animals. Mechanical threshing of cereals has been little developed. It is done chiefly on a few large estates in the regions of Adana, Eski Shehr, Smyrna, and in eastern Thrace. Spring sowing occurs in the class of crops whose success depends on rainfall, but rarely takes place in Asia Minor in sufficient quantities and at proper intervals more than once in eight or ten years. The methods of preparing the soil destined for spring sowing are those used for the autumn sowing. These crops, especially corn and millet, are the only ones which receive the manure produced on the farms and in the villages: they are weeded once or twice by hand. The cultivation of rice, which is one of the most remunerative, is still practiced with stagnant water; and the miasmas engendered by this water develop marsh fever, which decimates the rural population devoting themselves to this crop. It is forbidden to grow rice in the plain of Brusa

on account of the ravages of malaria which it causes. The rice is husked by extremely primitive processes, which break the grain to a great extent; when it is marketed it is not free from other seeds and stones. This diminishes its commercial value, despite its excellent quality, which make it inherently the superior of the best varieties of Egyptian and Indian rice.

Three systems of exploitation are in use in Turkey, (a) direct cultivation, (b) working on shares, (c) renting. Direct cultivation is practiced the most. The reason for this is that in Asia Minor agricultural property is divided *ad infinitum*. The peasant is the owner of one or several fields which he cultivates with the help of his family. The total extent of these fields varies between 20 and 1000 dunams, with an average of 150 dunams. (The dunam is a unit of surface equal to about a quarter-acre.) These fields are seldom held by a single tenant. The greater part of these peasant proprietors are grouped in villages (*karies*), having each a mayor (*mukhtar*) and its council of ancients (*eh-tiar-mejlissi*). Each village has within its official limits (in addition to the cultivated fields) a market place (*pazar-yeri*), a threshing floor (*harman-yeri*), a meadow for pasturage; and sometimes a forest of greater or less extent (*kori*) in which the villagers provide themselves with firewood, charcoal, and lumber. These different village proprietors, common to all inhabitants, constitute the *metrukated* lands.

The large properties, or *chiftliks*, of an extent of from 2000 to 20,000 hectares and more, are found chiefly in the vilayets of Constantinople, Angora, Brusa, Aidin and Smyrna. They are generally held by a single tenant, and only a small portion is put under cultivation. A small number of these large farms are in the hands of proprietors with progressive ideas who have obtained appreciable results by a better preparation of the soil,

by judicious choice of seeds, and by the mechanical preparation of crops. But the well-cultivated estates are still the exception: the greater number are in the hands of land stewards (*sou-bachis* or *nazirs*) with special knowledge, and whose mission consists of renting, on account of the owner, to third parties the fields of the farm as well as the meadows and pasture lands for a sum of money realized from the product.

Small holdings take in seventy-five per cent of all cleared land in Asia Minor. The number of these small agricultural properties, although not officially established, cannot be less than 1,000,000. The table on page 296 shows an average size of farms in and over Asiatic Turkey.

A part of the large properties are sometimes leased to farmers for a period of from two to five years. The lease makes no mention either of the kind of crop or system of cultivation. Working on shares, as commonly understood, does not exist in Turkey. A farmer, working on shares, or *yariji*, is generally a peasant living on land included in one of the large agricultural estates. He cultivates by the aid of his own equipment, and eventually turns over to the proprietor, after deducting treasury tithes, a fourth or a third of the crop. If the village included in the estate is common property, the owner of the field receives only a fifth or a fourth of the crop. These two ways of dividing the product apply only to cereal crops. When industrial crops are in question (cotton, tobacco, opium, etc.) the manner of division varies according to the kind of crop and to the quality of the fields turned over to the worker on shares.

No written instrument is exchanged between the proprietor and the *yariji*. In case of dispute, usage governs. The farmer on shares remains the debtor of the proprietor. His possessions consist, in the majority of cases, of a pair of oxen, a native plow, and a few rough

Locality	Average Size of Farms in Hectares	Under 1	1-5	Over 5
		Hectare	Hectares	Hectares
<i>Armenia</i>		<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Bitlis	8.3	21	41	38
Trebizond	1.6	38	46	16
Kharput	1.9	27	45	28
Erzerum	1.5	45	40	15
Van	3.3	36	37	27
Diarbekr	4.0	17	36	47
<i>Mesopotamia</i>				
Mosul	3.7	27	46	27
Zor .....	..	..	..	..
Basra	0.1	60	36	4
Baghdad	1.9	26	6	65
<i>Syria and Palestine</i>				
Beirut	3.7	20	25	55
Jerusalem	4.9	..	67	33
Aleppo	2.9	11	38	51
Syria	4.3	15	44	41
Urfa	3.1	18	53	27
<i>Eastern Anatolia</i>				
Janik	1.7	19	60	21
Adana	4.5	18	36	46
Angora	4.1	13	58	29
Konia	3.5	23	46	31
Sivas	2.4	32	46	22
Kastamuni	1.9	28	58	14
<i>Western Anatolia</i>				
Karassi	5.4	35	43	22
Aidin	4.5	18	36	46
Brusa	2.3	15	60	25
Bigha	2.0	21	49	30
Izmid	2.7	..	67	33
Stamboul	1.1	43	35	22
Bolu	2.0	19	66	15

agricultural implements. He is obliged to deliver to the proprietor the latter's portion of the crop without possibly even having retained enough for the subsistence of himself and family until the next harvest. He is often led to borrow still more from his proprietor, who has charged his account with usurious interest. The situation of the small peasant agricultural proprietor is no better. Both are victims of the usurers.

Biennial rotation of crops is used almost exclusively in Turkey. Since essentially extensive culture is practiced in Turkey, the soil there has relatively little value,

and constitutes only a secondary factor in the cost price of the crop. In those unusual instances when triennial rotation of crops is practiced, the procedure is as follows: (*a*) corn or some other plant requiring weeding, (*b*) a cereal, (*c*) fallow. Other than clearing away the stubble, and sometimes plowing with a native plow during the winter, the Turkish fallow field is not worked. Dry farming, inaugurated and applied with such success on the high plateaus of the United States of America and in countries with dry summers, is still unknown to the Turkish farmer.

Why is agriculture in Turkey primitive and undeveloped? The real cause is not the lack of possibilities of natural productivity. The explanation perhaps must be sought among the following phenomena which are familiar to all who know the Near East: (*a*) inherent conservatism and lack of initiative; (*b*) traditional contempt for labor, especially certain forms of labor; (*c*) insecurity of life and tenure of property; and (*d*) lack of steady markets for produce.

It is a fact that the native of the Levant, at heart, belongs to the cult of ancestor-worshipers. He accepts without question the traditions of the elders and allows his own vision to be bounded by the horizon of his fathers. Though some of the most fundamental and far-reaching reforms have originated in the Near East, these innovators must be regarded as "sports" and not as typical representatives of the people from whom they sprang. Agricultural methods are as crude as they probably were in the days of the Patriarchs and every suggestion of improvement is stubbornly resisted. It is one of the anomalies of the character of the native that, though he is shrewd and calculating in all matters financial, he will sacrifice, as a rule, his own pecuniary advantage rather than break with tradition and custom. This unquestionably accounts in a measure for the backward-

ness and the stagnation of the Far, Near or Middle East.

In the East there are definite, hard and fast, immutable distinctions between the occupations which are genteel and those which are common. The peasant is regarded as low in the social scale. In general, only those remain on the land who fail to qualify for any other occupation. The inevitable result is that those who till the soil are, as a class, a remnant of the unfit, representing the lowest level of mentality among the population. Education, even Western education, has not elevated the condition of the farmer. It has not touched agriculture except as it has provided a means of escape from the land for many young men, thus tending still further to degrade and lower the status of the farming class. In this attitude towards those who are engaged in plowing, sowing and reaping must be sought at least a partial explanation for the lack of progress which characterizes the Eastern landowner and peasant.

From time immemorial the farmer of the East has been oppressed. Sometimes he has suffered at the hands of the foreign invaders, more frequently he has been victimized by the government official. Whether it was the requisitions of the conqueror, the extortions of the iniquitous tax collector or the levy of the unrighteous and avaricious judge that threatened him, the peasant has at no time had any strong inducement to make permanent improvements in his holdings. More frequently than not he has sowed his seed with fear and trembling lest it should flourish to such an extent as to tempt those against whose aggression he was unable to defend himself. Throughout the Near East natural resources need to be fertilized by a more generous investment of capital before larger yield can justly be expected. During the past, because of the conditions of uncertainty, the native has persistently abstained from investing capital in crop-

producing land. The peasant is more a miner than a farmer: he takes from the soil all that he possibly can but has no thought of assuring the permanency of the productive power of the land.

The agricultural regions of Turkey are vast in extent, and for the most part they are remote from the great markets of the world. Means of transportation have always been and for the most part still are, as crude and inefficient as are the implements and the methods employed in the fields. The ignorant peasant, even should he escape being robbed of what he produced is not competent to find a market for the surplus which his crop affords above his own needs. What escapes the tax collector frequently falls into the hands of the exploiting middleman. Traders of the Levant have always shown a greater inclination and liking to importation as compared with the exportation of local products. They have not only been disinclined to till the land but they have also been averse to soiling their hands with the products of the fields. Native merchants habitually visit European centers for the purpose of studying the particular markets in which they are interested as importers, and for laying in their stock of goods, but rarely does anyone from the Levant go abroad to create a market for the products of the country. The Near East has therefore always had only a passive trade, the export business, such as existed, being in the hands of foreigners. The resultant uncertainty of disposing of any surplus operates as a most effective deterrent to the Turkish producer.

What possibility, what probability, what hope is there that there may be improvement? Though Turkey, and the surrounding lands as well, are destined to remain agricultural, is it likely that there will be any improvement in methods and value of product? These are the questions that are being considered with special earnest-

ness by those who are concerned with the destiny of the units into which Turkey is being divided.

The diagnosis suggests the treatment. The first requirement is a stable government, a government under which the landowner, the farmer and the capitalist may be assured against injustice and oppression, a government that will inspire confidence in the people and lead them to exercise buoyant faith in the future instead of dull, sullen distrust and pessimism which represents the typical state of mind. A change in the government, by itself and alone, will not revolutionize agriculture. It will, however, produce a condition that must precede initiative on the part of individuals. Better conditions for the peoples of the Near East can be attained only when the soil is fertilized with capital and intelligent labor. Whether the capital be foreign or native, it will not be available for this purpose until conditions of security have been created which thus far have been unknown in the territories under Turkish dominion. When these possibilities of a higher scale of living and production are realized, Turkey's contribution in food supplies and raw materials will be very much increased in quantity and improved in quality.

Agriculture in the Near East is capable of development along several distinct lines. The productive area can be materially increased. There is much waste and unused land, resulting for the most part from the unequal distribution of water. Much arable land can be created by proper irrigation. Even the most casual observer notes that water rights in the river valley are not utilized with a view to the maximum production. The Jewish colonists in the vicinity of Jaffa have demonstrated the possibility of making the desert bloom and produce by sinking wells and bring the water to the surface either by windmills or oil engines. In other parts of the country vast regions are rendered unfit for cul-



Wheat Transported into Sivas by *Arabas* (Ox-carts).



Huge Sacks of Flour Carried by a Typical *Hamal* under Direction of the Near East Relief.

tivation by inadequate drainage. Drainage works have been undertaken on a small scale at the Huleh and the upper reaches of the Jordan but the task has merely been begun. The extent of the land that might be reclaimed by irrigation and drainage would undoubtedly amount to hundreds of thousands of acres.

Even more could be accomplished for agriculture in Turkey by improvement of the methods of production. The implements employed in the extractive industries are well known to all who have visited the Near East. The crotched stick-plow, the long-tined wooden winnowing-fork, the ox-drawn threshing sledge are typical of the level of agricultural production in the Levant. Not only are the implements and tools crude, but the ideas underlying farming are equally primitive and rudimentary. The familiarity of the barber surgeon or the village quack is not farther removed from the realm of modern medicine than is the knowledge and the practice of the Eastern farmer from scientific agriculture. The quack is being eliminated from society, even in the East, but the ignorance of the peasant is as dense as ever and his methods of production are as stupid and inefficient as could well be imagined.

But the condition of agriculture is not hopeless. Production can be stimulated, thus making it possible for the country to support a larger population than at present and to sustain this increased population in a higher plane of living, culture, and civilization than is now known. In fact, it is only by increasing agricultural production, that a higher plane of living can possibly be attained in the Levant.

CHAPTER XIII

FORESTS

By ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS

The Sinope region and all the mountainous country as far as Bithynia lying beyond the seacoast already mentioned has good timber for ship-building easily transported. This region of Sinope has maples and mountain nuts from which tables are made; while the limited seaslopes which are cultivated produce olives.

—STRABO.

Scant information is available regarding the forest resources of Turkey. Public and private records are uniformly unsatisfactory, yet even a meagre account of these noteworthy resources is better than nothing at all. For in Turkey there are large and valuable timber tracts, at present almost wholly unused but capable of great commercial development. Because they are situated away from the beaten highways, moreover since traces of departed forests have disappeared, there are many people who are sceptical regarding their past or even present existence. It may be said that the destruction in Asia Minor has been terrific, although no less sweeping than in the eastern section of America. In the former case, the objective was primarily the need for fuel experienced by private individuals and military authorities; in the latter case, the wholesale clearing away of wooded tracts preceded the building of homesteads and the establishment of industries.

There are many varieties of trees to be found in Turkey. Official records estimate their prevalence in Asiatic Turkey roughly as follows: pine 37%, oak 14%, beech

11%, fir 10%, yoke elm 5%, evergreen oak 4%, rock rose 3%; there are also miscellaneous species including juniper, resinous pine poplar, olive, chestnut, elm, ash, valonea oak, plane, elder, linden, boxwood, birch, gallnut, and cypress. In addition, the country is famous for its mulberry trees, nut trees, and fruit trees growing both deciduous and citrus products. Among the most conspicuous as well as the most valuable woods are species of pine, oak, beech, fir, cedar, and ash. In the semi-arid regions, there is a great deal of common underbrush. The physical map which appears in this volume shows graphically the interrelation of relief, rainfall, and wood growth.

The three notable forest areas are those in Cilicia, in Western Anatolia not far from the Mediterranean, and along the shores of the Black Sea. In each instance, the mountain slopes facing the sea absorb heavy moisture, while across the ridges the comparatively dry climate affords characteristic flora, largely scattered pines and scrub oaks. Of these three mentioned districts, the most valuable is that within the boundaries of the vilayet of Adana, where the timber stands form a triangular shaped area with the base near the Gulf of Adalia, approximately fifty to seventy-five miles in length, and the apex one hundred and fifty miles northward in the Phrygian Mountains. The British Expeditionary Forces under General Allenby reported that from the standpoint of timber quality, available water power, and utilization, the forests of the Taurus, Anti-Taurus, and Amanus mountains within this one vilayet were among the most important in the world (*British Board of Trade Journal*, September 4, 1919). The entire stretch along the Black Sea from the Soviet Russian boundary to the Bosphorus, forming another source of wood supply, contains dense valuable stands which owe their present virgin state to the difficult country. The third significant timbered dis-

trict, the result of the moisture-laden winds from the Ægean Sea, is to be found not far distant from Karassi, Bigha, and Aidin.

Detailed and reliable information regarding the present status of forest supplies is unobtainable. The most authentic estimates are those issued by the Ottoman Ministry of Agriculture, Mines and Forests in the year 1910, when it was estimated that the forest lands amounted to 8,900,489 hectares, or 8.83 per cent of the total area. These estimates included, however, Kossova, Monastir, Salonika and other sections no longer part of Turkey. In Asia Minor, there was estimated to be approximately five million hectares (between eleven and twelve million acres), divided among certain vilayets as follows: Aidin, 929,000 hectares; Brusa, 907,000; Adana, 420,000; Kastamuni, 716,000; Bolu, 600,000; Trebizond, 496,000; Karassi, 495,000; Konia, 480,000; Izmid, 334,000; and Angora, 215,000 hectares.

The figures given in the *Statesman's Yearbook* (1921) which estimate that 21,000,000 acres, of which 3,500,000 acres are in Europe, are in forests, must be reduced. This revision affects especially estimates in regard to reserves near Brusa, Aidin, and in southwestern Anatolia, largely the result of a sweeping destruction of forests along the railways for military needs within the past decade.

There remain great stands of fir and of Scotch pine, approximately fifty miles south of Kiresun in the vilayet of Kastamuni. At an altitude of 1,500 metres, there are vast forests of pitch pine. Beech and Corsican pine grow to advantage in the vilayet of Brusa. Oaks of fine grain and straight fibre, therefore well-adapted to both splitting and cabinet work, are noteworthy in the sanjaks of Bolu and Izmid, and in the vilayet of Sivas; fine ash forests in the Sivas section are not utilized due to their distance from the seacoast. The valonea oak, important

commercially as a tanning extract material, occurs in great abundance in the vilayet of Aidin. Along the greater part of the Anatolian Peninsula coastline small pines are noticeable. The record of the state revenues for 1910 makes no mention of any return, either from firewood or charcoal, from the vilayets of Basra, Bitlis, Diarbekr, Jerusalem, Kharput, Lebanon, Mosul, Sivas, Urfa, Van, or Zor.

The gradual receding of the forests near inhabited regions is all too familiar a sight. Trees, large and small, felled outright or cut haphazard in a most wasteful fashion, are used in the form of wood or charcoal for fuel purposes. Extensive groves of olive and mulberry trees have been destroyed because of onerous taxes. Even the brush lands are fast becoming bare, due to the large numbers of sheep and goats. (In Turkey there is a striking correlation between the wooded tracts and the presence of sheep and goats.) There is the increasing scarcity of wood as fuel. For example, at Kharput the inhabitants no longer get their supplies in the neighborhood but are obliged to make a three to four days' journey on donkey-back to get access to the fast diminishing scrub oak saplings. Also, the swift-running mountain streams during the wet season carry away fertile soil and leave desolation behind. This disappearance of the forests becomes a more serious problem because there have been no coördinated measures taken by the State to provide for reforestation.

The forests have been virtually free from commercial exploitation. There are a few primitive saw mills in the Black Sea district and in southwestern Anatolia, but practically all work is done by hand. Promising opportunities exist for the erection of wood working establishments, especially since in the timber districts, labor is generally cheap and mountain streams can be utilized both for transportation and power purposes. Lumber

felled from the seaward side of mountains frequently can be floated towards the sea, while buffaloes can be used to pull the logs over the snow. The conditions are less favorable on the inner slopes of the ranges, because of the greater dependence on transport by pack animals.

The Turkish forests yielded in 1920 a revenue of L. T. 1,360,000 (about \$6,000,000) classified according to the following uses: building purposes, L. T. 750,000; fuel purposes, L. T. 500,000; miscellaneous products, L. T. 77,000; worked wood, L. T. 32,000. Of this total output, 76% was consumed within the country, and, despite the insufficiency of the local production, the remaining 26% was exported. The largest item of export was timber for building purposes which amounted to L. T. 200,000, destined mainly for Egypt. Wood for fuel purposes was exported amounting to L. T. 88,000. During 1920, the greatest output for export purposes was in the provinces of Kastamuni, Konia, and Bolu. Among the main forest byproducts which are exported to a limited degree with the exception of valonea oak, are charcoal, valonea cups, turpentine, bark, gums, and various oils. In spite of this exportation of forest products, Turkey is, however, primarily a wood importing country.

Prior to the middle of the last century, nearly every local community had its own forest, in which peasant proprietors were granted permission to cut wood, burn charcoal, and also to rent pasturages to nomad herdsmen and shepherds. This last-named privilege was beneficial as an aid to local revenue but, on the other hand, exceedingly destructive to the forests. With the organization of the vilayet system in Turkey, the forest lands were placed under government control and reckoned as State property; nevertheless, wooded land may be acquired by private persons under special conditions.

The ownership of forests in Turkey has been classi-

fied as follows: governmental, 88%; private, 6%; village communes, 2%; Ministry of Evkaf (Religious Institutions), 1%; doubtful, 3%. The forest laws, modelled on those of France, are well-devised but not enforced. The State forest service is empowered to maintain numerous representatives in the provinces who are empowered to grant permission to local residents for utilizing wood for personal use; to collect the revenue therefrom; and to inspect cuttings in order to note whether concessionaires are conforming to their grants. These agents are authorized to sell cuttings not exceeding 100 to 150 cubic meters, but in the case of greater quantities permission must be secured from the forest bureau. In the latter case, the prospective purchaser of the cutting makes a written request either to the national or local forest agent. He indicates in his request (*a*) the number of cubic meters of lumber he wishes to purchase; (*b*) the dates to cover his concession; (*c*) designation of the particular forest, its location and the limits of the cutting; and, (*d*) the price per cubic meter he is willing to pay. The local agent makes an inspection and then reports to Constantinople. The contract may then be concluded between the successful bidder and the government. One of the clauses of the contract stipulates that in case the concessionaire does not find within the limits of the cutting the quantity of wood granted him, he shall have no recourse against the government. Since the concessionaire is given absolute freedom as to the nature and manner of cutting the trees, the tract worked upon generally becomes entirely barren.

Before 1914, the Government rarely authorized any sale of forests amounting to more than three thousand cubic meters. During the war, however, larger concessions were granted. One of the most notable of these, comprising large forest areas in the vilayet of Kastamuni and in the sanjak of Bolu, was accorded to the "Forest

Exploitation Company," an Hungarian company. According to the forestry statistics, this concession covered a wooded area containing the finest forests of resinous trees and oak to be found in Anatolia. This Hungarian company has not yet commenced operations. Another illustration of a more recent willingness on the part of the officials to make large grants appears in Article 11 of the Chester concession: "The company shall have the right to obtain all the wood supply necessary for its construction and for their maintenance from the public forests, provided it conforms to the regulations laid down *ad hoc*, and pays the usual charges."

Little attempt has been made to curb destructive practices; moreover, reforestation has been virtually untried. Still, it should be mentioned that there is no record of any wholesale, deliberate destroying of forests by the Turks except in the year 1823, exactly one hundred years ago, when Sultan Mahmud drove the *janissaries* (the palace military guard) into the forests near Constantinople and then set the trees on fire. But in this instance, the burnt over areas were taken care of so that now these suburbs are covered with trees, largely of oak and chestnut varieties. Reforestation in the Lebanon illustrates what can be accomplished in Anatolia. The Turkish Director-General of Forests told me in 1920 that successful attempts at regrowth were being made at Handek near Izmid, at Eski Shehr, at Konia, and elsewhere. Such recent attempts as have been made to ameliorate conditions can be attributed largely to the employment of foreign experts, notably of French and Austrian nationalities.

The present state of Turkish forests, therefore, is the result of lack of law enforcement, lack of appropriations at the disposal of the Ministry, and the indifference of both government and people. The unfortunate neglect of forest resources is not more peculiar to Turkey than

to most other countries. But in the case of Turkey, the adoption of modern methods of silviculture is especially urgent because of the non-existence of substitute resources which normally assist greatly in conserving forest areas.

CHAPTER XIV

MINES

By JEMAL BEY¹

Expectation whirls me around
Th' imaginary relish is so sweet
That it enchants my senses.

—SHAKESPEARE.

Introduction

The main objective underlying recent economic concessions in Turkey consists of mineral lands, mainly unexplored. International diplomatic moves during the past decade have been fairly intimately related to the oil fields of Mosul and eastern Asia Minor, the copper fields at Arghana-Maden in the vilayet of Diarbekr, and the coal deposits near Songuldak, not far from the Black Sea coast. The mineral privileges under the grants to the Baghdad Railway Company and the Chester project are matters of prime moment. In one form or another therefore the politico-economic penetration into the Levant has been closely related with the whole subject of useful minerals.

There is nowhere available relative to Turkey mineral

¹ Born in Constantinople. Graduated from the primary school, Stamboul, completing education at the Imperial Civil Academy (Mektebi Miliyi Shahané), a training school for Government officials. Employed in central branch of the Ministry of Finance; subsequently in the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture where served as Sub-Councillor to the Minister, Director of Statistics, Chief of Correspondence, Director General of the Technical Bureau, and since December, 1915, Director General of Mines. Published works (in Turkish), *The Theory and Appliance of Statistics*, (1910); *Cooperative Societies*, (1914); and various official publications of a statistical character.

Translated from the Turkish. The Anglicized spelling of certain names is questionable.

data which are both carefully prepared and exhaustive. A leading member of the foreign colony of Constantinople told me that he doubted whether more than one firm had even a fairly reliable survey. The chapter on Mines written for this book by the Turkish Director of Mines, Jemal Bey, originally contained a voluminous amount of statistical and other information which, unfortunately, has had to be greatly condensed. This government official is entirely justified in calling attention to the influences brought by foreign interests in order to procure concessions; but at the same time the reader should bear in mind that graft which in the past has sometimes taken the form of blackmail is considered to be closely connected with the obtaining of the *firman* (permit). The whole subject is an exceedingly technical and complicated one, so the editor has used his judgment in condensing and revamping this article, having in mind primarily the general reader.

Mines

Exploitation of mineral resources has been carried on in Asia Minor over two thousand years, yet prospects appear more promising than ever before. Manifold difficulties, notably the scarcity of railways and highways, must be overcome before satisfactory progress can be made. A glance at a map shows us how small is the railway mileage, but the exploitation of mines can hardly be profitable without them. Another unfavorable circumstance is the clearing of forests, which has occurred to such a degree in the vicinity of certain mines worked for some years, that operations have had to be stopped for want of wood material.

Turkey was obliged by the Treaty of Bucharest to cede several important ore districts to Greece and also to Serbia. While in the small part of Europe which still

belongs to Turkey comparatively few useful minerals are now to be found, the extensive territories of Asiatic Turkey yet hide many treasures. Their utilization is dependent upon political and economic arrangements, both national and international.

Mining in Turkey is in its infancy at present. There are only two or three mines that are being exploited with any degree of efficiency. So far, no geological survey has been made and all the information gathered is superficial and sporadic in character. Thus it is incorrect to assume that localities that have had many concessions granted for mining operations are rich in mineral resources, nor would it be correct to claim that all other localities are poor in mineral possibilities. Of the several hundred concessions in force on March 31, 1920, there were 282 held by foreigners; these properties were distributed in the following districts. Mediterranean Sea and the islands, 142; Sea of Marmara, 60; Black Sea, 60; Anatolian Railway, 17; eastern provinces (Diarbekr, Van), 3. In this chapter, the main attention has been centered on (*a*) certain alleged facts regarding the mineral wealth of Turkey and the present condition of the mines and (*b*) the obstacles which hinder successful exploitation.

The most important mineral products of Asia Minor are coal, copper, petroleum, and the precious metals. There are also other useful minerals such as meerschaum, emery, pandermite and chrome, which exist only in limited quantities in other parts of the world.

Asia Minor has been explored in many places, but the western area is the best known region. The greatest number of mining operations take place in this part of the country. The vilayets of Brusa and Aidin, and the regions south of the Sea of Marmara are the richest in minerals. The southwestern Taurus region and the region south of the Black Sea, beyond Trebizond and

Ordu, are less favorable localities. Syria and Palestine are rich in minerals of all kinds; Mesopotamia and Arabia will also become more important and better known in that respect in time.

Most of the minerals extracted in Turkey are exported to other countries, but the quantities are exceedingly small. The value of the total coal output in Turkey is equivalent usually to from one third to one half of the total value of the various kinds of ores extracted. In the year 1913, the total mineral output amounted to L. T. 2,040,000 (\$8,976,000), made up of mineral products, L. T. 1,633,000, salt, L. T. 263,000, and quarried products, L. T. 144,000.

Coal is found in widely distributed sections of Anatolia, but most of the coal mined in Turkey is taken from the Heraclea (Eregli) region. This was originally one of the most important basins of the world and its future is decidedly promising. Its relatively recent development began about the year 1840. The local consumption was small, and it is recorded that in 1880, the entire output was consumed by the Ottoman Navy. After this date the consumption increased gradually until it reached nearly one million tons. When the Heracleian basin was opened, the extent of its wealth and its future were not properly estimated. Franchises for the output of coal, numbering about four hundred, all of them consisting of small parcels, were granted to private persons, but the permits for working pits were not regularly and systematically devised. Some of these permits were later on combined and some were held void because the pits were being developed by other than their owners. The present number of concessions in force is from seventy to eighty. In 1893 the government built four railroads at the most important points, viz: Songuldak, Kozlu, Kilimli, and Chatal Agach. Each line was from three to five kilometers in length. At the same time a

concession was granted for the building of shipping and bunkering ports, which have been the main factor in the rapid growth of the output of coal since that date. The mineral basin starts from Koisi-Aghiz near Heraclea, a distance of 130 miles from the Bosphorus, and extends approximately 100 miles along the Black Sea. Most of the operations extend east from Heraclea and from five to eight kilometers inland. It is possible to make coke of the Heracleean deposits, but owing to the gas content and considering its lack of durability, it is unsuited for smelting purposes.

The Heracleean coal basin is the property of the Ministry of Evkaf (Religious Foundations). It is set off by specified frontiers from Heraclea to Amasra. It is subjected to some particular stipulations beyond the jurisdiction of the code of the Ministry of Mines. Several large operators hold concessions in this basin. The most important firm, the Société d'Héraclée Anonyme Ottomane, was established by French capitalists in 1896. Since the 1918 armistice, the most important mines of the basin are being bought by English, French and more especially Italian capitalists.

Lignite exists all over the Ottoman Empire. It is of good quality, suitable not only for local consumption but for export as well. More than any other part of the Empire, the provinces of Aidin and Adrianople are conspicuous for their lignite deposits. Up to the time of the Great War the output of lignite coal had been very limited, its maximum not exceeding forty thousand tons during any one year.

The most important basin of petroleum exists in Mesopotamia. Though of higher grade, these petrols are considered the continuation of Persian oils. They start from the southeast of Mosul, parallel the river Dejele, pass through Kirkuk, Tuz Khurmati, Kifri, and Salahiya, and show an abundance of oil at a dozen places. (For de-

tails, consult British Foreign Office Handbook on "Mesopotamia.") The concession for exploitation of Mesopotamian petroleum belongs to the private chest of the throne by an imperial decree.¹ There are two other concessions granted; namely, in the localities of Barguiri in the province of Van, and in the province of Kastamuni. Both are undeveloped.² The Standard Oil

¹The title to these oil fields is in dispute. There is the claim of the twenty-two known heirs of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid II who have organized under the laws of the state of Virginia, a corporation known as the Sultan Abdul Hamid Estate, with a capitalization of \$150,000,000. Affiliated thereto are three Turkish companies and the Ottoman Empirical Estates, Incorporated. Then there is the frequently-mentioned Turkish Petroleum Company, organized by the British in 1914, in which German nationals received a remaining twenty-five per cent interest in return for their permission for the British to construct the Baghdad-Basra section of the Baghdad Railway, and a quarter share went to a Dutch oil group. The validity of this claim was denied by Talaat Pasha, by Mahmud Pasha, the Minister of Public Works in 1914, by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, and by the American Department of State in a series of vigorous diplomatic notes with the British foreign office. By the terms of the San Remo Conference, France falls heir to Germany's former claim; but in 1922, American oil groups acquired this quarter interest by virtue of an understanding with the unchanged British and Dutch (with large British capital) oil interests. Although the Chester concession appears to accord valuable rights in the Iraq and Kurdistan oil fields, the Baghdad Railway concessions contain definite provisions, some of which antedate the latest grants. The sovereignty of this Kurdish country is a matter of negotiation between the British and the Turkish governments, which is another difficulty which must be surmounted before these oil fields of reputed great wealth have a clearly-defined status.—E. G. M.

²Within the present boundaries of Turkey, there are the vast oil fields in the eastern vilayets of Van, Bitlis, and Erzerum which have received little public notice yet are adjudged as rich as those in the Mosul area. Geologically, they are a continuation of the Transcaucasian and northern Persian strata and in Turkey alone extend a distance of approximately 225 miles. It will surprise most people to learn that these historic Armenian regions possess such wealth. As the *Manchester Guardian Commercial* (Reconstruction in Europe, July 6, 1923), points out, these "are the least known virgin oil fields of importance near to Europe which remain undisposed of. . . . In the vilayet of Van, relatively the best explored, there were at one time a great number of claims, extending together over an area of 10,000 acres. But, one has it on good authority, these claims for lack of further activities, have now become null and void. In the vilayet of Bitlis the region near the town of Zakho, almost on the Mesopotamian frontier, is supposed to be most promising, but no concessions or claims have up to now been granted there. In the vilayet of Erzerum, a highly reputed oil region is that of Pulk near Terjian. This area is owned by the Evkaf Ministry, and just before the outbreak of the war was hotly

Co. of America has petitioned for concessions in the proximity of the Dead Sea and in the neighborhood of Rodosto on the European side of the Marmara.

Asphalt and naphtha exist at Hit and its environs, on Tikrit in the province of Baghdad, and in the neighborhood of the Dead Sea. Asphalt also exists in the mountains of Middle Syria. The chief pits are near Suek-el-Chan, at the eastern declivity of the Jebel-ed-Dahr. Among the bitumen is the cultimeous schist: the latter is likewise found on the southern shores of Izmid and in many parts of the Aidin and Angora provinces.

Abundant supplies of manganese are found in the Anatolian peninsula not far from the seacoast. Near the Black Sea there are deposits seven or eight kilometers from Eregli. Adjacent to the Sea of Marmara are the pits of Sabanja, Satch Köi and Balia-Maden (operated by the well-known Société Anonyme Ottomane des Mines

contested by American, British, and, ultimately, also by Russian interests. Apart from these, there exist at present 18 claims in the localities of Katranli, Neftik, Divan-Husain, and Hanan-Kaleh. It is in some of these claims that the leading American enterprise appears to be taking an interest. In order to complete the list of the most important Turkish oil fields awaiting exploitation the region near the river Kizil Irmak, in the vilayet of Kastamuni, may also be mentioned. A survey made of it by a Swiss geologist describes it as very promising."

Dr. Edward J. Bing, an unusually well-posted observer of Eastern affairs, wrote in the *New Republic* (July 18, 1923): "The oil wells of Mesopotamia are merely so many simple, shallow pits. The 'exploitation' is carried out by the inhabitants of the adjacent villages, the oil being used only in their households. You could call it a 'home industry.' While the crude oil is transported on donkey and camel back, it is removed from the wells by villagers who descend into the pit, generally six to eight feet deep, and dip goatskin sacks, buckets or cups into the oil. Some actually use palm leaves and even the hollow hand.

"With the introduction of modern working methods, however, the Tigris and the Euphrates will provide excellent possibilities of transport, and pipe lines will connect the oil fields and refineries with the principal harbors. It was stated some time ago that the Anglo-Persian Oil Company plans the construction of a pipe line leading from its oil fields in Persia to the Mediterranean harbor of Haifa in Palestine. The cost involved was estimated at \$50,000,000. Optimists consider five years the minimum time, and \$35,000,000 the minimum investment in connection with the means of transportation, erection of machinery and for starting any modern exploitation of the Mosul oil region."—E. G. M.

de Balia-Karaidin); within the Smyrna province there are deposits at Hassan Chauschler, Yenije Köi, Ala Shehr, and Mendos near Makri. The actual total production, however, does not amount to over a few hundred tons annually.

About twenty chrome mines are being operated, the most important of these being situated in the neighborhood of Kutaya in the district of Muntsha. Among the mines of Kutaya is one at Tagh-Ardi, remarkable for the size of its mineral area and for the richness of its ore, which runs 52 to 54 per cent. The yearly output from this mine is from ten to twelve thousand tons. Chrome ore in this locality is generally found in serpentine, the layers having the form of flat lenses and of irregular tubes. The needs of the whole world could easily be supplied by the mines that have already been exploited. Chrome is found in varying quantities all over Turkey. There are a great number of chrome mines in Muntsha and Denizli, but the ore is of low grade. However, the proximity of the mines to each other and their closeness to the sea give them an advantage in the way of transportation. During the year 1910, 12,186 tons of chrome was exported from Turkey to England, Austria-Hungary, Italy, United States, Belgium, Serbia, Holland and France. In 1911, 17,095 tons were shipped; and in 1912, 26,374 tons were shipped to Germany, Italy, United States, Bulgaria, Holland and France. During the War, the Germans purchased four chrome mines, exploited two others, and exported four or five thousand tons of ore to Germany for use in the chrome steel industry. They also purchased 5,000 tons at Makri which were not shipped. Normally, most of the chrome is exported to England, Germany, and the United States.

The first emery mine in Turkey was discovered by an American civil engineer. On account of a certain quantity of iron in its composition, Turkish emery in comparison

to the emery of Naxos (Greece) is somewhat softer. Turkish emery contains from 40 to 55 per cent of corundum. Because of its fitness in polishing metal and glass it is in greater demand than the emery of Naxos although commanding a lower price. Emery is mined in the open. Scientific methods are not thought necessary. The total output of emery in Turkey is from thirty to forty thousand tons a year. Emery mines are abundant in Tirsch, Eudemish, Nazilly and Aidin, all in the province of Aidin. The greatest number of concessions belong to the English who have monopolized the entire mining and exportation of emery ore.

Among the mineral resources of Turkey, pandermite, erroneously called boracite, occupies an important place. The principal mine, which is in the shape of a basin, is situated about seventy kilometers inland from the Sea of Marmara along the railroad from Panderma to Smyrna. Twelve or thirteen mining concessions have been given in this basin; but with the exception of two or three mines belonging to the Borax Consolidated, Ltd., none has been worked. The ore is found at a depth of about 100 meters and in the lay of a clay from 30 to 35 meters thick. Sometimes it is found in the form of a vein five meters thick, composed of pieces as small as a walnut up to those weighing half a ton. The ore contains from 41 to 49 per cent boracic acid, from 27 to 32 per cent lime and about 18 per cent water; in addition to these components, there is usually found a small quantity of magnesium, carbonite, and sulphuric acid. The yearly output of pandermite in Turkey is from fifteen to sixteen thousand tons, mostly exported to France, Germany, and England in nearly equal quantities.

Lead is very abundant in Turkey. In Anatolia, the mines are found in the following main regions,—Dardanelles and Aidin, Izmid, Tavros, and Sivas. The Balia-Karaidin mines, situated 40 kilometers northwest of the

railroad station of Balikhisar, are the most important. The ore contains argentiferous galena (silver and lead) and zinc, in typical percentages of from 10 to 11 per cent lead; and 8 to 9 per cent zinc. Most of the lead ores found in Turkey contain a little silver, which considerably enhances their composite value.

Another important argentiferous galena mine is that of Bereketli, north of Ponzanti. In the same neighborhood there are other similar mines at Evjiler and Papazti, towards the Gulf of Edremid. The Bulgar Daghi mine, a property of the Government, has been studied carefully by various experts. The ore from this mine is very rich, yielding about 20 per cent lead, 6.5 kilograms of silver, and from 30 to 40 grams of gold per ton. Silver and lead amalgamated with zinc appear in a large basin in the community of Ada Bazar, in the district of Izmid, and also at Prichmen, 35 kilometers east of the Arghana mines, in the province of Diarbekr. The Keban mine, situated in the province of Kharput and belonging to the Government, is also worthy of mention. Almost all of the total output of silver and lead in Turkey is exported to Belgium; some goes to France.

As the proper mining of iron ore requires so many elaborate devices and implements, there are but few deposits worked. So far nine concessions have been given and seven or eight are pending. The Payas mine at the Gulf of Alexandretta and the Ayuzmend mine between Smyrna and Edremid are the only ones which have been developed. The veins are approximately one hundred meters in width. The ore contains from 60 to 64 per cent of iron but in some places this percentage drops to below 30 per cent. There is an iron mine in operation at Melej near Anamoor in the province of Adana. The concession belongs to the French and its yearly output, of from fifteen to twenty thousand tons of ore, is shipped to Holland. In addition to these mines there are others

at Chaghlalik, community of Golovar, in the district of Itchil (Adana), in Furtuna village at Turbali (Aidin), at Altum-Tash and Burgas, localities of Mudania (on the shores of Marmara), and at Kozan Dag.

One of the richest provinces in iron ore is Aidin. The mine of Besch-Parmak, near Milas, is very favorable. The average iron content is 60 per cent. Thousands of tons of ore have been blocked out and with the use of modern methods and up-to-date mining equipment, this mine could be made very profitable since the port of Aidin, on the Gulf of Mandalieh, is only fifteen miles distant. Rich mines of brown iron lie near the Russian frontier in Lazistan, also in the vilayet of Erzerum and in the province of Arghana, southeast of Van. However, since they are so far removed from the railway and sea-coast, these properties are not favorable for immediate consideration. Near the port of Gemlik, in the province of Brusa, promising iron mines are located, and in the province of the Dardanelles, near Koru and Okjilar, ores with 57% to 80% oxide of iron are found.

From two to three thousand tons of zinc are extracted from the mines of Balia-Karaidin yearly. A yearly output of about one thousand tons is made from the mines of Latom, in the Rizeh district. The zinc ores of Turkey are exported chiefly to Belgium and to Germany.

The only antimony mine in operation, belonging to the English, is situated at Mesjidli, kaza of Eudermish, province of Aidin. The yearly output averages from eight hundred to one thousand tons of ore, which is exported to Belgium. Several other beds of antimony exist, but are not at present being exploited to any great extent. The more important of these are the Goeme-Chiflik mine, belonging to the civil list of the Sultan, situated about 24 kilometers west of Gediz; the one at Demir-Kapu in the province of Brusa; and several mines in the vilayet of Smyrna.

From fifty to sixty tons of arsenic a year are obtained by the Balia-Karaidin Company; the whole output is shipped to Belgium.

Two mercury mines have been exploited by the English; the one situated at Sizma about thirty kilometers north of Konia, the second located at Kara Broon in the province of Aidin. The ore yields about seventy-five per cent. Three thousand bottles of pure mercury per year are obtained, which are exported chiefly to England and Germany.

Meerschaum is found exclusively in Turkey. It is extracted from a large basin situated twenty-five or thirty kilometers northeast of Eski Shehr. This basin belongs to the Government. Upon securing a permit, the people of this locality can open pits and extract meerschaum on their own account. There are, at present, nearly two thousand pits. Everything is in a primitive state. There is no machinery of any sort, no pumps, and no woodwork of any kind exists in these pits. The depths of the pits vary from twenty to sixty meters. When the layer containing meerschaum is reached, horizontal galleries are opened and the meerschaum is dug out and removed from its jacket. It comes out in shapes, usually varying roughly from the size of a walnut to that of an apple. The galleries are from fifty to five hundred meters in length. The stones are first brought to Eski Shehr, where they are dried, weighed and to some extent polished, and after being sorted, they are packed in cases and shipped to Vienna where they are worked. The balance of the local output is being sent to France, Germany, Belgium, and sometimes to the United States.

A great quantity of fuller's earth (*terre à foulon*) is extracted at the kaza of Mikhalijik near Angora, and is used in lieu of soap by the people of Anatolia. The income of the government from this clay is between thirteen and fifteen thousand Turkish pounds yearly.

A number of sulphur mines are located in the vicinity of the Smyrna-Egerdir railroad and also in the neighborhood of Ala Shehr. At present the best among the sulphur mines in Turkey is the one situated near Egerdir, district of Sparta. This is the Kechiborlu mine and is the property of the Government. Sulphur is also found in the district of Daralgos. In the same province, near Guemur, sulphur is worked out of trachyte. In the neighborhood of the Dead Sea, sulphur is regularly present in the diluvial deposits of the former valley of the Jordan, where it is found in the form of earth or fine powder. It is also found in the Midian Land south of Makna, and on the coast of the Red Sea.

Until the beginning of the European war the only copper mine in operation in Turkey was that known by the name of Arghana-Maden, which belongs to the Government. It is situated between Kharput and Diarbekr and has been exploited for centuries. For the past seventy years it has been operated by the Ottoman Government. The mineral layer has the form of a flat disk, 120-200 meters in diameter, is at least 15 meters thick, and lies in contact with limestone and serpentine. The forests have been cleared away for miles around this mine, which, of course, hampers its working. The implements at this mine are primitive; ore containing less than from five to six per cent of copper is dumped. There is a yearly maximum output of from five hundred to fifteen hundred tons of ore containing from seventy to seventy-five per cent black copper. In the past a part of this copper was sent by mule-back to Tokat in the province of Sivas, where it was refined; as ninety-three to ninety-five per cent pure copper, it was then used in the military factories of the Ottoman Government. Later on almost the entire output, in the state of black copper, was shipped to western Europe, chiefly Liverpool. In the province of Kastamuni, about 24 kilometers from the port of

Igaibel, is the Kureyi-Nihas mine, which was certainly exploited in the past, as there is a huge mass of débris and fragments of ore, approximately two million tons, still fit for smelting piled up around the mine. A great number of ancient abandoned copper pits are in existence throughout the whole country, many of which probably could be profitably mined.

Silver is found chiefly in the argentiferous galena mines. The yearly output and export of refined or raw silver amounts to from two hundred to three hundred thousand Turkish pounds in value. The following mines are now in operation: Denek, in the province of Angora, with a yearly output of from seven to eight thousand tons of ore; Peitchman, in the province of Diarbekr; Yolari and Bulgar Daghi, both in the province of Konia. The last-named property, after being operated by the Ottoman Government for some seventy to eighty years, was abandoned in 1908. The Balia-Karaidin mine is the most important. This mine is at present operated by the Société Anonyme Ottomane des Mines de Balia-Karaidin, which has installed the most modern machinery and scientific methods. A narrow gauge railway transports its mineral output to the harbor of Ak-Chai at the Gulf of Edremid.

No mine has been found in Turkey which contains only gold or silver. These minerals are always found mixed with lead and exported in this state to the foreign countries which explains why no figures showing the exact amount of gold or silver produced in Turkey are obtainable. Hundreds of gold mines, abandoned for centuries, are visible in widely scattered sections of the country. In the Boz-Dagh is situated the famous Paktolos (now Karasu) mine, which was the source of King Cræsus's wealth. Gold has been discovered in the alluvial sands in the province of Hedchatz and there are several gold

washing establishments near Sirwa on the Yemen plateau.

Turkey possesses practically infinite possibilities for salt production. Its sources include existing mines, salt springs, and lacustrine and maritime salines. The salt output is large in Syria, Palestine, Mosul, Aleppo, and in most parts of eastern Turkey, including the salt lakes and mines in the provinces of Van and Erzerum. The salt production in the provinces of Adana, Sivas, and Aidin is large. The salt desert of Konia can be easily developed. In August, 1917, the salt swamp of Yavchan in the Konia vilayet turned out 96,000 metric quintals. During the World War more local attention was paid to salt production than to any other mineral in Turkey. Using prewar estimates, Erzerum produces 4,800,000 kilograms of salt more than it consumes; Adana, on the contrary, consumes 900,000 kilograms more than it produces; Trebizond uses 21,000,000 kilograms and produces none; Konia has an excess of 4,400,000 kilograms; Sivas an excess of 900,000, Smyrna an excess of 90,000,000 kilograms, Angora a deficiency of 5,000,000 kilograms, etc. Yemen, producing 114,500,000 kilograms of salt more than it used, evidently supplied most of the former Turkish exports to Rangoon, Singapore, and India.

Onyx, jasper and agate are found on the coast of the Black Sea, near Trebizond. Precious opals, fire opals, and hualite are found near the village of Karamanjik, in the valley of Simar, west of Gediz in the vilayet of Brusa. Amber is found in the Lebanon.

Marble is common, and there are famous quarries of gray, black and rose marble at Sinada near Afion Karahisar. Beautiful alabaster is found not far from Kishahr.

In Syria, beautiful limestone and marble have been quarried and used for the construction of buildings of the better class ever since the days of King Solomon.

The quarry products have normally a value amount-

ing to approximately L. T. 250,000, of which lime, bricks and tile and building stone each have an estimated output valued at from L. T. 25,000 to 50,000.

The following table gives quantity and value of leading mineral products for the years 1912, 1913, and 1914, figures in metric tons and Turkish pounds respectively:—

<i>Kind of Material</i>	<i>Amount</i>			<i>Value</i>		
	<i>1912</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>1914</i>	<i>1912</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>1914</i>
Coal (including lignite) .	839,025	842,471	661,074	578,200	811,500	644,200
Petroleum and tar	182	4,717	2,579	1,322	1,710	13,340
Chrome	20,094	29,126	9,827	45,200	68,140	22,110
Emery	37,449	42,488	19,110	134,820	152,960	65,150
Borax	14,361	21,535	10,495	110,120	166,620	81,150
Lead	13,751	14,200	5,832	321,340	339,100	124,630
Gold						
Silver						
Zinc	6,822	4,524	1,820	27,613	16,345	5,890
Iron	2,800	6,146		1,590	3,645	
Copper	202	87		2,307	1,930	
Antimony	1,826	1,142	143	21,919	13,700	1,720
Manganese						
Arsenic	23	88	23	255	870	233
Mercury	32	41	18	2,990	4,303	1,831
Slate	134	87	20	64,214	38,822	10,870
Clay	7,005	6,410	5,666	14,400	13,177	11,650

Considering all this mineral wealth, what then are the causes that prevent the mining industry from flourishing in Turkey? Primarily, they are the result of an unsatisfactory moral and material progress in the country. In brief, unless there are broad constructive programs laid out for the solution of national economic questions, it is useless to expect the desired product in one branch alone—that is, in mining. There should also be mentioned the absence of geological surveys, inadequate knowledge regarding present concessions, the noticable tendency of concessionaires to secure claims for purely speculative purposes, lack of adequate transport, and defects both in theory and in practice in the present mining code. Among the reforms needed in the mining laws are (1) the regulation and simplification of the formalities for search

permits and concessions, (2) due regard for the financial standing and technical ability of the parties applying for concessions, (3) the determination of the mine possibilities before granting concessions, (4) the reduction to a minimum of the preliminary expenses, (5) the forbidding of shareholders from acting independently when the mine is concessioned in the name of a company, (6) the definition of the rights and duties of concession owners, (7) the providing of satisfactory living quarters for mine workers.

Another improvement which could help the mining progress would be the creation of a government Bureau for Geological Surveys. This bureau's task should be to record data pertaining to the geology and the metallurgy which should serve as a reliable inventory of the country's mines. It would act as a guide to the mines actually in operation as well as to the mines to be opened in the future; it would help in the discovery of mine basins; it could appraise or estimate the mineral wealth, define the mineral standing of the country, suggest the necessary steps for the coming years; and it would prospect mines for the benefit of the government. The utility of such a bureau would not be reserved only for mines. It could help the discovery of several quarries and could also be a factor in furnishing better information concerning the cultivable land areas.

The mining enterprise has in addition to the general risks of any industrial venture some peculiar risks of its own; for instance, ore exhaustion, flood, strike, bankruptcy, etc. In order to ameliorate these conditions, it is necessary to adopt a policy favoring and encouraging the mine prospectors in this undeveloped country. It would be advisable to encourage the introduction (by admitting free of duty) all kinds of tools and machinery and material for the use of prospecting, opening, and operating the mines; and, moreover, to grant all possible

inducements to careful prospecting. It would be of great value to grant permission to use any accessible water power for mine operation and as a means of transportation, to assist the mine owner in securing and carrying timber for the purpose of fuel or for poling the mines, and to secure the application of special rates for mineral ores on the part of railroads, vessels, and the harbor companies.

It is desired that foreign capital may become interested.¹ It is true that so far Turkey has not given entire satisfaction to outside investors, but no one can challenge the fact that the concessionaires on their part have frequently failed to respect the legitimate interests of this country.

With the signing of the peace, it is hoped that this abnormal situation will come to an end; that Turkey will show a more sincere welcome to foreign capital and foreign technicians; that foreigners will refrain hereafter from utilizing diplomacy, might, and one-sided policies; that they will both act within the limits of mutual right and justice.

¹ In a British Official document issued by the foreign office, dated December 9, 1921, appears the following information regarding the securing of real estate and the exploitation of mines:—

Foreigners whose Governments have adhered to the protocol of the 7th Sefer, 1285 (see George Young's "*Corps de Droit Ottoman*," vol. I, p. 335), may acquire real property in Turkey under the same conditions as Ottoman subjects, that is, by subjecting themselves to the laws and usages of the Ottoman Empire.

2. Permission for the exploitation of mines may be delivered to subjects of foreign Powers under conditions laid down in the mining law of the 14th Sefer, 1324 (the 26th March, 1906), see "*Corps de Droit Ottoman*," vol. VI, p. 17.

3. Mines may only be exploited in virtue of an Imperial iradé. Application for a mining concession must be made to the Mines Administration. The concession is for a period of ninety-nine years, except in special circumstances when the Mines Administration have the power to give concessions for a period of not more than ninety-nine or less than forty years.

4. Prospecting licences may be obtained from the Governor-General of the province in which the applicant desires to prospect, or from the *mutessarif* if it be in one of the non-dependent *sanjaks* (districts).—E. G. M.

CHAPTER XV .

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE

By ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS

If you would work any man you must either know his nature, and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness, and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negotiations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

—FRANCIS BACON, "Of Negotiating."

The Turk of the Ottoman Empire scorned business and despised those native elements who chose to engage in business. To the typical Turk, there was a social stigma attached to the word "tradesman" which is still so marked in many countries of western Europe. Whether the Turkish Moslem could have held his own against the industrious, shrewd lovers of the gold franc is an unanswered question, for the simple reason that he did not make the attempt. By far the greater part, probably eighty per cent, of the finance, industry, and commerce was in the active control of Greeks and Armenians, many of whom profited by freedom from military service, and from remission of taxes under the capitulations. Probably the Turk would have been bested in competition with these enterprising, talented peoples. But these Greeks and Armenians no longer figure seriously as business functionaries because few of them remain in Turkey. Future commerce in Turkey appears to be in the hands of the foreigners, Jews, and Turks—with chief emphasis upon the Turks themselves. The departure of

the foregoing productive elements and the substitution of the Turks for the Christians as the coming managers of commercial enterprises and as the chief "hewers of stone and drawers of water" are the two great problems in Turkey's national economy.

We should not be hasty in concluding that the Turk cannot become a successful business man. Certainly it is true that the qualities he exhibits to such conspicuous advantage in diplomacy—patience, cunning, and an understanding of other peoples—can be employed towards other ends. When he has engaged in trade, largely due to the absence of other races, his record has been that of an easy-going individual with a rather high degree of Oriental honesty. Yet since business, similar to politics, is a battle of wits, the Turk, if he is so inclined, ought to be able to adapt his acknowledged talents into the new rôle which he had voluntarily brought upon himself.

Before he can hope, however, to operate on an equal basis with competitors in Turkey and without, he must serve his apprenticeship. For business is a very complex calling. It is not sufficient for an individual engaged therein to be proficient in a single aspect such as market news, salesmanship, foreign exchange, or transportation, but he must have also an intimate all-around knowledge of most phases of production, transportation, and distribution. Accurate data must be had relative to the standing of reliable firms abroad and to commodity markets. Transportation has a technique of its own. Proper safeguards must be present in commercial transactions, otherwise the insurance risk can be covered at prohibitive rates only. Future public and private policies towards banks, insurance companies and shipping firms mean much in trading with foreign countries. Limitations due to barter and to credit requirements permit few foreign trading firms, moreover, to be able to import without exporting, or export without importing. The ability to sell

on favorable terms is conditioned upon careful purchasing. Nowhere are these business essentials more difficult to acquire than in Turkey.

The primitive conditions in Turkey do not warrant in the near future either a large domestic or foreign trade, for the country is largely in the pastoral stage with an increasing attention being paid to products of the soil. There are probably nearly as many goats as people in Asia Minor. The excellent possibilities in regard to increased production and careful marketing of wheat, silk, olives, tobacco, figs, and raisins are neglected, although the government officials appreciate the importance and are studying ways and means of ameliorating rural life. Second to agriculture locally is mining, likewise conducted by rudimentary methods. Despite the artistic distinctive handicrafts, such as rug making and brass and silver working, industry in the modern sense is virtually nonexistent. There are practically no machine shops, valuable much-needed water power is not utilized, and good roads are almost unknown. Wheat grown in the American plains, shipped to New York, thence to Samsun, can be laid down cheaper than rival supplies from the wonderfully rich region about Sivas. The prewar American vice-consul at Sivas told me that before 1914, he could feed his horse on the best of fare for a dollar a month. In 1914, the Ottoman exports amounted to \$5.10 per capita, and the imports to \$9.37 per capita; no one is rash enough to predict the changes of the near future. These per capita figures, subject to the usual query regarding accuracy, indicate the small surplus exported as well as the low purchasing power of the inhabitants.

The typical Anatolian peasant does not handle the equivalent of fifty dollars in cash during the entire year; the purchase of a foreign-made commodity is a great event in his life. Before buying a cheap pocket knife, he may inspect the article on several hundred occasions.



Courtesy Sebah & Joaillier

One of Stamboul's many Fascinating Bazaars.

Because of this exceedingly small savings of the native Anatolian, it is certainly a remarkable tribute to the efficiency of a well-known sewing machine company that its product is found throughout Turkey.

It is possible to travel scores of miles over leading highways of Asia Minor, yet not encounter a single public shop. Practically the only stores to be found anywhere in Turkey, outside of the commercial districts ¹

¹ There are famous bazaars to be found in the leading cities, made up of numerous small shops located along winding streets sometimes with covered roofs, where are to be found practically all the products and relics of the Orient. These little shops devoted to the same class of goods are grouped together. The merchants are Orientals. The most distinctive bazaar for the products of the East is at Aleppo, Syria. At Stamboul, the products are both Eastern and Western.

The Italian stylist, Edmondo de Amicis, wrote of the great bazaar at Stamboul in his book "Constantinople": "In this dimly lighted thoroughfare, carriages, horsemen, and camels are constantly passing, making a deafening noise. The visitor is apostrophized on all sides with words and signs. The Greek merchants call out in loud voices and use imperious gestures. The Armenian, quite as cunning, but more humble in manner, solicits obsequiously; the Jew whispers his offers in your ear; the silent Turk, seated cross-legged upon his carpet at the entrance of his shop, invites only with his eye, and resigns himself to destiny. . . . It is amusing to go into the shops of the Frank merchants where there are things to suit all purses. You have scarcely entered before you are surrounded by a circle of people sprung from you cannot tell where. It is not possible to deal with one person alone. What with shopkeepers and their partners, middlemen, and all the hangers on of each, there are always half a dozen. If you escape one, you are due to fall into the hands of the other; and there is no help for you; and it is incredible the artfulness, the patience, the obstinacy, the diabolical astuteness which they display in making you buy what they please. They begin by asking an absurd price; you offer one third; they drop their arms in sign of profound discouragement, or strike their foreheads with a gesture of despair and make no reply; or else they burst into a torrent of passionate words intended to touch your heart. You are a cruel man, you want to make them shut up their shop, you want to reduce them to misery, you have no pity on their children, they cannot understand what they have done to be treated in such a manner. While one is naming the price of an object, a sensale (middleman, or touter) from a neighboring shop, whispers in your ear:—'Do not buy; they are cheating you.' You think he is sincere, but he is really playing into the hands of your merchant; he tells you that they are cheating you in the shawl only to gain your confidence, and pick your pocket the next minute by advising you to buy the table cover or carpet. While you are examining the stuff, they are exchanging signs, winks and whispers. If you know Greek, they speak Turkish; if you know that they speak Armenian; if you understand Armenian, they speak Spanish; but in one way or another they are certain to get the better of you.'"

in a few centers consist of small booths, five to fifteen feet square. The local shopkeeper carries an exceedingly limited assortment of a wide variety of goods, partly purchased locally and partly from a seacoast city. What this "want of sale" typifies has been well described by Sir W. M. Ramsay. "The shop cannot exist because there is no money to buy from it, and no security for anything if money could be got; robbery is indeed rare in the village at present because there is absolutely nothing to steal; but few persons would care to be known as the only person in the village that possessed some money and articles for sale."

The peasant endeavors to produce his simple requirements, and if possible obtain a little money from a surplus which he tries to sell in his local community. The shopkeepers have their local supplies, consisting mainly of articles of food and drink, cheap footwear and clothing, on hand just before the harvest; otherwise, they stand to lose their customers and their prospect of cash or kind.

The basis of sale in Turkey is price, not quality. Durability is a purely secondary consideration. The only exceptions to be made are in the case of a limited number of well-to-do Turkish citizens, the Levantines, and the foreign colony in Constantinople who take pride in imported goods of superior grade. Recent emigrations have cut down severely the demands for all foreign-made articles. The Japanese, in particular, have been quick to sense the situation and have already made inroads into the American and British cotton-goods trade. In the prebellum days, the high class trade was catered to fairly well, but except in the case of German and Austrian firms, the much more characteristic low class trade was neglected. "In the case of German trade," as the writer said in *Commerce Reports* (July 28, 1919), "the merchants who handled the articles of cheap manu-

facture and made money on them considered naturally that the Germans had rendered a real service. The public became familiar with German goods, and were impressed by the willingness to consider their needs and demands, which implied superior adaptability and progressiveness. Moreover, differences in price alone are especially easy to appreciate, and this worked so favorably in the case of German trade that a kind of superstition as to German industrial invincibility grew up. It was a common opinion among merchants and importers that it was futile for others to try to compete with German trade. . . . It must be remembered, however, that the markets for high and for low grade goods are entirely separate, and that instead of excluding each other, they may react favorably."

The foreign trade importance of Turkey cannot be understood without a recognition of the central position of Turkey in the Eastern hemisphere where Constantinople stands half way on the route from the leading cities of western Europe to India. Normally, the transit commerce which relates mainly to the tremendous passage of commodities to and from Transcaucasian and south Russian ports far exceeds the exports and imports of Turkey alone. In 1920, possibly three quarters of the economic life of Constantinople was concerned with that outside area. And then there must be seriously reckoned the part played by the City in the commerce of Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, the Soviet Republics, Turkestan, Persia, and the eastern Mediterranean sector. The trade revival in the Levant in the latter part of the nineteenth and in the present century, the result of an expressed desire on the part of foreign financial and commercial groups to exploit countries in which there was a weak capitalistic class, gave to Constantinople, despite the opening of the Suez Canal, fresh and en-

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larged importance as the unquestioned metropolis of the Near East.

Among Turkish seaports, Constantinople ranked first in imports and second in exports in 1914, but now is first in both, for Smyrna is merely a shadow of her former self. There are no figures of any kind available which show graphically the premier standing of Constantinople in commerce, banking, shipping, and related lines. With respect to certain products, including figs, raisins, and licorice root, Smyrna is the national entrepôt. The well-balanced imports and exports as well as the extent of the transit trade become evident in these figures compiled by the Smyrna Quay Company (figures in thousands): 1913, imports 7,111 quintals, exports 7,097 quintals, transit trade 779 quintals; 1914, imports 5,794 quintals, exports 5,340 quintals, transit trade 771 (thousand) quintals. The reader is referred to the chapter on Transportation and Communication for more detailed data relative to Turkish localities.

The relative commercial importance of the different regions of Turkey in 1912 and 1914 (the Balkan wars intervening) can be well surveyed from the subsequent table, which has been based upon the official Turkish customs returns for the years ending March 13, 1912, and March 13, 1914, respectively.

Expressed in dollars, the value of the foregoing Ottoman foreign trade for 1914 amounted to imports approximating \$175,000,000, and exports approximating \$100,000,000. Doubtless, the actual excess of merchandise imports over exports was actually about half this difference, or \$37,500,000.¹

¹ For imports, the Turkish official figures are reckoned upon the declared value of the merchandise, based on the purchase price plus the other expenses until the goods reach the custom house. The Turkish exports are generally valued officially on the basis of prevailing prices at the port of shipment. Even though account were taken of the many regular discrepancies such as the omission of tobacco and other government monopolies

Locality	Trade Imports		Trade Exports	
	1912 Value	1914 Value	1912 Value	1914 Value
<i>(In thousand Turkish pounds)</i>				
Stamboul and Galata	1,526	1,580	308	291
Haidar Pasha and dependencies....	170	143	343	258
Smyrna	482	566	488	528
Dependencies of Smyrna	72	14	223	198
Alexandretta and dependencies....	151	148	161	190
Salonika	420	....	128	....
Dependencies of Salonika	78	....	34	....
Beirut	406	440	117	115
Dependencies of Beirut	222	368	158	176
Baghdad	304	331	152	134
Trebizond	104	99	21	15
Dependencies of Trebizond	151	191	160	169
Dede Agach	60	....	45	....
Dependencies of Dede Agach	57	....	29	....
Preveza and dependencies	96	....	39	....
Tripoli in Africa and dependencies.	50	....	25	....
Yemen and dependencies	69	69	37	42
Jidda and dependencies	83	107	4	5
Adrianople and dependencies .....	....	25	....	23
Total	4,501	4,081	2,472	2,144

By analysis of the trade figures for 1914, the imports can be classified into manufactured goods 59.4 per cent, cereals 25 per cent, raw materials 7 per cent, miscellaneous 8.6 per cent; and the exports into manufactured

among the exports, the merchandise imported for government account, undervaluation of both imports and exports, smuggling, etc., no person conversant with Turkish custom house methods could be so bold as to state that Turkish officials trade figures are sufficiently accurate to be relied upon. *Backsheesh* is a regular part of the system for clearing merchandise.

It is well-known that officials in charges of the custom houses are frequently obliged to wait months before they receive their salaries, and at best they are distinctly underpaid in view of the services they are required to perform. Under the circumstances, the offering and taking of gratuities is really as much a government tax as a dishonest practice. Sir Richard Crawford, an Englishman, appointed in 1910 to improve the customs service, made a good beginning in the eradication of some of the evils, but his tenure of office was short. He learned that reform in the Orient is a slow process. It was an entertaining English writer who made an observation regarding the Ottoman custom house charges, in these words, "In no portion of the globe are the officers in charge of the collection, of a more confiding facility or of so conciliatory a spirit in every transaction regarding commerce."

goods 13 per cent, cereals 45 per cent, raw materials 38.4 per cent, miscellaneous 3.6 per cent.

The postwar commerce has been too abnormal to give figures much utility. For over two years, Constantinople and Asia Minor have been separated politically and by customs tariffs. No data have been compiled for the Black Sea ports. For three years, the Smyrna district was occupied and controlled by Hellenic officers. The territories of former Tsarist Russia have been commercially moribund. The only recent official Turkish figures available are for the city of Constantinople, which record for 1922 imports of L. T. 67,884,181, and exports of L. T. 23,405,246. (The Turkish paper pound was worth about 65 cents.) In local imports, the United States leads with L. T. 12,144,264, followed by England with L. T. 10,318,476, then in order, Bulgaria, Germany, Italy, France, Romania, Holland, and Belgium. The unreliability of these returns may be admitted since the American consulate general at Constantinople reports shipments from the United States of \$22,000,000 in 1922, \$23,947,110 in 1921 and \$42,247,798 in 1920. The position of the United States as the leading import country may be temporary on account of the recently enacted high tariff on flour, oleo oil, and other manufactured goods.

For late Turkish exports, official figures are not yet available. The same consulate general at Constantinople reports exports to the United States valued at \$5,454,414 in 1921 and \$10,086,423 in 1922; the American consulate at Smyrna reports exports of \$10,406,552 in 1921 and \$9,837,774 in 1922. The chief articles of export to the United States are tobacco, figs, raisins, licorice root, sausage casings, mohair, carpets and rugs.

The *European Commercial* (December 1, 1923) states that the custom officials at Constantinople report that the local imports for the period January-June, 1923,

amounted to L. T. 38,474,991, compared with L. T. 39,173,876 during the same period of 1922 and L. T. 58,523,999 in 1921. Total exports for the period under review were valued at L. T. 12,941,948 as against L. T. 13,177,856 and L. T. 12,360,403 in the corresponding periods of 1922 and 1921, respectively. It will be seen, therefore, that Turkey's trade balance for the first half of 1922 and 1923, judging by Constantinople, has been relatively unchanged. Actually, Turkey profited from a flow of money into the country represented by expenditures and contributions of relief, religious, and educational organizations, money spent by tourists, alien business men and foreign public officials, remittances by emigrants, etc., large items which do not figure in the merchandise returns but are none the less important. [The writer has presented some figures, with particular reference to the Near East, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (Harvard), May, 1923, and in the *Economic Journal* (Royal Economic Society quarterly), September, 1923.] Excluding the huge expenses of representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers, a conservative estimate for 1923 of these so-called "invisible" payments, of which the United States is the chief contributor, is \$20,000,000.

The largest exports from Turkey are agricultural and mineral products. The tobacco is grown chiefly around the Smyrna and Samsun districts. From 60% to 75% of the production from each locality is purchased by American resident buyers; the balance, consisting largely of the poorer grades, is consumed in Egypt and in central and western Europe. The emigration of the Greeks and Armenians has already caused a much reduced output. There is a distinct possibility that these cultivators in the former Ottoman Empire will aid in the production of "Turkish tobacco" in Macedonia. In the period just prior to the War, the production in Greece and Turkey was nearly the same, amounting to approxi-

mately 85,000,000 lbs. in each country. The dried fig crop in the Smyrna region has been little affected by recent events since the fig is grown in a section which is not seriously affected by military operations; production in 1923 is about the same as a decade previous. In connection with this industry, the chief difficulty is in training Turkish labor for employment in the Smyrna packing houses. The sultana raisin is now being grown by the Turks who are succeeding the Greeks with apparently satisfactory results in this culture. Unlike the fig, the sultana requires little local manipulation. The mohair exports, largely to England, France, Germany and the United States, has good prospects for continuance despite an estimated loss of one half to three quarters of the number of Angora goats. The export trade in wool is suffering due to an even heavier loss in the number of sheep, a condition, according to American Consul General Ravndal, arising from the utilization of mutton for military purposes. The supply of skins has been much reduced. The rug industry has been hard hit because of the loss of the household workers, largely Armenians, and the manufacture of imitations mainly in Europe and America. The recent destruction of mulberry trees has retarded the raw silk production which is the basis of a noted local industry. Among the other important products which should figure in the country's exports during the next few years are minerals (meerschau, borax and emery), nuts on the Black Sea coast, seeds (millet, sesame, alfalfa and canary), sponges, olive oil, gum tragacanth, valonea (the acorns are important in the tanning industry), cotton, and cereals.

The imports into Turkey are likely to continue to consist mainly of foodstuffs, mineral fuels, textiles, farm machinery, and a limited line of manufactured goods. In 1922, Turkey imported over \$10,000,000 worth of flour from the United States alone; but this trade is already

being lost to Bulgaria due to faster shipment and the cheaper price mainly the result of poorer quality. In accordance with the governmental policy of building up local industries, doubtless Turkey's imports of wheat will increase and those of foreign flour decrease. Turkey's imports of rice amount to upwards of \$7,000,000 annually; due to the inferior local product, foreign purchases of this commodity seem destined to continue on the present scale. Coffee, another important staple, is largely of Brazilian and Javanese origin. Sugar, largely from Dutch and American sources, is another sought after product which cannot be produced on any large scale locally. Turkey imports about one third of her coal requirements, mainly from Britain. The mineral oil business is handled largely by American companies with increasing competition from Russia and Romania. The most important single class of imports is textiles, in which Turkey is one of the leading world buyers. The pioneers were American merchants who introduced the famous "Cabot A," still sold in large quantities although imitated by Japanese rivals. England, however, is the big factor in Turkey's trade in woolen and cotton goods. Oleo oil and cotton seed oil and glucose (the latter used in the making of Turkish *halva*) should continue to be supplied by the United States. Lumber has been supplied by Austria, but in recent years Sweden and Norway have figured prominently, with an excellent possibility of the Pacific Coast interests of Canada and the United States of America appearing as prominent dealers. Farm and industrial machinery of all types seem likely to be imported in large volume provided proper arrangements can be made for financing. The future is especially promising in the case of farm implements and machinery, a trade in which the United States has first place. These producer goods are admitted duty free. American automobiles have also had first place

although the depreciated currency in European countries is causing difficult competition from rival French, German, and Italian makes. Hardware, typewriters, office supplies and motion pictures are largely American. The great variety of cheaper grade novelties come from central Europe. Turkey's imports within the next few years are not likely to be up to prewar volume on account of the readjustment of the internal economic situation, the reduced purchasing power of the inhabitants, and the promulgation of the high customs tariff which in the case of many articles is practically prohibitive.

Until 1923, the naming of customs duties was largely controlled by the Powers represented on the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt, with the subsequent approval of the Government. The prime objective was revenue rather than the protection of native industries. In 1907, the uniform ad valorem rate of 8% was raised to 11% (the additional amount to accrue to the Debt Administration), increased to 15% in 1914, and to 30% in 1915. On its own initiative, the State enacted a specific tariff in September, 1916; but this action was not officially recognized by the Foreign Powers until the Treaty of Lausanne, although as a matter of practice Levantines and others, during 1918-1922, paid duties according to the schedule in preference. The reason was simple: by paying in the depreciated Turkish paper currency, the average charge amounted to somewhat less than half the prewar 11% ad valorem duty. The present tariff system, which is being incorporated in commercial conventions, is that "which came into operation on September 1, 1916," duties to be paid in Turkish paper money, but with coefficients that were in force on March, 1923, when the pound sterling exchanged at 745 paper piastres (there are 100 piastres in a Turkish pound). For example, the convention signed at Lausanne provides that the following articles are subject to coefficient 9,—potatoes,

oranges, confectionery (sweetmeats), mineral waters, dressed leather, pigskin, footwear, gloves, peltry raw or prepared, furniture, cotton, embroidery, lace and ribbons, silk waste, gauze, silk tulle, silk tissue, silk hosiery, silk *passementerie*, woolen shawls and belts, clothing, sunshades, umbrellas, parasols, etc. These, and other foreign-made articles such as flour and vegetable oils, are taxed severely in order to stimulate home industry, a policy affirmed by the Economic Pact which is given in the General Introduction. The tariff on industrial machinery has been increased approximately five times but, as already stated, agricultural machinery is free of duty.

In 1921, due partly to military requirements, most local products were on the forbidden export list. Normally, the list is confined to a few products. The injunctions in the Koran, neither to buy nor sell untanned skins, human hair, swine, wine, etc., have never been adhered to until the recent action of the Republic regarding alcoholic drinks. (The large wine exports from France, which stand in danger of being cut off entirely, are a not-to-be forgotten factor in Franco-Turkish relations.) By Article 3 of the commercial convention signed at Lausanne, Turkey undertakes to do away with all import and export prohibitions except those which may be necessary (1) to maintain the resources indispensable for the food of the people, and to safeguard the economic activity of the nation; (2) to insure the security of the State; (3) to protect persons, animals, and plants against contagious diseases, epizooties and epiphyties; (4) to prevent the use of opium and other poisons; (5) to prohibit the import of alcoholic products, the use of which is forbidden in Turkey; (6) to prevent the export of gold money or gold metal; (7) to establish or support State monopolies.

A further tariff obstacle to the foreign commerce of Turkey is the present political and economic barrier be-

tween its present and its late territory. Thus we see that the former thriving bazaars of Aleppo, Damascus, Baghdad and other cities south of its present Asiatic frontier are doing very little business and the same situation applies to the former prosperous trade centers of Turkey. Anatolia and Syria were closely related in a trade way in the days of the Ottoman Empire; but with the departure from Turkey of vast numbers of Armenians and Greeks (many of the former have settled in Syria) and the high Turkish import duty on most Syrian products, this trade which has become foreign rather than domestic is at a standstill. While there are many products which are common to Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Iraq, therefore partly competitive, close commercial relations between these various countries are necessary for their national prosperity. Early in 1922, a Turkish mission visited Syria in order to investigate and study customs arrangements but no official action has yet been taken. It seems probable that the colonial policies of France and Great Britain will govern the trade policies of the southern detached territories. Unless Turkey is prepared to take a long step backward, it is necessary for her to give constructive attention to questions of export and import duties, drawbacks (which are refunds of import duties when the same or a derived product is later exported), embargoes on exports and imports, free ports and free zones. The favorable geographic location of Turkey requires an unusual amount of consideration to these commercial problems.

There are good reasons why foreign firms are cautious about Turkish commerce. First of all, Turkey is virtually an unknown country abroad: her material resources, her business machinery, and her geographical advantages have never been adequately described. Another factor is that of credit extension: most firms do not feel warranted in doing business on other than a cash basis unless the

reputation of the customer has been established. Yet few local firms can operate on this basis. Before the War, most British, American, and other foreign houses depended on the credit information gathered by the Schimillfeng credit-reporting agency and by German banks. The German prewar policy of granting long credit, frequently from six to nine months and in the case of agricultural machinery from a year to two years, was possible through the instrumentality of the German financing houses which discounted promptly the notes of German customers. While it was the banks rather than the manufacturers which granted long credit, the effect was the same as far as foreign competitors were concerned. Prior to 1914, British and American banks were not interested in long credits, therefore their national customers were confronted with the alternative of assuming the risks themselves, of using the facilities of German banks which they largely did, or of neglecting the Turkish market entirely. That Germany was unwise in adopting a too liberal credit policy seems fairly well established. Not only did she induce her customers to overstock, but also many open accounts in behalf of her nationals will remain open for generations to come.

Those foreign firms which had had unfortunate experiences, or had heard of unfortunate experiences in connection with Levantine trade, have become duly wary. And it must be confessed that there have been and are numerous examples of sharp dealing. Still it is not fair to condemn all trading firms, for in Turkey as elsewhere there are honest business men and others. Proper caution should be exercised. Many European and American companies have become too easily discouraged, frequently because of their ill-fortune resulting from casual methods in the choice of an agent or in their failure to accord him the support which he needs and has the right to expect. Their travelling representatives have been

frequently poor selections. Another discouraging feature has been the necessity for speculation not only for goods but, in currencies—the latter is a development only recently due to the late instability of the Turkish pound.

To quote an article of mine in *Commerce Reports* (October 22, 1920):—"In the coming struggle with experienced and capable national competitors, the most important single element in the promotion and extension of American trade interests lies in the selection and training of high-caliber foreign traveling representatives of unquestioned American ideas and ideals. Nowhere is this factor of such decided value as in the Near East and those other world areas practically unknown at the present time to the rank and file of American foreign-trade enterprises.

"The two great mistakes now being made are the general choice of a foreigner of local origin or of a foreigner who merely speaks any language other than English irrespective of its use in the particular locality. Regarding the latter, the writer met in Greece more than one American commercial traveler who was obviously selected because of his ability to speak Spanish. Spanish, however, is not understood in Greece except by the important commercial Jewish element in Salonika which speaks, in addition to a peculiar Judæo-Spanish, also Greek, Turkish, Italian, French, and often German and English. More striking still was the number of Russians sent to Constantinople, who strangely enough did not speak either French, Greek, Armenian, or Turkish.

"An Armenian or Greek or Jew or Turk, irrespective of whether he has been naturalized or whether he represents a bona fide American company, is never regarded in commercial circles abroad as an American. He is still a Levantine, and business negotiations with him are conducted on that plane."

Then there is the question of local merchandising. In

the past, commercial activity has been controlled largely by Armenians and Greeks, exceedingly wide awake individuals, keen to follow up any business opening, commonly indulging in practices which business labels as dishonest, and always prepared to drive a hard bargain. It is not surprising that both Moslems and non-Moslems have become exasperated by the sharp practices indulged in by these peoples, which have served to create personal relationships, fundamentally similar, but much accentuated, to those existing between Gentiles and Jews in eastern Europe and elsewhere. Until recently, numerous of these traders have enjoyed the special privileges under the capitulatory régime, whereby many non-Moslems have become naturalized abroad in order to occupy a privileged position locally. Among the many perplexities arising in the diplomatic and consular services of the great powers, there has been and is the question of how far each country should go in order to support naturalized citizens, many of whom have never been outside of Turkey. The various agreements reached at Lausanne (1923) do not include a definite statement regarding the status of persons born in Turkey who have secured foreign citizenship.

Even more advantage has been taken of foreign flags by other well known "Levantine" firms, largely of British, French and Italian nationalities, which have done a considerable local business, although in the aggregate much smaller than that of either the Armenians or the Greeks. An outstanding weakness of these Levantine firms is that they have stood ready to "buy or sell anything"; but frequently have lacked the specialists who are necessary if competition from other firms is to be met on an even level. An exception might be made of a few well-known Levantine firms, such as the Girauds, the La Fontaines, the Whittalls, which have strong family and business connections in the country.

Few foreign firms have branch houses in Turkey. The Standard Oil Company of New York and the Singer Sewing Machine Company maintain large distributing organizations. The leading American tobacco companies have resident buyers at Smyrna and Samsun. MacAndrews and Forbes, another American firm, the leading firm anywhere to be found in the purchase of licorice root, has one of the largest establishments at Smyrna. An American automobile corporation and several foreign export and import houses also have branch houses in Turkey.

As a rule, articles of foreign make are handled by native commission firms, who occupy a place which is similar to that of export houses in the United States. In trade, there is the same division of functions between the importers, wholesalers, and retailers that we find in America, but the go-betweens (brokers and outright speculators) are far more numerous. It is noteworthy that the foodstuff and hardware business has been in the hands of the Greeks, and that of textiles in the hands of a few Armenian firms which have had strong representation in Manchester or New York. The retail and most of the wholesale trade is run by natives. Despite the powerful efforts being made to Turkify local business, it is too early to know whether the Turk will step aside to let the Jews, Levantines, and foreigners replace the Armenians and Greeks. Who will be the successors to the 485 Greek business houses in Constantinople, including 18 importing firms which have ceased business altogether and 21 firms which transferred elsewhere during the seven months following October, 1922? (These figures are from the *Aksham*.) The convention regarding conditions of residence, business, and jurisdiction, signed at Lausanne expressly provides that corporations of the contracting powers "will have the right to establish themselves in Turkish territory and to engage in all

forms of commerce and industry in which nationals of the country where they were incorporated may engage, and which are not forbidden in Turkey to Turkish corporations. They will have the right freely to conduct their affairs in Turkey, subject to compliance with the prescriptions relating to public order, and will enjoy in this respect the same rights as any similar Turkish corporation." Most firms in Turkey have found it advisable, to the point of necessity, to replace Greeks and Armenians by Turks. By and large, however, there is little reason to expect any revolution in general merchandising methods.

In order to cope with economic conditions in the Levant, before July, 1914, the Germans had a model coordinated organization which was so effective that it deserved recounting. Its basis was common sense, first-hand acquaintance with the situation in Turkey, along with carefully worked out plans for acquainting Turkish business men as well as Turkish youths with industrial and commercial conditions in the German Empire.

Thus, in 1911, there visited Germany a special mission composed of sixty Ottoman business men, only five of whom had previously been there. The members were provided with special trains and were shown leading factories, dock and steamship yards, banks, and mercantile establishments. They were received at Kiel by the former Kaiser, who endeavored to impress them by a show of submarines, torpedo boats, and other warships in full display. The cost of this mission, estimated at approximately \$125,000, was contributed by banks, shipping companies, the firms of Erhardt and Krupp, chambers of commerce, and municipalities (Hamburg, Bremen, etc.). The trade results seemed to stamp the mission a success. Another far-sighted idea, namely that of providing scholarships in German higher educational institutions for Turkish students, had been de-

veloped to such an extent that in 1916 many Turkish youths were being educated largely at the individual expense of interested German industrial and commercial cities.

The Germans appreciated the wisdom of making their beginnings on a small scale but on a solid foundation. Thus their experience was acquired at small cost. Had the World War been postponed a decade, it is probable that German interests would have controlled most of Turkey's foreign trade. For carefully chosen representatives, notably of the German banks and of the German Levant Line, were located in practically all places of importance in Turkey. Their representatives, usually Ottomans and not Germans, were in a position to furnish trade and credit information to German manufacturers and commercial organizations and also to communicate on the ground with prospective customers. Thus, a small manufacturer of an inland German town was enabled to have his drafts drawn on the Turkish customer immediately discounted by his local bank; and through the assistance of the steamship lines, he was able to procure a through bill of lading to any Turkish seaport at the same rate as that of a competitor in Hamburg or Bremen. Moreover, the steamship lines had a network of insurance brokers and freight forwarders who would handle all details in shipment of goods from factory until arrival at destination. Under this system it is not difficult to realize why competitive nations intrusting their goods to German middlemen were always at a possible disadvantage when it happened, as it frequently did, that German bankers, shippers, or traders were at the same time looking after competitive German-made products. The Germans possessed the business machinery which included an all-around information service, the key to business success.

That these concerted efforts brought results can be

noted by a reference to Turkish official foreign trade figures over a period of years.

IMPORTS INTO TURKEY
(*Figures in thousand dollars*)

<i>Countries</i>	<i>1894</i>	<i>1900</i>	<i>1906</i>	<i>1912</i>
United Kingdom	\$39,842	\$36,564	\$48,366	\$43,762
Austria-Hungary	22,720	21,129	28,671	30,027
Germany	1,239	2,143	5,831	22,915
France	12,061	13,066	11,743	17,331
Italy	2,748	5,844	10,763	10,812
United States	90	136	1,265	5,393

EXPORTS FROM TURKEY
(*Figures in thousand dollars*)

<i>Countries</i>	<i>1894</i>	<i>1900</i>	<i>1906</i>	<i>1912</i>
United Kingdom	\$25,238	\$24,264	\$27,851	\$20,506
Austria-Hungary	5,846	6,520	9,404	9,817
Germany	1,297	1,988	5,402	5,400
France	15,656	20,954	21,168	18,873
Italy	2,067	3,120	4,382	4,080
United States	661	2,517	2,165	6,066

Even making every allowance for the misleading character of figures by countries which do not record source or final destination, and the large volume of American and British goods which were handled via German or Austro-Hungarian ports and thereby accredited to them, the official returns show that from 1894 to 1912, inclusive, the exports from the United Kingdom increased less than 10%, from Austria-Hungary less than 40%, but from Germany over 1700%, or from one million to 22 million dollars. During the past five years (1918-1923), the Germans have been too much occupied at home to reorganize plans for conquest of world markets, although there are strong indications that they may revive their connections in the Levant.

A strenuous rival appears in the British who have gotten together, since the Mudros armistice (October,

1918), a noteworthy organization for the purpose of capturing Near Eastern trade. The British Trade Corporation, which operates in many world markets, organized a subsidiary, the Levant Trading Company, a revival of the old Levant Company, which in turn secured control of the J. W. Whittall and Company, Ltd., the leading Levantine firm of British nationality in Constantinople. The British Trade Corporation also has a major interest in the National Bank of Turkey, a bank of Turkish nationality but with British capital. The Quay Company at Constantinople has combined British and French capital. British steamship interests are grouped together in a "shipping ring." There is a working arrangement with the Levant Stevedoring Company, which latter exercises strong influence over the loading and unloading of vessels, warehouses, coal and ship supplies. The British Chamber of Commerce at Constantinople, with published membership of approximately 600, is an active body with important affiliations not only in Constantinople but also extending through the Balkan states, south Russia, the Transcaucasus and the Levant. The policy of the British Government in granting insurance against credit risks is a not unimportant feature of the system. German railway concessions are reported to have passed into British control. And while these numerous associated activities are not all closely integrated, it will be interesting to discover whether the British Trade Corporation,¹ with its many ramifications, can overcome the traditional independent spirit, which in contrast to German traditions, has characterized Anglo-Saxon enterprise. There are already signs that its bitterest rivals are of British nationality, both Levantines and foreigners.

¹ The unexpected postwar disturbances in south Russia and Turkey have given the subsidiary Levant Company a poor start. For the two year period ending December 31, 1922, after a small dividend allowance, the net loss on operation was £649,315, and a debit balance of £361,169 was brought forward; the total deficit was £999,604.

If we may believe a widely published announcement (see *New York Times*, June 17, 1923), a British corporation has been organized by Mr. Leslie Urquhart, the London-Scottish financier conspicuous as director of the Russo-Asiatic Corporation, which would work with a Turkish import and export company in order to monopolize the country's foreign trade. It is reported that this British firm, which has among its directors Lord Goschen and Rustem Fehmi Bey, is to represent exclusively abroad this Turkish company. It is also reported that in the latter are several Turkish cabinet ministers as well as somewhat less than two hundred deputies of the National Assembly at Angora. It is stated that each company is (a) to have a one-quarter capital share interest in the other, (b) to coöperate in the establishment of warehouses in coast cities, and (c) to have exploitation rights in the important Eregli coal fields. The British company, which is known as the Corporation for the Economic Development of Turkey, Ltd., has invited French participation. The political aspect of such a combination would have ill-bodings for world peace, and would contradict article ten of the Economic Pact, "The Turk does not desire any monopoly in business." The American Department of State advised that official Turkey is not a party to this agreement and that the arrangement does not preclude other companies from doing business. As in the case of all rumors of exclusive economic privileges, few of which usually have any basis in fact as first reported, time alone can indicate the measure of truth.

In addition to the Germans and British, the French as always are active in Near Eastern commerce. After the armistice of 1918, the United States made a big splurge and promised hard competition to all comers. At one time, there were a dozen Shipping Board vessels in Constantinople harbor; amid great ceremony the

largest trust company in the world opened a branch; million dollar corporations were formed to capture the cream of the trade. But a continued condition of war caused a great relapse, including the closing down of most newly-established enterprises. American prestige suffered a further blow in the annulment (December, 1923) by the Turkish Minister of Public Works of the so-called Chester concessions. There seems scant prospect that the United States can hold first place in Turkey's commerce, but second place belongs to her. Other but less important trade rivals are the Italians, Spanish, Scandinavians, Dutch, Russians, and Japanese.

At best, many years will elapse before Turkey's foreign trade can approach its former business activity. Established trade connections have been swept away. New firms are starting up every day, but what knowledge abroad is there of their facilities or of their financial or moral standing? A certain amount of valuable information can be obtained from the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant and government officials at Constantinople, the Federated American Chambers of Commerce of the Near East, Inc., banks, and mercantile agencies; still, the task is difficult to appraise the value of even those enterprises which start with excellent prospects. The mortality among new firms is high everywhere in the world. There will probably be more hand-to-mouth buying and selling than in the past: in the long run a not wholly unfavorable situation since the Oriental does not become impatient because of small or postponed profits. Another very important change is that the Turk is master in his own country: therefore foreigners must forget the tradition that it is impossible to do business in Turkey without special safeguards. There is bound to be a period of hesitation produced by a widespread lack of abiding confidence in the State's future.

Onerous passport regulations, heavy taxation, hasty legislation, roads in decay and unsafe travelling conditions are further obstacles to be hurdled. The Republic can do much to help but more to hinder international commercial relations. Permit the writer to repeat the words of wisdom of a leading international financial authority, Mr. Hartley Withers, who concluded a recent article in the *Nation* (London) in this manner:—"It seems to me that, since governments habitually bungle everything that they do, the less they are allowed to interfere with trade the better."

CHAPTER XVI

LEVANTINE CONCESSION-HUNTING

By ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS

One day Khoja Effendi, on whom God be merciful, went to the city of Konia, and going into a pastry cook's shop, seized hold of a tart, and saying, "In the name of God," began to eat it. The pastry cook cried out, "Halloa, fellow, what are you about?" and fell to beating him. The Khoja said, "O what a fine country is this of Konia, in which, whilst a man eats a tart, they put in a blow as a digester for every morsel."

—THE TURKISH JESTER, or "The Pleasantries of Khoja Nasreddin Effendi," tr. from the Turkish by George Borrow.

Probably there is no sovereign state where the influence of foreign capital was greater than in the Ottoman Empire. Not only does this heritage relate to purely economic undertakings but it extends throughout the political and social life in Turkey. It is apparent even to the novice in international politics that one of the simplest and surest methods of exercising political control is through the domination of capital funds. The story of the scramble of the Great Powers for special privileges is an oft-repeated tale. Some foreign diplomatic officers spend most of their time in assisting their national investors. As a result the former Ottoman Empire is mortgaged to a surprising degree to outside financial interests who do not work always for the supreme good either of Turkey or of their native land.

The mental attitude of the Turk is that of keen receptivity towards foreign financial backing. To him it seems the will of Allah that railways, port and harbor works, local public utilities, mines, banks, and other enterprises

should be both owned and managed mainly by foreigners. He accepts the situation without the show of resentment and apparently seems to be well satisfied that others are willing to assume what he has been accustomed to regard as the aggravations of business enterprise.

A realization of the position of foreign creditors is impossible without a general knowledge of the important organization known as the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt, the most businesslike large organization in Turkey, which owes its existence to the complete default of interest payments to foreign bondholders by the Turkish Government. This institution, created by the Imperial Decree of Muharrem, 1299 (8-20 December, 1881), provides for a Council of seven members nominated for a five-year term and eligible for reëlection. Six delegates represent the interests of French, British and Dutch, German, Austro-Hungarian, Italian, and Turkish bondholders; while the seventh represents the Imperial Ottoman Bank, the leading banking institution in the Empire, financed by French and English capital. Owing to the large interest of creditors in France and in England, the Ottoman Public Debt presiding officer is either the French or the British representative, each serving one year in turn.

The prime purpose of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration is to control the revenues ceded to foreign bondholders. Its activities, therefore, extend to loans for the public treasury, railways, and other sources from which stated revenues may be derived. The Government renders aid to the Council in the work of the administration, such as granting special military protection, but it is without power to modify the rules and regulations agreed upon under the Decree of Muharrem. The Government has as its representative an Imperial commissioner who takes part in the sittings of the council and

who enjoys the right of discussion without power to vote. The Government also has numerous agents throughout the country to assist this body. The revenues from Government monopolies, notably tobacco and salt, stamp duties, as well as duties upon spirits, fishing, silk, etc., are controlled and handled by the Administration. Notable work has been accomplished at the Silk Institute at Brusa under the auspices of the Public Debt.

There is no better evidence of the honesty and business possibilities of the local inhabitants, in this case largely Turks, than has been demonstrated by their employment as permanent or temporary agents. Of the 5652 persons employed by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration in 1912, only 169 agents were of foreign nationality. In addition, normally 3250 persons are employed part time.

The Turkish Government was arranging to have most of its revenues collected by this private organization when the War interfered. Despite the apparent high cost for collecting revenues and the perfectly natural feeling of resentment by the Turkish Government authorities because their own powers are curtailed, it seems likely that the foreign bondholders will insist on the continuation of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration or some similar organization.

The relations between France and Turkey become clearer if one appreciates that French capital invested in Turkey far exceeds that of any other nationality. While it is practically impossible to obtain reliable figures, it seems likely that two thirds of the Ottoman Public Debt and approximately one half of the private enterprises have been financed by the French. A French publication entitled "*Les Intérêts financiers de la France dans l'Empire Ottoman*, July, 1919," presents the following data relating to French, British, and German foreign investments in Turkey, based on the year 1914:

CAPITAL

	<i>French Francs</i>	<i>British Francs</i>	<i>German Francs</i>
Public Debt	2,454,417.377	577,499.821	867,583.506
Private Enterprises	902,893.000	230,458.675	552,653.000
Total	3,357,310.377	807,958.496	1,420,236.506
	<i>French Per Cent</i>	<i>British Per Cent</i>	<i>German Per Cent</i>
Public Debt	60.31	14.36	21.31
Private Enterprises	53.55	13.66	32.77
Total	60.08	14.46	25.42

These returns, however, err in neglecting the amount of investments of other nations such as Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, and the United States; but they are significant, even so, in showing the preponderant interests of France, Great Britain, and Germany. (Prior to the World War, Turkish private funds were confined largely to two or three steamship lines and to a small share of the Public Debt. War profits, however, have caused a great increase in the character and amount of their national investments.) The present status of Germany's investments in Turkey is affected seriously by the Treaty of Versailles. Article 261 undertakes to transfer to the Allied and Associated Powers any claims she may have to payment or repayment by the Governments of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey, and, in particular, any claims which may arise, now or hereafter, from the fulfillment of undertakings made by Germany during the war to those governments.

France has spheres of influence in Turkey which are both historical and practical. The conspicuous part played by France in the Crusades made her the expressed guardian of the Christians in the Orient. For centuries France represented the interests of western European powers in Turkey and was so accepted by the

Turks: the word "Frank" is applied generally by the Turks to Europeans and Americans. The western influence in Turkey has its origins largely in French educational institutions, literature and culture. Not only has French enterprise permeated Turkey in its social and political life but the commercial relations have also been conspicuous. For instance, the growth of Marseilles can be attributed in a large degree to its shipping contacts with French interests in the Levant, notably in Syria.

The special material interests of France in Turkey are not confined exclusively to any one section of the Empire. They include railway and road projects adjacent to the Black Sea and Ægean Sea coasts, and oil and copper in upper Mesopotamia, a name given to the Kurdistan region. This diversity of interests can be attributed to the special adaptability of French engineers and financiers in connection with railways, ports and harbors, local public utilities, and other technical enterprises. French national sentiment towards Turkey, however, is concentrated in Syria (to a lesser extent in Cilicia) where railways, silk factories of the Lebanon, banks, and other business interests are predominantly French.

The foregoing figures give Great Britain's share as approximately one seventh or one eighth both of the Ottoman public debt and of the local private enterprises. The British military operations during the World War in Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine have involved a capital outlay—much of this is of a permanent character—which doubtless far exceeds the total capital investments in Turkey prior to 1914. The building of the railway from Al Kantara to Palestine and of the approximately one thousand miles of railway in Mesopotamia cost large sums of money. It has been stated by British students that, since 1914, Great Britain has expended on military account over one billion dollars in Mesopotamia

alone. Certainly no expense has been spared to enhance the British predominant influence in Palestine and in both upper and lower Mesopotamia. The great enterprises in Turkey which interest British capital most are the irrigation projects in Mesopotamia so ably started by British engineers following the plans of Sir William Willcocks, the petroleum fields in the Middle East, and railway and port development in Palestine and in western Asia Minor. Banking and trading activities, especially at Constantinople and Smyrna, have always been conspicuous factors in British overseas enterprise.

German interest in Turkey has been a comparatively recent development. The conclusion of the Franco-Prussian War gave Germany a realization of her potential strength as a world power. The wonderful resources of Asia Minor have received most careful attention. The theatrical visit of the Kaiser to Turkey in 1898, when he professed his keen friendship for the Mohammedans, was of unquestioned aid in the later railway, port, mining and other concessions which were successfully secured by German nationals. Petroleum, copper, coal and chrome ore, as well as grain and cotton, were desired by Germany in connection with her program of national and international economy. Railway concessions appeared to offer the best means for securing the easiest access to these raw materials and at the same time for blocking British plans on the Persian Gulf. What the future position of Germany in the Turkish Republic may be is an open question. But there are many reasons for believing that Germany will occupy a much more important position than would be inferred from a digest of European and American books and periodicals.

The interest of Russia in Turkey largely relates to securing an unrestricted passage for the products of south Russia from the Black Sea through the Straits to

the Ægean Sea. Aside from the weighty historic claims of Russia there can be no logical argument advanced why ports on the Black Sea, which normally handle more than fifty per cent of the total Russian external commerce, should not have a clear outlet through the Bosphorus, Sea of Marmara, and the Dardanelles. The eastern part of Anatolia, due to contiguity, has been the objective of many Russian schemes. More truly than any other nation Russia has given physical support to the Armenians, a people who have been regarded frequently as under Russia's protection. A suggestion has been made from time to time that Russia might avoid the possibility of the closing of the Straits by building a railway system in a southwesterly direction from the Caucasus to Alexandretta or some other port on the Mediterranean Sea. This alternative is a poor makeshift since commodities entering Russian export trade consist largely of bulk cargoes which cannot stand railroad freight rates. There are practically no Russian incorporated companies in Turkey. There are, however, a few enterprises operated by British and French companies financed by Russian capital.

The competition between Italy and Greece for economic privileges in western Asia Minor was a forerunner of the prolonged Græco-Turkish War which resulted so disastrously for Greece. Only within the past decade has Italy taken any special interest in Asia Minor. The antipathy between the Italians and the Greeks can be accounted for largely on historical grounds, the control of the Dodekanese Islands, and the maritime rivalry in the eastern Mediterranean. It has been reported that the Italians have secured from the Turks preferential rights except where Turkish capital is available, in the Heraclea coal basin, in certain sections of Afium Qarahisar, Kutaya, Aidin, and Konia, and in many public enterprises in the sanjaks of Adalia, Buldur, Mughla and

Sparta. In the future there will be, doubtless, an ascendant position for the Italians in Asiatic Turkey.

The racial Greeks in Turkey, irrespective of nationality, have settled mainly in the coast cities. In this respect they have carried on the traditions of the ancient Greek colonies. They have been most intimately associated with Smyrna, with the islands off the western Asia Minor coast, with Pontus, and with Constantinople. Greek investments in Turkey have been confined largely to commerce, shipping, banking and industrial enterprise. Greek capital utilized in Turkey has largely been in liquid form.

In the days of the clipper ships the trade between the United States and Smyrna was large. American sailing vessels, most often hailing from New England, were a conspicuous sight in the Levant waters. But with the internal development of the United States especially after the middle of the nineteenth century together with the conspicuous development of the steam engine, the shipping and commercial relations between the United States and Turkey largely ceased. Within the past decade, principally due to the efforts of the American government officials in Turkey and to the work of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant, American business interests in Turkey have taken on a new lease of life. Some of the most successful firms in Turkey are of American nationality. But even more conspicuous have been the laudable accomplishments during the past century of our uncommercialized enterprises. American educational institutions, American hospitals, American religious missionaries, and American philanthropy have been noteworthy. Dr. Talcott Williams, writing in 1919, stated:

Where others have invested for material profit we have invested \$20,000,000 in founding colleges, \$40,000-

000 in feeding the hungry and \$50,000,000 in preaching, instruction and free medicine. Such a record and influence no people has ever had in another land.

A personal letter (December, 1922) from the general secretary of the Near East Relief states that this single organization has distributed approximately \$70,000,000 in the aggregate. It seems reasonable to assert that American business interests, as well, are destined to hold a strong position in the country, especially since American funds are now more and more often coupled with American direction in local enterprise.

Austrian and Belgian capital have been interested largely in public utility companies. As an illustration of the complicated nature of penetration of foreign capital, the city of Constantinople can be cited with reference to the electric light and power supply, electric street cars, and the telephone system. The franchises for these three services were granted shortly before the World War to private concerns. Electric light is furnished by the Société Anonyme d'Electricité Ganz, of Budapest; the street cars are run by the Société des Tramways de Constantinople, originally a German company; and the telephones are in the hands of the Société Anonyme Ottomane des Telephones, an Anglo-French-American concern. The first two companies, however, have been merged into a Belgian syndicate, the control of which is in America.

The Turkish Republic is suffering from numerous taxes attributable in large part to the heavy foreign obligations. The investment of foreign funds in the securities of the Ottoman government constitutes a dismal record which is scarcely, if any, less creditable to the investors than it is to the Turkish government officials. While the writer makes no attempt to defend the cupidity and corruption of Turkish officialdom—since there must lie

largely the responsibility for the disastrous effect of past borrowings—nevertheless, the foreign lenders surely were not innocent in the probable disposition of the loans. Many purchasers of the Turkish securities were doubtless ignorant and innocent of the methods by which Turkish loans are generally floated but the same excuse cannot be made for the intermediaries. It is well known that prior to the overthrow of Abdul Hamid the budget system had not been attempted in Turkey; loans were the usual means employed to secure the necessary revenue to maintain the country's solvency. It has been hinted more than once that grasping foreign powers have rejoiced in the continued weakness of the Ottoman fiscal situation. At any rate, European investors can probably be charged with a large share of the responsibility for the financial debauchery that has been rampant in Turkey and for the confusion that has long existed in that unhappy Empire.

Foreign investments in Turkish state loans have been made almost solely for the purpose of securing special ulterior advantages. *The thought which apparently has heretofore guided countries when loaning money to Turkey has been to exploit the country and only incidentally to develop its resources.* Loans have been issued for one or more of the following purposes: (a) purchase of materials including equipment and supplies for war from the lending country, (b) the acquisition of one or more concessions, and (c) the settlement of a political disagreement between the lenders and borrowers. Also national jealousies have played a very important rôle in the issuance of loans. Therefore the significant fact is that most Turkish loans have been contracted in order to enable foreign investors to secure desired concessions notably related to transportation, mining and agricultural grants; and in the process the security of the loans and the rate of interest have been of minor importance.

To the credit of the Turkish officials it should be stated that the Government has certainly appeared to respect its engagements with reference to guaranteed State loans and private obligations, despite the sordid history.

A comparatively recent example of the relation between foreign capital and concessions was the grant in April, 1914, to a French company, the *Regie Générale de Chemins de Fer et de Travaux Publics*, in connection with the concurrent five per cent loan of 22,000,000 Turkish pounds obtained in Paris through French banking institutions. The Turkish Government thereby granted concessions for extensive railways, public roads, port development, gas works, etc. It was natural that French technical experts should be employed and that the materials of construction should be supplied by the lending country. Unfortunately, the outbreak of the World War prevented the carrying out of these plans. In the long run these enterprises would benefit Turkey more than France.

According to a statement compiled late in 1922, the foreign holdings of the Turkish state loans were divided as follows:

	<i>Unified Debt Per Cent</i>	<i>Including Lottery Bonds Per Cent</i>
France	66.34	59.70
Great Britain	10.99	8.17
Germany	7.65	11.00
Belgium	7.71	9.00
Holland	1.77	2.13
Italy	1.74	1.36

The percentage of Turkish loans held by French interests is doubtless somewhat larger than appears in the foregoing table of those subject to the Decree of Muharrem. No Turkish loans bear a higher rate of interest

than six per cent, while the actual return received has not averaged over five per cent. A detailed history of the external debt obligations appears in the chapter on The Public Treasury.

Second in importance to the capital invested by foreigners in public obligations of Turkey are the sums invested in Turkish railways. A study of these investments does not disclose the objectionable features so common in State loans though the manner of obtaining railway concessions often was none too respectable. The Baghdad Railway and the Hejaz Railway, the latter a Turkish Government line, are regarded as the only two railways which have been built for other than purely business considerations. A Constantinople banker informed me in 1920 that the capitalization of railways in Turkey aggregated approximately \$250,000,000, roughly divided into four-fifths bonds and one-fifth capital stock.

The financial arrangements in connection with the Anatolian and the Baghdad railways offers a suggestive picture of the close relations between a foreign government and a leading foreign bank. In 1888 the Imperial Ottoman Government granted a concession for 99 years to the Deutsche Bank for working the line which then existed between Scutari (opposite Constantinople at the entrance of the Bosphorus) and Izmid, and guaranteed a gross receipt of 10,300 francs per kilometer. The railway was to be extended to Angora, that is to say the whole length of the line was to be 578 kilometers (Scutari-Izmid 92 kilometers, and Izmid-Angora 486 kilometers). For the line between Izmid and Angora the Government guaranteed gross receipts of 15,000 francs per kilometer. In both cases the gross receipts were to be secured by the tithes of certain provinces, and such tithes were to be collected by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration.

In 1893 the Deutsche Bank obtained a further conces-

sion for ninety-nine years for extensions to Kaisarieh and Konia with a guarantee of 13,725 francs per kilometer, of which the Government would be called upon to provide 6,740 francs only per kilometer.

As a result of the concession granted in 1902 for the building of a railway from Konia to Baghdad, the Anatolian Railway undertook to spend 8,000,000 francs to improve the Angora and Konia lines and to establish an express train service. In return the Company was to receive: (a) an annuity of 350,000 francs for thirty years dating from the commencement of the works of improvement, to be utilized for the redemption in capital and interest of the 8,000,000 francs to be expended; (b) a further annuity of 350,000 francs was to be paid for the service of express trains from the day that the Baghdad Railway line was completed to Aleppo.

In 1902 a concession for ninety-nine years was granted for the working of a railway line from Konia to Baghdad and Basra. For every kilometer laid down and worked the Government guaranteed an annuity of 11,000 francs and a further annual sum of 4,500 francs per kilometer to cover working expenses. The annuity of 11,000 francs was to be represented by the issue of a 4 per cent State loan to the Company of 269,110 francs in debentures for every kilometer laid down and worked. The service of the loan was to be secured by various revenues. Strictly speaking, no debentures were issued for the Konia-Baghdad Railway, the Ottoman Government undertook to issue a 4 per cent government loan to meet the cost of building the line by each section of 200 kilometers.

The table on page 367 makes manifest the approximate amount of capital invested in railways in the Ottoman Empire (1911).

Not the least important of the German designs regarding the railroad were the benefits that would be derived from various concessions which normally fall outside the

RAILWAYS

<i>Name</i>	<i>Capital</i>		
	<i>Shares (Nominal Capital)</i>	<i>Debentures Issued</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>L. T.</i>	<i>L. T.</i>	<i>L. T.</i>
Smyrna-Aidin	1,294,340	3,293,407	4,587,747
Mersina-Tarsus-Adana ...	188,154	193,540	381,694
Chemins de fer Orientaux.	2,000,000	..	2,000,000
Chemins de fer d'Anatolie	5,400,000	8,800,000	14,200,000
Jaffa-Jerusalem	160,000	394,000	554,000
Smyrna-Kassaba	640,000	5,362,000	6,002,000
Salonika-Monastir	800,000	2,400,000	3,200,000
Salonika-Constantinople ..	600,000	6,311,600	6,911,600
Damas-Hamas and extensions	600,000	4,774,960	5,374,960
Konia-Baghdad	600,000	11,240,000	11,840,000
Mudania-Brusa	153,000	..	153,000
	12,435,494	42,769,507	55,205,001

sphere of railway management. Permission was granted to exploit mineral resources within 20 kilometers (12½ miles) along either side of the right of way, the exploitation of forests and water power, the monopoly of brick and tile works, the erection of stores and warehouses, navigation rights on the Shatt al Arab, Tigris, and Euphrates (which would have seriously interfered with the long-standing privileges of the famous firm of Lynch Brothers), and the erection of port and harbor works at Alexandretta, Baghdad, and at points on the Persian Gulf.

These various concessions engaged the continual attention of foreign diplomatic officials stationed at Constantinople and at home offices.¹ Therefore there was

¹ The entire history of the Baghdad project is too long and detailed to be retold here. Certain features, however, relative to international rivalries are of such importance that they cannot be overlooked.

In 1872, the Ottoman Government employed the German engineer Von Pressel to draw up a comprehensive plan of railway construction in Asia. The following year Von Pressel pretended to Midhat Pasha a vast scheme of lines whose principal feature was a route from the Bosphorus to Baghdad by way of Izmid, Angora, Sivas, Diarbekr and the valley of the Tigris, with branches from Sivas to Samsun on the Black Sea, from Sivas to

great relief when it was announced in 1914 that a satisfactory international understanding regarding the Bagh-

Erzerüm, and from Diarbekr to the mouth of the Orontes on the Mediterranean. The Germans then decided to put into effect the main features of Von Pressel's scheme; the Izmid—Angora line of the Anatolian Railway was regarded as the first link in the Baghdad railway. The opposition of Russia, however, caused the abandonment of this route for one southward through Konia and Adana.

Although the German Anatolian Company was forced to abandon the northern route, it continued to hold all rights for lines from Angora to Kaisarieh, from Angora to Sivas, and from Sivas to Diarbekr. No other country could secure concessions for a comprehensive railway system to northern Asiatic Turkey until these German interests had given up their rights.

In 1900, the Tsar, alarmed at the proposed German lines close to his borders, received from the Turkish Government preferential rights for all railways to be constructed in the vilayets bordering upon the Black Sea, with the exception of those already granted to the German company. Russia, however, was fully occupied with the construction of lines in her own domain, and could ill-afford capital necessary for railways in Turkey. Nevertheless, she received concessions in order to block the Germans in their plans to threaten the safety of the Russian Caucasus territory.

Thus, with Germany and Russia holding all concessions, but both powerless to make use of them, the opportunity seemed at hand for a third country to fall heir to their concessions. This country was France. Germany had no serious objection as to resigning its rights into French hands, provided there was no interference with her all-important Baghdad project, and provided she could secure substantial benefits in return. Russia would willingly see the exploitation of the Black Sea section of Asiatic Turkey fall to the lot of her friend and ally. Thus the French began a series of negotiations with the Turks, with the Germans, and with the Russians to clear the way for a great system of railways to stretch from Eregli to Van. It was comparatively easy to secure the consent of the Ottoman Government to the French plans. The two Balkan wars had left Turkey in a state of financial distress. The expenses of the wars and the loss of territory made it necessary for her to secure immediate relief from foreign capitalists. In order to gain access to French capital, it was necessary to make concessions to the French demands in Asiatic Turkey.

In 1907 the European Powers, who held, as it were, a mortgage on the Turkish Empire, and must be consulted upon custom changes, consented to an additional tariff of 4 per cent on imports, in order that the Macedonian reforms might be effected. In 1913 this duty was about to expire and the Ottoman Government desired not only to renew it, but to impose an additional charge of 3 per cent. When Djavid arrived in Paris to negotiate this matter, he was given to understand that no French money would be accessible to Turkey and that France would not consent to the increase of customs duties unless extensive concessions were made in various parts of Asiatic Turkey.

dad Company arrangements had been reached. The "revelations" of Prince Lichnowsky, the German ambassador at London, are of such great significance that they are quoted herewith.

At the same time I was negotiating in London, with the able support of Herr von Kuhlmann, about the so-called Baghdad Treaty. The real object of this was to divide Asia Minor into spheres of influence, although this term was anxiously avoided in view of the rights of the Sultan. Sir E. Grey also repeatedly stated that there were in existence no agreements with France and Russia about the partition of Asia Minor.

In consultation with a Turkish representative, Hakki Pasha, all economic questions concerning German undertakings were settled in the main according to the wishes of the Deutsche Bank. The most important concession Sir E. Grey made to me personally was the continuation of the railway as far as Basra. We had dropped this point in favor of the connection to Alexandretta; up to that time Baghdad had been the terminal point of the railway. An international commission was to regulate navigation on the Shatt al Arab. We were also to have a share in the harbor works at Basra, and received rights for the navigation of the Tigris, which hitherto had been a monopoly of the firm of Lynch.

By this treaty the whole [of] Mesopotamia as far

In the meanwhile negotiations had been going on between the French and the Russians in regard to the proposed "Armenian Railway." Russia proved amenable to the French plans, but she requested that they be modified in two ways. She did not wish the new line to approach Erzerum and asked that its eastern limit should be Perkarije, in the upper valley of the Euphrates. The region between Perkarije, Erzerum, and the Transcaucasian frontier Russia desired to have reserved for exploitation by her own citizens, although she was willing to leave the work of construction to French engineers and contractors. She requested that the Trebizond-Perkarije branch, and the Bitlis-Van branch, which was also contemplated by the French, should not be started until a later date, to be named by Russia. This request was made doubtless because Russia felt that the safety of her frontiers would be jeopardized by the construction of these lines before her own Transcaucasian railways were completed. The French seem to have offered no objection to these conditions. There seemed to be a likely prospect of international agreements.

as Basra was included within our sphere of influence (without prejudice to already existing British navigation rights on the Tigris and the rights of the Wilcox [Willcocks] irrigation works), as well as the whole district of the Baghdad and Anatolian railway.

The coast of the Persian Gulf and the Smyrna-Aidin railway were recognized as the British economic sphere, Syria as the French, and Armenia as the Russian. If both treaties were executed and published, an agreement with England would be reached which would preclude all doubts about the possibility of an "Anglo-German co-operation."

Mr. S. Bilinski, the able general manager of the National Bank of Turkey, has prepared for the writer the following statement regarding the financial benefits from Turkish railway enterprises:—

Many railway companies in Turkey obtained the funds necessary for building the lines by issues of debentures, the services on which were secured by a kilometric guarantee of the State, whereas the share capital was issued in payment of the concession. The net results, therefore, were that:

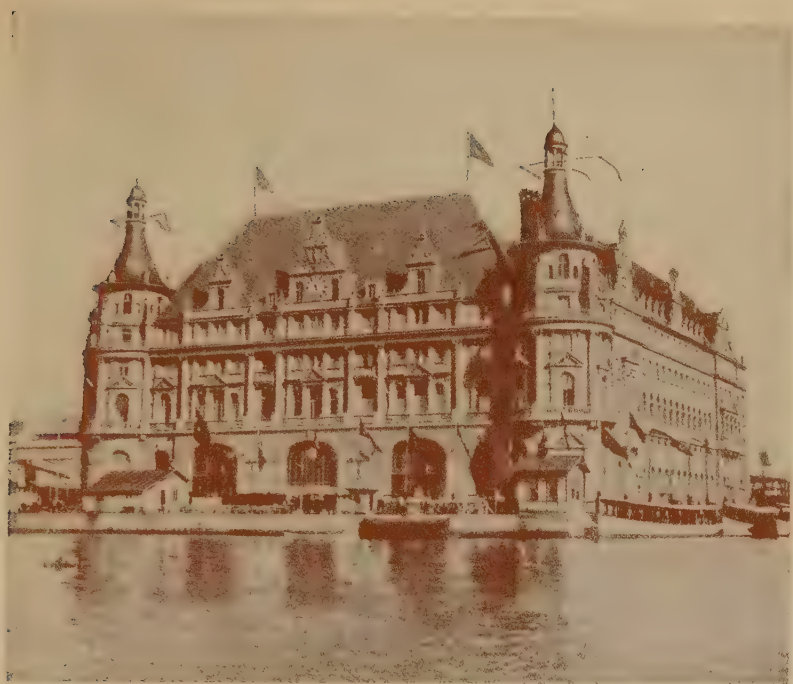
(a) The concessionaires, who had obtained their concessions by means which were more often dubious than not, received in payment shares which they promptly converted into cash. A large part of these profits, which can be fairly regarded as ill-gotten, no doubt found their way into the pockets of palace favorites and ministerial officials, who one and all seemed to have been imbued with the spirit of the dying miser's advice to his son:—"Make money—honestly if you can,—but make it."

(b) The financial groups associated with the concessionaires *made* money.

(c) The railway contractors *made* money.

(d) The debenture holders sporadically received interest on their money.

(e) The debt charges of an already more or less bankrupt country were increased by the pernicious system of kilometric guarantees, than which nothing is more calculated to prevent the progressive working of



The Railway Station at Haidar Pasha, the Asiatic Starting Point for Imperialistic Germany's *Drang Nach Osten*.



Irrigation Work at Konia—A Constructive German Enterprise.

a railway line and the development of the country it is supposed to serve.

Funds expended in Turkey should properly be directed at first towards better means of transportation and communication. The building of railways, public roads, and port and harbor works is greatly needed. One of the urgent questions is the enlargement of Constantinople harbor and the erection of modern warehouses. The British have plans drawn for appropriating \$10,000,000 for port and harbor works at Haifa. Needed transportation service requires at least, for railroads \$200,000,000, port and harbor works \$50,000,000, and highways \$25,000,000.

The mineral deposits in Turkey are reputed to be extremely valuable but scant data are available. At present the chief foreign investors are, in order of nationality, French, British, and German. The leading French enterprises are the Heracleon coal mines near the Black Sea coast, the Balia-Karaidin lead-silver mines of western Anatolia, the Ak Dagħ zinc and the lead-silver mines of Angora, the large interests in the Bulgar-Maden lead-silver mines of southwestern Anatolia and the famous Arghana-Maden copper mines. The British are known to have invested six million gold francs in the Borax Company, Ltd., of western Anatolia. The Belgians are interested in the Bender-Eregli coal properties. The German capitalists are believed to be involved in the last-mentioned property. During the war the Krupp interests secured important concessions in the chrome mines of western Anatolia. Actually little is known definitely regarding the ownership of various properties including the important Heracleon coal fields and the Arghana-Maden copper field, the latter said to be owned by the Turkish crown but worked by French investors. The chrome deposits near Kutaya where is situated the Dagħ Ardi mine (which is the leading chrome mine in the world),

are owned by the Turkish Minister of Marine, but is operated under a concession granted a half century ago to an Italian national but later taken over by Ragil Pasha who in 1917 gave a ten-year lease to a German firm. The petroleum fields, which are said to be the most valuable in central Asia Minor, are reported to be owned in part at least by the heirs of the Sultan Abdul Hamid. Their present status is further complicated by secret agreements and the mandatory provisions in a region where at present a foreign mandatory power exercises political jurisdiction. Further information regarding minerals appears in the chapter devoted to that subject. Outside capital continues to take a keen interest in the exploitation of both worked and, at present, unworked deposits.

Turkey in 1914 was mainly an agricultural and pastoral country. Therefore the most widespread opportunities for foreign investment relate primarily to the growing of crops such as cereal, cotton, tobacco, fruits and products of the vine, as well as pastoral products connected with the raising of goats, sheep, horses and poultry. The Mesopotamia and Konia irrigation projects, still in their very early stages, are indicative of what large rewards await foreign capital provided the country remains quiet for a period of years. The valley of the Jordan has rich possibilities in this respect. A notable future awaits the growing of cotton in Mesopotamia and Cilicia, wheat in Konia and Sivas, tobacco along the coast of Anatolia, figs, dates, raisins, and nuts in western Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, silk and fruits in Syria and Palestine, wool in the Angora district, etc. The reputed fertility of Asia Minor is no myth. No wonder that the geographer Hogarth has characterized Anatolia as one of the garden spots of the world.

Industrial establishments in Turkey are almost nonexistent. There are a few flour mills, tanneries, rug and carpet works, cotton and woolen mills, and cotton oil

establishments. Most of the industrial products throughout the Empire are made in the household, notably the foregoing, and in addition brass and copper utensils, pottery, shoes and saddlery, and crude farming tools. However, absence of capital and of expert direction, the absence of trained workers, the custom of Turkish women in wearing the veil, and the shortage of male labor due to military demands have tended to discourage new industrial undertakings. Most foreign residents are impressed with the large profits that would ensue if native products were worked along efficient lines for consumption locally and abroad. Turkish raw materials which are well adapted for manufacture include cereals, hides and skins, tobacco, and other products already noted which might be made into flour, leather, etc. Turkey is a large exporter of wheat and a large importer of flour. Yet water power is available near Izmid, in the Taurus Mountains, and in other parts of Turkey. The abundance of delicious fruits, vegetables, nuts, and food fishes suggest valuable raw materials which might be worked in canneries and food-preserving establishments.

For the industrial future of Turkey there is a lack of accessible wood but there are important coal, iron, and water power resources available for fuel purposes. While there are frequent complaints regarding shortage of labor in those parts of Turkey, such labor as is available is poorly paid according to American standards. The male Anatolian peasant who receives 80 cents a day and the female who receives one half of this amount do not consider themselves ill paid. Should the governmental authorities in Turkey decide that from the standpoint of social custom it would not be objectionable for Turkish women to drop the veil in reward for the part they might play in improving the economic status of the country these women workers could relieve to a surprising extent the present shortage in labor supply. In Tur-

key there are practically no repair shops or machine shops, but these necessary accompaniments to an industrial régime would come naturally providing they would meet any general demand.

There is an immediate need for foreign capital for rebuilding the burnt areas of Constantinople, Smyrna, and other important cities and towns. The Turkish daily *Vakit* announced in the year 1920 that during the past decade 17,191 buildings in Constantinople had been burned. Yet within that period only 532 structures had actually been rebuilt although 7794 authorizations for new buildings had been granted. The destruction by fire in Constantinople has rendered homeless approximately 100,000 over this ten-year period. Approximately one fourth of the area of Stamboul has been burned over: it is a desolate monument to past conflagrations. The most disastrous recent fire was that of June 13, 1918, when 8,000 buildings were destroyed. These losses have been especially heavy due to the typical wooden frame construction, their lack of repair and general neglect, and a primitive system for controlling fires. The municipal authorities at Constantinople have plans ready for the rebuilding of the *Fatih* quarter of Stamboul. They have been refusing permits for the erection of wooden buildings, but, nevertheless, there is a distinct market for portable houses and the more substantial structures of the bungalow type. The rebuilding of Stamboul which includes not only houses but also municipal services involves a prospective outlay in excess of \$50,000,000. The reconstruction of Smyrna as the result of the conflagration of 1922 calls for large expenditures of funds. Angora also suffered from a bad fire during the War period.

Numerous other proposals for capital expenditure include electric supply, street cars, telephones, water companies, abattoirs, refrigerating plants, forests, fish hatcheries, motor transport, office buildings, model villages,

pleasure resorts, restaurants, and five-and-ten-cent stores. The new Turkish Government has wonderfully attractive propositions at hand but recognition must be given to the very good reasons why foreign capital has been reluctant in many lines. The most promising ventures would seem to be those in which Turkish capital is largely interested. There is already an indication that the authorities at Angora are insisting on a 51 per cent participation by Turkish capital in certain enterprises. There is, however, little capital wealth in the hands of the private Turks, and therefore most of the needed funds must doubtless continue to come largely from abroad.

The influx of foreign capital will continue to come largely through resident banking institutions incorporated under European or Ottoman laws. In the past, the most conspicuous banks in this respect have been the Imperial Ottoman Bank (a Turkish corporation with French and British capital), the Deutsche Bank (German capital), and the National Bank of Turkey (British capital in the Sir E. Cassel group, now controlled by the British Trade Corporation). In addition to the Imperial Ottoman Bank and the National Bank of Turkey, the Bank of Salonika (French, Belgian and Swiss capital) is an important, locally incorporated institution. The two important Turkish companies with purely Turkish capital are the Agricultural Bank (controlled by the Government) and the Credit National Ottoman (with the sole privilege of issuing bank notes, commencing in 1925). European banks include the Credit Lyonnaise (French), Banque Commerciale de la Mediterranée (French), Bank of Athens (Greek), Banca Commerciale Italiana (Italian), Banco di Roma (Italian), Banca Italiana di Sconto (Italian), Banque Russe pour le Commerce Étranger (Russian), Bank Marmorosch & Co. (Romanian), and the Holland Bank for the Mediterranean (Dutch). The

Deutsche Bank (German), the Deutsche Orient Bank (German), the Wiener-Bank-Verein (Austrian) and the Guaranty Trust Company (American) have abandoned temporarily, at least, their branches. Among the other financial houses are Mavrogordato, Zarifi, American Express Company, Delmedico & Co., Eliasco, and Karagousian.

One of the ablest bankers in Constantinople was frank when he explained to me that the present banking system in Turkey is the outcome of grafting various parts of foreign practices with the result that many banks "bear a disconcerting family likeness to glorified money-changers." Unfortunately it is true that the banks established in Turkey are in the main unfriendly toward one another and at no time have they pooled their unquestioned strength in the stabilization or improvement of local financial, industrial, and commercial conditions. Perhaps there may be better team-play hereafter.

The position of most of the foregoing banking institutions in which there is a large proportion of outside capital is precarious. A special cable, dated November 23, 1923, to the *Christian Science Monitor* reports "on the highest authority" that the Turkish cabinet has definitely decided that the Bank of Athens must cease business in Turkey. In Cilicia, the branches of the Banque Française de Syrie have been closed. The Imperial Ottoman Bank is in negotiation with the Government regarding a renewal of its concessions which expire in 1925; in the spring of 1923, it was reported that this leading financial institution would be granted permission to continue operations providing the director general was chosen from among the Turks and that the bank changed its name.

The status of most concessions in Turkey has been covered by a protocol signed at Lausanne by the representatives of the British Empire, France, Italy, Greece,

Romania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and Turkey, as follows:

ARTICLE 1. Concessionary contracts and subsequent agreements relating thereto, duly entered into before the 29th October, 1914, between the Ottoman Government or any local authority, on the one hand, and nationals (including Companies) of the Contracting Powers, other than Turkey, on the other hand, are maintained.

In addition, agreements were made regarding special concessions. Notes were also exchanged between the British and French delegates regarding certain concessions in the territories detached from Turkey (British Treaty series No. 17, *cmd. 1946*, 1923). From the opening session of the first Lausanne Conference (November, 1922) until the close of the year 1923, the chief interest in Turkish concessions has related to the Kurdistan (Mosul) oil fields, the Eastern Anatolian Railway concessions (the so-called Chester Project), and the railways and port works of western Asia Minor. These concessions are described from other standpoints in the chapters on Mines and on Transportation and Communication. Petroleum diplomacy has been, and still is, closely associated with projects for public works. It furnishes a key position of interest in regard to past and present railway developments.

A bomb shell was thrown into Allied diplomatic, financial, and industrial circles by the vote of the Angora Assembly on April 9, 1923, ratifying agreements entered into by the Government and the Ottoman-American Development Company, a holding company controlling the new Chester concessions. Although under committee consideration for months, this legislation was passed (the vote stood 185 to 21) by the Government in a single session, although, as it was stated in the *Tevhid-i-Efkia*r of Constantinople, "It has taken four days for our eco-

nomic editor to study the Chester project." The actual text of the law which is said to consist of "but a few words, accepting the contents of an annexed convention and annexed contracts, and charges the Commissariat of Public Works with the execution of the law" (*Levant Trade Review*, May, 1923) has never been published. Thus Mr. Henry A. Woodhouse, one of the promoters, wrote in the *New York Times* (December 1, 1923) that the terms of the concessions are in five separate documents, only the sixth, a preliminary draft, having been published. The contracts were signed by the company's representatives at Angora, a Canadian, Colonel K. E. Clayton-Kennedy, and Commander Arthur T. Chester, son of the distinguished American, Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester; the terms were approved in June by the New York office of the company. It should be clearly understood that these late Chester concessions differ materially from the original Chester Project, which was so much before the public eye in 1908-1914, inclusive. In the Levant, these later concessions are properly referred to as the Eastern Anatolian Railway project.

A great deal has been written upon the Chester concessions of 1908 and of 1923. For an exposition of the terms of the latter, the reader is referred to the files of *Current History*, the *New York Times*, the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, *Asia*, and to the especially illuminating article in the *New Republic* (May 9, 1923), written by Dr. Edward J. Bing, who has had remarkable opportunities for access to valuable information and observation of local conditions. The writer has chosen to make use of the version contained in the files of the *Levant Trade Review*, published by the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant, Inc., Constantinople.

Briefly, the Company's plan provided for an elaborate, well-devised railway system in central and eastern Asia Minor, together with the exploitation of port works and

mineral, forest, and agricultural resources. The Grand National Assembly doubtless had in mind the immediate possibilities of *divide et imperia* in dealing with the delegates of the Allied and Associated Powers just prior and during the second Lausanne Conference, but primarily it was a grandiose scheme for a broad economic reconstruction of Turkey. Rauf Bey and others were firmly and sincerely convinced that the enlistment of American, as distinguished from other, capital would not interfere with the country's political independence. These widely-heralded concessions seemed to meet with favor among most of the Turks and to them seemed an evidence of America's interest in their situation. Unfortunately, but perhaps unavoidably, the local impression was general that this huge undertaking was being promoted and directed by the American Government. In the mind of the Oriental, it is frequently hard to distinguish foreign public and private undertakings. A denial from Hon. Leland Harrison, Assistant Secretary of State, appeared in the *New York Times* for June 20 and contained these words: "It is not the Government's practice to give such assurance and to give implied future guarantees, neither did the department nor its officers in the field take part in the negotiations. It was carried on directly by the parties concerned." The officials of the Ottoman-American Development Company found little enthusiasm among American business men or financiers; and, on August 29, 1923, the "Chester" group transferred the rights to the Canadian group for \$300,000 plus ten per cent of any possible profits. On November 10, Commander Arthur T. Chester charged the management of the company with unbusinesslike methods as well as "false and misleading statements." Two days later the voting trust, created on December 6, 1922, to assure American dominance, was dissolved. Dispatches from Constantinople late in 1923 reported that the Canadian

owners were negotiating with London and Paris financial groups. On December 17, Mukhtar Bey, Turkish Minister of Public Works, announced the abrogation of these concessions although there was a subsequent hint that this matter might be reopened when the Turko-American treaties were ratified. In its present form, with its very favorable terms as far as the Turkish Government is concerned, and based more on conditions in 1908 than in 1923, these tremendous "Chester" concessions will doubtless never be put into effect.

With respect to the railway and port concessions of western Asia Minor, the situation is much more complicated. His Excellency General Ismet Pasha, president of the Turkish delegation, addressed this note to the Peace Conference at Lausanne, July 24, 1923. "I have the honor to inform you that the concession contracts, as well as the subsequent agreements referring thereto, duly concluded before the 29th October, 1914, with the Ottoman Government in regard to the following undertakings are maintained: Anatolian Railway, Baghdad Railway, Mersina-Adana Railway, Oriental Railways and Haidar Pasha harbor. The clauses of the said contracts and agreements will, within a period of one year to be reckoned from the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace of to-day's date, be brought into conformity with the new economic conditions." Subsequently, there was organized in England the Anglo-Turkish Trust Co., Ltd., a private company with a nominal capital of £5,000 in shares of £1 each, "to acquire and hold shares in the Anatolian Railway Co., the Haidar Pasha Port Co., the Mersina-Tarsus-Adana Railway Co., and to acquire any shares or securities of any railway company or railway trust, whether now existing or that may be formed relating to operations in Turkey, Turkey in Asia, or elsewhere, etc."

The exact ownership of these properties, nevertheless,

is an enigma because the Bank at Zurich, identified with the Deutsche Bank and the Wiener-Bank-Verein, is believed to have the controlling interest in the Baghdad Railway (1,700 miles), the Anatolian Railway (1,200 miles), the railways about Adana (65 miles), and the port installations at Haidar Pasha, Mersina, and Alexandretta. A couple of decades ago, the Germans had transferred their shares to this Swiss Bank which later issued debentures. The *Times* (May 18) stated that the Baghdad Railway was outside of this arrangement and its control had passed into French hands, but that the Anatolian Railway was owned and controlled by this Swiss bank perhaps under German camouflaged ownership; in that case, the securities of the latter were outside the jurisdiction of the Reparations Commission. The bonds outstanding issued by the Bank are reported to be largely in the hands of Swiss investors who desire regular financial returns, which are impossible under recent conditions. The *Times* announced on May 2 that a British syndicate, headed by Baron Schroeder, the Rothschilds, and the Lloyd's Bank, had acquired the interests of the Swiss Bank in these enterprises. However, it is reported on November 25, 1923, that the budget commission of the Angora Assembly rejected the arrangement made between Mukhtar Bey and the British group headed by M. Huguenin; and that it recommended the State purchase of the Anatolian Railway. An eager competitor appears in the Swiss group, represented by Col. Fonjallaz. Under this situation, the Turkish Government seems to be in a position to bring about a profitable deal.

The student of Turkey's railway concessions should have access to numerous documents which are only vaguely known. No writer has yet treated exhaustively the exceedingly significant agreements and understandings among the British, French, Germans, Italians, and the Sublime Porte during 1914. There is the secret

accord between France and Germany on February 15, under the terms of which these two countries defined their spheres of influence and the Baghdad Railway was placed more strongly than ever in German hands. The secret British-Italian convention made allowance for the penetration of Italian influence in the region adjoining the Smyrna-Aidin Railway, an accord which was referred to in the Pact of London, 1915 (Select Document 3). French financial interests had secured large concessions in this same year by virtue of a large loan, partly paid, to the Ottoman Government. And finally, there was the Anglo-German Agreement of June 15, the main terms of which have already been given in this chapter. Following shortly after the Mudros armistice, British, French, and Italian financial groups were formed in order to translate these prewar agreements into positive control of the railways in Asiatic Turkey. Their imperialistic intentions were embodied in the abortive Tripartite Agreement, August 10, 1920 (Select Document 23). The officials of the Turkish Republic are in a strategic position to secure foreign loans based on extraordinary privileges which they may be willing to accord in connection with existing railways or in the settlement of the future of Mosul. The writer ventures his personal opinion that oil can smooth the troubled financial waters of Turkey.

The expressed attitude of the new leaders of Turkey regarding concessions may be judged from these remarks of Mustafa Kemal at the Economic Congress: "One is apt to believe that we are against foreign capitalists. This is an error. On the contrary, we want their co-operation. In consequence, we declare ourselves to be ever ready to accord the necessary guarantees, provided that they submit to our laws. We want foreign capital to come to add to our efforts and to the wealth of our country not yet exploited. But we do not admit, as in the past, that the Government should remain with folded

arms merely as guardians of this foreign capital. As in the case of all civilized nations, we are not able to agree to that. We cannot permit that this country should become as a city of slaves."

CHAPTER XVII

THE PUBLIC TREASURY

By WILLIAM WILSON CUMBERLAND¹

"But, Socrates, it is possible to procure wealth for the State from our foreign enemies."

"Yes, certainly, you may, if you are the stronger power; but, if not, you stand to lose even what you have already."

—XENOPHON, *Memorabilia* iii, 6, 7.

Introduction

Turkey is one of those few world countries whose treasury is always low but whose natural resources are rich and undeveloped. The financial régime during the past decade has been remarkable in the very small recourse to foreign or internal loans, the absence of currency inflation, and the ability of the Imperial and National governments to "carry on" during an uninterrupted period of exhausting warfare. The military and civil requirements of 1914-1918 were provided for by Germany and Austria-Hungary, together with a small internal note issue. From the Mudros armistice until

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the close of the calendar year 1923, no foreign or domestic loans have been floated, there has been no increase in treasury notes (in fact, the wearing out of the Turkish paper money has caused an actual deflation), and the Turkish paper pound has maintained its value better than that of any European country which participated in the World War. Turkey has the smallest war debt of any of the participants.

The financial arrangements incorporated in the Treaty of Lausanne (Select Document 36) are unusually favorable to Turkey. Turkey pays no reparations. Turkey is relieved of the cost of Allied occupation, which for the British alone amounted to £29,115,000 for Constantinople and vicinity, according to the testimony of Premier Baldwin in the House of Commons. In accordance with the stipulation that the detached territories shall bear their brunt of the former Ottoman indebtedness, the external debt has been reduced approximately 40%. It may be noted further, as Sir Adam Block mentions in a special report on the Ottoman Public Debt (Oct., 1923), "that some of the detached states in Asia, as Turkish statesmen have themselves admitted, were a positive drag on the Turkish treasury." Data relative to the gold standard adopted by the Empire during the World War period, the state of the currency, the public debt, and the general fiscal standing may serve to bring the following article up to date.

The circulating medium in the Turkish State is still based on a gold standard. The currency unit is the Turkish pound (L. T.), par value, \$4.40 (United States currency), consisting of 100 piasters. Practically no metallic coins—gold, silver, or nickel—circulate, although there are believed to be large hoards in the country. The law stipulates that not less than one third of the paper currency shall be covered by gold reserves. The Imperial Ottoman Bank, a Turkish company with British-French

capital, has the sole right of issue for bank notes, a privilege expiring in 1925 in favor of the Credit National Ottoman, a purely Turkish institution. The real currency situation is not correctly understood abroad, since no distinction is drawn between the forced currency, which has, in reponse to Gresham's law, driven out of circulation the Imperial Ottoman bank notes, and the latter issues which commanded a premium in July, 1921, amounting to approximately 200 per cent. On January 1, 1922, the total Ottoman currency amounted to 217,000,000 Turkish pounds. On account of conflagrations and the destruction of Turkish paper money through wear, this total should be reduced between 15 and 20 per cent.

The outstanding public debt of Turkey, on August 31, 1921, amounted to 148,000,000 Turkish pounds. In addition, there was a war debt of 289,000,000 Turkish pounds, which consisted mainly of advances from the German and Austrian governments during the war, including the internal loan of 1918 which they financed indirectly. By Article 259 of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany agreed "to deliver gold deposited in the Reichsbank in the name of the Council of Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt as security for the first issue of Turkish Government currency notes." On the condition that Turkey should give up her rights to L. T. 5,000,000 in gold deposited in Berlin and Vienna and by a withdrawal of her claim for L. T. 7,000,000 (£6,363,000) relative to the Turkish battleships requisitioned by the British Government in 1914, the Allied claims for Turkish reparations were reduced first from L. T. 15,000,000 to L. T. 12,000,000, and then abandoned entirely. The Allied negotiators at Lausanne spent a tremendous amount of time in trying to make the Turkish delegates agree to the payment of her external debts in gold rather than in Turkish paper; but no decision was reached regarding

this matter. The French bondholders in particular, on account of their predominant share in these obligations, wished to place a construction upon Turkish debts which they have been unwilling to apply to their own. An editorial in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (June 29, 1923) supported the contention of the Turkish delegates that the matter of the debt was between private individuals and Turkey, therefore that it was not a matter for diplomatic peace negotiations. "Do not let us say that we can act for our bondholders in support of their claims but cannot act for them if their claims are to be reduced, etc." That New Turkey has not at any time attempted to repudiate the international obligations was confirmed at a meeting held in Paris on May 23, 1923, between delegates of the Government and of the foreign bondholders.

The budget for the year 1923 allowed for estimated revenues of L. T. 94,000,000 and expenditures of L. T. 104,000,000 (the L. T. averaged from sixty-five to seventy cents in 1923). The receipts have been unsatisfactory nevertheless and the *Vatan* reported late in December, 1923, that there would be a deficit of L. T. 53,000,000. For the financial year 1924, the budget commission of the Angora Assembly estimates total expenditures of L. T. 68,276,582 of which L. T. 22,644,000 is allotted for national defense, L. T. 9,500,000 for pensions, L. T. 3,645,149 for military establishments and L. T. 2,662,566 for navy,—or a total of 56.4% of the total expenses primarily for military and naval purposes. At this writing, the probable revenue sources have not been announced.

Mention is desirable at this point of the firm expressed conviction on the part of a large number of Turkish deputies that the Khalifate is a financial burden on the State and that, if possible, the emoluments of this office should not be a charge upon the public funds. Other deputies are in favor of increasing the grant, which is very small

compared to the allotment to the ex-Sultans, from L. T. 30,000 to L. T. 50,000. During the fiscal year 1923, the Khalif's civil list was established as follows:—His Majesty, L. T. 15,000 a year, plus an allowance of L. T. 11,000. The sons of his Majesty up to the age of 16 years, L. T. 50 a month; 26 years, L. T. 80; 36 years, L. T. 120; 46 years, L. T. 150. To his Majesty's daughters up to the age of 21 years, L. T. 50; 31 years, L. T. 60; 41 years, L. T. 80, and beyond 41 years of age, L. T. 100 a month. The widows of deceased Khalifs will receive L. T. 50 and the daughters-in-law L. T. 30 a month. The Khalif's nephews are not included in the Civil List.

Turkey is consistently a debtor nation, both financially and commercially. There seems to her no good reason why this condition should not continue since foreign financial groups can be depended upon to pay the deficits. Government officials are seldom paid promptly; their salaries are usually doled out on installments. Under these conditions, dishonest employees and financial confusion are not surprising results. Official duties often seem devoted to the securing of taxes and gratuities. Even when the public funds consisted of 27 piasters, as in October, 1921, there was no hysteria; instead, the oft-repeated plea was made for outside assistance.

Despite the more or less fatalistic local attitude towards the acquisition of public funds—a crisis has been postponed because of sweeping requisitions, the withholding of revenues from the Debt, and the sale of abandoned property—the time is rapidly approaching when the officials must decide between various expedients, notably currency inflation and mortgaged resources.

The Public Treasury

For several centuries the Turks maintained a financial régime equal to or superior to that of their contempora-

ries. Except for its rigidity and the discriminations against non-Moslems, the revenue system, on the whole, was reasonably well constructed. It was only after the tremendous industrial expansion of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in western Europe that conditions in Turkey began to appear in an unfavorable light. In that period the European nations had learned how to organize credit for the support of industry, war and government. In a word, it was the era of the origin of modern "financial statesmanship."

Looking around for fields for financial expansion, the Western bankers soon began to appreciate the availability of Turkey. Here was a country of vast potential resources, with a strategic geographical location and with a government too ignorant, irresponsible and corrupt to protect its interests. It was an ideal field for political intrigue and it did not long remain uncultivated. Lord Eversley, in "The Turkish Empire," pages 311-313, gives a vivid picture of affairs in the Ottoman Empire:

He (Abdul Medjid, 1839-61) was the first sultan to fall into the hands of moneylenders of Western Europe. Great sums were borrowed ostensibly for the war with Russia. But the larger part of them were expended by Abdul Medjid in wild extravagance, in gratifying the caprices of the multitudes of women in his harem, in building palaces, and in satisfying the demands of corrupt ministers. On the occasion of the marriage of one of his daughters with the son of a Grand Vizier he spent forty millions of francs on her trousseau and in fêtes. . . .

The reign (of Abdul Aziz, 1861-76) was chiefly conspicuous for the enormous borrowings of money in London and Paris by the Porte, following on the bad example set by Abdul Medjid. The debt was rapidly increased by Abdul Aziz till it reached a total of nearly two hundred millions sterling. It does not appear that the accruing interest on this great debt was ever paid out of the revenues of the Empire. Fresh loans were

continually raised, out of which the accumulated interest on previous loans was provided. Huge commissions to financiers who brought out the loans, and bribes to pashas for consenting to their issue, accounted for another large part of the borrowed money. What remained was mainly devoted by the sultan to new palaces and to extravagances of his harem.

The attempt, beginning in 1839, to adapt modern financial methods was disastrous for Turkey. It only learned how to borrow and how to issue paper money, and failed to recognize that such operations imply a day of settlement. Nevertheless, the day came, and Turkey lost its

TABLE I

BUDGETS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 1909-10 TO 1918-19 *

Budget as presented to the Chamber of Deputies (in Turkish pounds)

	<i>Estimated Receipts</i>	<i>Estimated Expenditures</i>	<i>Estimated Deficits</i>	<i>Total Credits Authorized by the Chamber</i>	<i>Actual Receipts</i>
1909-10..	25,078,962	30,539,545	5,460,583	..	..
1910-11..	29,183,418	35,994,587	6,811,169	37,002,276	..
1911-12..	31,645,708	41,161,729	9,516,021	39,627,052	27,269,751
1912-13..	33,682,475	36,891,366	3,208,891	57,164,452	27,544,759
1913-14..	33,682,475	36,891,366	3,208,891	49,395,788	29,201,865
1914-15..	36,004,213	37,054,605	1,050,392	73,932,320	24,739,164
1915-16..	30,015,892	38,451,440	8,435,548	84,722,237	22,325,793
1916-17..	27,961,116	42,347,421	14,386,305	100,706,659	25,199,526
1917-18..	31,689,090	60,288,787	28,599,697	116,915,452	..
1918-19..	42,397,297	60,146,352	17,767,055	136,888,532	..

	<i>Actual Expenditures</i>	<i>Actual Deficits</i>
1911-12	29,908,282	2,638,531
1912-13	38,919,877	10,375,118
1913-14	35,329,950	6,128,085
1914-15	57,841,339	33,102,175
1915-16	65,546,105	43,219,312
1916-17	82,980,780	57,781,254
1917-18 .....	..	85,226,362 †
1918-19 .....	..	94,509,235 †

* The table was prepared from figures courteously furnished by the Ottoman Public Debt.

† The deficits for 1917-18 and 1918-19 are estimates, as information regarding actual receipts and expenditures is not available.

TABLE II

OTTOMAN EMPIRE: RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES, BY GEOGRAPHICAL
DIVISIONS, FISCAL YEAR 1911-12 *
(in Turkish pounds)

	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>	<i>Receipts per Capita</i>	<i>Expenditures per Capita</i>	<i>Receipts per square Km.</i>	<i>Expenditures per square Km.</i>
Central Departments †						
Turkey in Europe	4,165,800	19,219,500	..	..	..	..
Adrianople	1,420,200	1,851,400	1.21	1.58	65.60	85.52
Chatalja	70,400	26,800	.90	.34	32.89	12.51
Constantinople	3,462,700	1,712,900	4.05	2.00	876.63	433.63
Dardanelles	222,600	165,500	1.30	.97	30.92	22.98
Rumaili ‡	4,538,400	4,570,700	1.21	1.22	27.95	28.15
Total or average	13,880,100	27,546,800	1.61	1.38	49.23	42.20
Anatolia						
Adana	607,400	284,600	1.23	.58	16.26	7.62
Aidin (Smyrna)	2,789,000	938,700	1.65	.56	49.59	16.69
Angora	806,600	371,900	.70	.32	11.42	5.26
Bolu	266,300	120,400	.69	.31	16.67	7.53
Brusa	1,294,600	480,300	1.01	.38	26.26	9.74
Kastamuni	403,300	245,200	.55	.34	12.80	7.78
Janik	243,000	163,900	.67	.46	28.75	19.40
Islands ‡	134,300	15,000	.36	.04	20.68	2.32
Izmid	232,000	107,700	.73	.34	23.43	10.88
Karassi	506,200	107,800	1.13	.24	35.65	7.59
Konia	1,071,000	381,200	.85	.30	11.15	3.97
Total or average	8,353,700	3,216,800	.98	.38	21.09	8.12
Armenia						
Bitlis	242,100	200,900	.59	.49	8.09	6.72
Diarbekr	281,300	226,700	.51	.41	6.68	5.39
Erzerum	588,300	730,800	.78	.96	12.15	15.10
Kharput	251,700	212,600	.49	.42	7.99	6.75
Sivas	784,200	379,100	.65	.32	13.61	6.58
Trebizond	1,250,900	370,100	1.16	.34	52.56	15.56
Van	138,900	302,100	.45	.98	3.96	8.61
Total or average	3,537,400	2,422,600	.73	.50	13.18	9.03
Syria						
Aleppo	782,500	380,400	.99	.48	13.55	6.59
Beirut	1,482,600	415,500	1.90	.53	104.41	29.26
Jerusalem	231,400	106,400	.61	.28	21.43	9.85
Lebanon	50,700	48,400	.10	.10	11.27	10.75
Syria	716,500	770,100	.80	.86	7.54	8.11
Urfa	70,800	43,400	.44	.27	4.01	2.46
Zor	56,700	36,400	.68	.44	.67	.44
Total or average	3,391,200	1,800,600	.92	.50	11.91	6.32
Arabia						
Assir § .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hejaz	143,500	272,400	.57	1.09	4.14	7.86
Al Madina	16,700	158,000	.17	1.58	.09	.81
Yemen	107,000	39,800	.11	.04	.47	.17
Total or average	267,200	470,200	.20	.35	.59	1.03

TABLE II (*Continued*)

OTTOMAN EMPIRE: RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES, BY GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS, FISCAL YEAR 1911-12*
(*in Turkish pounds*)

	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>	<i>Receipts per Capita</i>	<i>Expenditures per Capita</i>	<i>Receipts per square Km.</i>	<i>Expenditures per square Km.</i>
Mesopotamia						
Baghdad	997,600	685,100	1.02	.70	10.08	6.92
Basra	341,000	185,100	.61	.33	5.83	3.18
Mosul	340,500	377,400	.69	.76	3.78	4.19
Total or average	1,679,100	1,248,300	.83	.61	6.78	5.04
Grand Total or General Average	31,108,700	36,705,300	1.18	1.40	16.82	19.85

* Table prepared from data in "Bulletin Annuel de Statistique, 1329 (1911)," Empire Ottoman, Ministère des Finances, Bureau de la Statistique, pp. 8-9. There is doubt as to the accuracy of some of the figures representing per capita receipts and expenditures, due to the fact that in the case of Yemen, Assir, Al Madina and Lebanon the population is only estimated.

† Obviously, a very large proportion of the receipts and expenditures of the central departments of the government are effected in Constantinople, and the expenditures in those departments have a vital influence on the welfare of the vilayet of Constantinople.

‡ The returns for the vilayets of Adrianople, Rumaili, the Islands and Yemen are incomplete.

§ No data regarding receipts and expenditures for the sanjak of Assir are available. The population and area of this district are not included in arriving at the per capita receipts and expenditures either for Arabia, or for the Empire as a whole.

financial independence. In 1875, the Empire became bankrupt. In 1881 began the financial control by the Powers exercised through the Ottoman Public Debt. The resources of the Empire, if properly developed, would have been ample to cover the requirements of an honest, efficient government. But the deficits occurred; hence, it is desirable to study the Ottoman budget and try to determine why revenues failed to meet expenditures.¹

As the Ottoman Empire had been in a state of almost

¹ A word of caution should be entered regarding placing implicit confidence in Turkish statistics. Those in the best position to know assert that at best official figures are only approximations and that at worst they are calculated distortions of the actual situation.

constant turmoil since the Young Turk revolution of 1908, it is difficult indeed to find a "normal" year. Though the year 1911-12 found the Turko-Italian War in full swing, what few operations were carried on were remote from the heart of the Empire, and in reality had little effect on its economic life. Moreover, reasonably complete statistics exist for that year, and the same can be said of but few other years. The tables exhibit certain phenomena. First, both revenues and expenditures apply exclusively to the operations of the Imperial Government. As in the United States, the various administrative divisions such as vilayets, sanjaks, and municipalities have revenues and expenditures which are roughly comparable to those of our states, counties or municipalities. Second, Table I shows that the Turkish budget is habitually unbalanced, the regular deficit during those years included in the table being entirely typical of Turkish fiscal experience. This fact in itself is of supreme importance and implies continual borrowing. Third, actual receipts had little relation to budgetary estimates, except that they were uniformly much smaller. Fourth, as the credits authorized by the Chamber of Deputies were consistently far in excess of actual expenditures and even of estimated expenditures, not to speak of estimated revenues, an almost complete lack of parliamentary control over the activities of the government is evidenced. It will be observed that in several instances authorized expenditures were more than 100 per cent greater than the sums actually disbursed. Fifth, imperial receipts proved to be quite inflexible or else the government's policy was hopelessly shortsighted, for during the first years of the Great War the resources of the treasury actually declined, whereas prudence demanded that they be expended to the utmost limit.

Consideration of the territorial distribution of receipts and expenditures (Table II) brings out several interest-

ing facts. By analyzing receipts per capita or per square kilometer, it becomes evident that the actual amounts flowing into the Ottoman treasury were quite modest when judged by European or even by American standards. Since imperial revenues constitute the chief burden on the taxpayer, it can hardly be argued that contributions of L. T. 1.18 (\$5.19) per capita are excessive, provided that even a modest degree of wealth exists. On the contrary, the revenues are not sufficient to provide adequate government—including in that term the construction of public works, the development of education, and those other benefits that a modern administration is expected to furnish. The explanation of this situation is to be sought either in inadequate natural resources or in an undeveloped economic régime, or in both. Applying these tests, it appears that in the European provinces and Mesopotamia, in much of Anatolia, and in part of Syria and Armenia, meager revenues denote the failure either to collect taxes or to develop natural resources, many of which are of enviable richness. Arabia, however, as well as much of Syria and Armenia is probably destined to continued relative poverty because of its deficiencies by nature. By accident, there is also a tendency for natural resources to become poorer in those regions most remote from Constantinople, exception being made of Mesopotamia.

Revenues per capita and per square kilometer tend to decline in direct proportion as the distance from Constantinople increases. At least a partial explanation is to be found in the increasing looseness of financial administration according as the vilayets are farther and farther separated from the center of authority. An evidence of laxity in administration is the enormous differences in per capita and per square kilometer revenues which appear in vilayets of approximately equal natural wealth and degree of development. It is to be feared that equal-

ity of taxation, according to ability to pay, is not one of the principles of Turkish finance. There is, however, little evidence that the non-Turkish races were unduly burdened, as has so often been claimed; though the mixture of population in the so-called Armenian, Greek or Arabian vilayets makes impossible a positive statement on this point. Still, a study of the detailed figures for expenditures indicates that perhaps these districts were discriminated against in the amounts spent in them for such services as education and public works, whereas military expenditures were unduly high in most of the non-Turkish provinces on the confines of the Empire where it would be logical to concentrate troops.

Finally, expenditures by the central departments appear to be unreasonably high. Unquestionably a redundancy of officials exists at Constantinople if account be taken of the work accomplished. For example, in 1911-12, L. T. 1,185,700 (\$5,217,080) was spent for public works, and of this sum the central administration required L. T. 285,300 (\$1,255,320) or 24.1 per cent. Even the Ottoman Public Debt, controlled by foreigners and unquestionably the most efficient part of Ottoman fiscal administration, spends on an average some 19 per cent of its total receipts for expenses of supervision and administration. Although the Ottoman Public Debt works under certain difficulties, such a showing would not be tolerated for a moment in a modern fiscal organization.

Direct taxes (see Table III) account for one half of the state's income, one quarter of that income accruing from tithes, or taxes on the products of the soil. Not one of the direct taxes listed would appear among the federal revenues of the United States. There is, indeed, a sort of income tax more nearly approximating a license fee for professional men. A very elaborate war-profits tax was voted late in 1919. But for practical purposes it can be said that one half of Turkey's imperial revenues are

derived from sources unknown to the United States Government, though land taxes form an important part of American state, local, and municipal revenues. Monopolies, state enterprises, state domains, tribute, and the administration of pensions appear hardly at all in the budget of the United States. In most countries, customs duties are the only revenues that bulk large among the sources of income. This fact emphasizes the difficulty in visualizing the fiscal system of the Ottoman Empire.

Of the total expenditures 61.4 per cent is used for interest and amortization of the public debt and for the ministry of war. Thus the needs for education and public works, for commerce and agriculture, for order and justice must be woefully neglected. The tithe, the chief source of revenue, has been roundly condemned by many, although the writer believes that it is not ill-adapted to the conditions prevailing throughout most of Turkey. Not the tithe itself but its administration is to be criticized. For in an agricultural country like Turkey, what better measure of taxpaying ability could be devised than one based upon the crops actually obtained from the soil? This is, in reality, a tax on income, whereas a land tax calculated on the value of the land may have little relation to the ability of the owner to pay during any given year. Of course, the tithe is only applicable to the rural districts and must be supplemented by equivalent taxes for the urban population. Instead of being one tenth of the value of the product, as its name implies, the title actually amounts to 12.1 per cent of the crop, 10 per cent going directly to the government, 1 per cent being devoted to the agricultural bank, 0.5 per cent to public instruction and 0.6 per cent to military armaments.

Needless to say, such a tax is of crushing weight in itself; but in addition it is chiefly administered in the worst possible way, that is, by the system of tax-farming. The evils of this system have too often been described to need



Courtesy Sebah & Joaillier

Brusa Silk has a Justly-deserved Reputation. Above is the Agricultural School and Experiment Station Maintained by the Ottoman Public Department. Below is a Local Mill.

repetition, and one or two illustrations will suffice to demonstrate its effects in Turkey:

If the tax-farmers were deceived in their calculations it is at the expense of the peasant that they try to indemnify themselves. The peasant being almost always in debt, waits with impatience for the moment when he can sell his crops; but when he has cut his grain he is obliged, before threshing it, to wait sometimes for long weeks before it has pleased the tax-farmer to come and take the part that is his. The tax-farmer, who is generally also a grain merchant, utilizes this situation to force the peasant, threatened with seeing his harvest rot in the open field, to sell the rest of his crop at a low price, and the tax-farmer knows how to secure the protection of the officials . . . against those who try to make trouble.

I have said that the tithes on fresh fruits and vegetables are paid in money. Here again the abuses of the tax-farmers are many and varied. A cherry tree has produced two ocques of fruit. The tax-farmer comes after the cherries have been picked and estimates that each tree has yielded ten ocques. The grower is obliged to compromise with the tax-farmer or to appeal to the authorities. More often he prefers to adopt the former method, that is to say, to avoid a suit in which the chances are, in advance, on the side of the tax-farmer.¹

Custom duties stand second in importance among Turkey's individual revenues, constituting 14.7 per cent of the total. Unquestionably this source of income could be materially expanded, were it not handicapped, first by commercial treaties, and, second, by inefficient and often dishonest administration.

Turkey maintains an export duty of 1 per cent and a transit tax of equal magnitude. These taxes are merely vexations, as they yield little revenue and require considerable machinery for administration.

Land taxes are the third most important source of

¹ Du Velay, "Essai sur l'Histoire Financière de la Turquie," page 672.

revenue, contributing 9.2 per cent. To the Western mind the methods of assessment and collection are quite unique. Constantinople has always enjoyed many fiscal privileges, and not until 1874-75 did real property in the city have to pay taxes. Added to the evils of favoritism and general under-assessment is the strange discovery that one does not have to meet his taxes on the pain of forfeiture of his property. He is merely estopped from selling or repairing it—hardly an administrative device of much terror in a place where sales of land are rare and where the population needs little urging to let their buildings fall into dilapidation. Besides, at more or less regular intervals the sultan issues an edict canceling all tax payments that may be in arrears. It often pays not to pay one's taxes. Both in Constantinople and in the provinces there is little or no flexibility in assessments, and values once determined are maintained indefinitely. One of the chief abuses is that the tax collectors are quite amenable to judiciously distributed largesse. Another difficulty is that city dwellers usually avoid their fair share, thus inevitably shifting an undue burden on the rural classes. As these are already chargeable with the tithe and with live-stock taxes, this discrimination in the administration of the land tax becomes even more unjust, as well as unwise.

Regular annual deficits must mean borrowing, and borrowing must be external or internal. Unfortunately for itself, Turkey's borrowing has been almost exclusively external, and the proceeds, until recently, have not been used for productive purposes. It is, in fact, its external financial engagements which have been primarily responsible for Turkey's increasing political tutelage. Interest on foreign debts was defaulted, and the Powers not unnaturally defended their nationals who were bondholders by assuming sufficient authority in Turkey to safeguard their interests. After the opening wedge was

TABLE III

OTTOMAN EMPIRE: RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES BY GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONS, FISCAL YEAR 1911-12 *

<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Turkish Pounds</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>	<i>Turkish Pounds</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
<i>Direct Taxes</i>			Public debt	11,288,000	30.7
Land taxes			Civil list	494,100	1.4
Military exemption	2,866,900	9.2	General assembly	222,900	0.6
Payments in kind	1,795,300	5.8	Ministry of Finance	2,762,100	7.5
Livestock taxes	607,400	2.0	Court of accounts	18,300	0.0
Tithes	2,106,200	6.7	Customs administration	425,900	1.2
All other	7,849,100	25.2	Posts and telegraphs	779,700	2.1
<i>Stamps, Fees, etc.</i>			Registration of titles	103,900	0.3
Stamps	499,900	1.6	Hejaz railroad .....	..	..
All other	565,200	1.8	Grand vizierate	26,600	0.1
<i>Indirect Taxes</i>			Ministry of the Interior	1,367,000	3.7
Customs	871,800	2.8	Public safety	431,600	1.2
All other	4,555,700	14.7	Cabinet	33,400	0.1
<i>Monopolies</i>			Ministry of Foreign Affairs ..	236,100	0.6
Salt	959,000	3.0	Bureau of Mohammedanism ..	418,300	1.1
Tobacco	1,304,800	4.2	Ministry of Justice & Religions	724,600	2.0
Posts, telegraphs & telephones	1,030,500	3.3	Ministry of Public Instruction.	850,500	2.3
All other	929,000	3.0	Ministry of Public Works	1,185,700	3.3
	409,600	1.3	Ministry of Commerce & Agri- culture	373,600	1.0
<i>State Enterprises</i>			Ministry of the Navy	1,718,500	4.7
<i>State Domains</i>			Ministry of War	11,280,800	30.7
<i>Tribute</i>			Munitions factory	534,700	1.5
Egypt & Zahleh	769,500	2.5	Gendarmerie	1,429,000	3.9
All other	106,000	0.3			
<i>Repayment of Advances by the State</i>					
<i>Reserve for Pensions</i>					
Military Pensions	56,600	0.2			
All other	1,077,100	3.5			
<i>Miscellaneous</i>					
All other	646,100	2.1			
	431,000	1.4			
Total	1,703,900	5.5			
	31,108,700	100.0			
				36,705,300	100.0

* This table is compiled from data found in "Bulletin Annuel de Statistique, 1327 (1911)," Empire Ottoman, Ministère des Finances, Bureau de la Statistique, pp. 18-23, 242-243. It will be observed that neither the figures for receipts nor expenditures agree with those furnished by the Ottoman Public Debt for the same year.

driven, it was easy to permit further delegations of authority, until finally the financial framework of the Empire was in the hands of a group of foreigners—the representatives of the bondholders.

Turkey first defaulted on the payment of interest in 1875, and in the final settlement which eventuated from this debacle its total indebtedness was scaled down from L. T. 278,082,000 (\$1,223,560,800) to L. T. 116,135,000 (\$510,994,000) or a loss to the creditors of 58.2 per cent. But the Ottoman Government, or, perhaps, the foreign investors, did not profit by this stinging lesson, for more loans were contracted, and in 1903 another partial cancellation was necessary. These losses were, however, not as great as appears at first glance, as many of the loans were issued far below par. In general, it may be said that Turkish finances were in a reasonably satisfactory condition from 1881 until 1914. Revenues showed consistent gains; railways were opening up the country and increasing the tax-paying ability of many sections; the foreign administrative body known as the Ottoman Public Debt gradually imparted a strength to Ottoman credit that it had not previously known. Though deficits existed in the budget—deficits that efficiency and economy would have rendered unnecessary—they were not alarming, as the growing wealth of the Empire much more than counterbalanced them.

There has been much discussion in regard to the oppressiveness of Turkey's prewar debt. It is customary to point to the fact that 30 per cent of total expenditures had to go as debt charges; therefore, the debt was onerous. An alternative explanation is that both revenues and expenditures were small in comparison with the extent and wealth of the country. In reality, Turkish finances were in a comparatively favorable situation. Can it be reasonably supposed that a per capita indebtedness of approximately L. T. 5.75 (\$25.30) involving inter-

est charges of about L. T. 0.20 (\$0.90) is literally to be styled "insupportable"? Were it not for the fact that these payments for the most part went out of the country and thus necessitated an actual transfer of wealth from Turkish subjects to foreigners rather than a mere redistribution of wealth within the Empire, the debt would hardly have attracted attention.

Finance during the Great War was a very different story in Turkey from what it was in the other belligerent powers. Whereas the other nations chiefly financed themselves by the flotation of internal loans and saw their national indebtedness increase many fold, Turkey issued but one small internal loan and quite moderate external loans, and now finds its postwar debt only 173 per cent greater than before entering the contest. Such a remarkable showing requires explanation. Table IV discloses that during the first few months of the war the total Ottoman debt was L. T. 170,648,107 (\$750,851,671) and has risen to only L. T. 465,673,338 (\$2,048,962,687). In these days, when national debts rise to colossal heights, it is restful to find one country whose debt is only a modest two billion dollars.

This is a very remarkable showing in view of the immense armies that Turkey mobilized and maintained in the field. The explanation ¹ is found in the fact that mili-

¹As the fiscal burden imposed by the "greenbacks" in the United States is virtually nil, so is that of the Turkish paper money. Indeed its burden is less, for in addition to paying no interest Turkey is not put to the expense of supporting a gold reserve as in the United States. Since the currency is inconvertible at present and will be probably for a long time to come, there is every likelihood that the paper money has become a permanent element of Ottoman currency; that is, that it will never be redeemed. To obtain an accurate idea of the weight of the Ottoman public debt, the amount of the paper money should therefore be deducted. The same applies to the "Guaranteed loan," the "Defense loan," and the "Egyptian tribute loan," as the service of these loans is a charge against Egypt. This involves a deduction of L. T. 153,600,644 plus 17,041,750 which is equal to 170,642,394, leaving a debt of L. T. 295,030,944 (\$1,298,136,154), an amount only 93 per cent larger than the prewar debt, again deducting the loans guaranteed by Egypt.

tary requisitions and issue of paper money accounted for the chief part of its war expenses. In other words, Turkey unwittingly adopted a "pay as you go" policy, and as a consequence finds its financial position inherently more sound than that of any of the actively belligerent nations aside from the United States, Japan, and Belgium. It is true that estimates for military requisitions may considerably exceed those shown in Table IV (which

TABLE IV
DEBT OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
1915, 1919

<i>Designation of Loans</i>	<i>Date of Loan</i>	<i>Rate of Interest</i>	<i>Due by Turkish Government, March 1, 1915</i>	<i>Due by Turkish Government, Aug. 31, 1919</i>
External Loans (prewar)				
Unified converted debt	1903	4	36,799,840	36,463,328
Turkish lottery bonds	1870		10,645,430	10,299,268
Osmanieh	1890	4	2,886,400	2,230,800
5 per cent, 1896	1896	5	2,814,020	2,596,220
4 per cent, 1903, with special guarantees	1903	4	2,439,228	2,348,104
Baghdad, first series	1903	4	2,342,252	2,327,358
4 per cent, 1904	1904	4	2,594,064	2,594,064
4 per cent, 1901-05	1901-05	4	4,976,422	4,976,422
Tejhizat Askarieh	1905	4	2,441,340	2,343,858
Baghdad, second series	1908	4	4,718,120	4,683,756
Baghdad, third series	1908-12	4	5,221,700	5,199,810
4 per cent, 1908	1908	4	4,538,908	4,538,908
5 per cent, 1914	1914	5	22,000,000	22,000,000
Docks, arsenals and naval constructions	1913	5.5	1,485,000	1,485,000
Tombac priority	1893	4	652,960	536,360
40,000,000 francs (Oriental Railway)	1894	4	1,560,240	1,491,226
Customs	1902	4	7,923,234	7,923,234
Loan of 1909	1909	4	6,550,698	6,550,698
Municipality of Constantinople, 1909	1909	5	1,073,490	1,073,490
Municipality of Constantinople, 1913	1913	5	1,100,000	1,100,000
Hodeida-Sana	1909	4	1,000,010	1,000,010
Soma-Panderma	1910	4	1,700,644	1,700,644
4 per cent, 1911	1911	4	6,699,880	6,258,549
Municipality of Baghdad	1912	6	31,660	31,660
Guaranteed loan	1855	4	4,196,720	4,196,720

TABLE IV (Continued)
DEBT OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
1915, 1919

<i>Designation of Loans</i>	<i>Date of Loan</i>	<i>Rate of Interest</i>	<i>Due by Turkish Government, March 1, 1915</i>	<i>Due by Turkish Government, Aug. 31, 1919</i>
Defence loan	1891	4	5,845,312	5,532,912
Egyptian tribute loan	1894	3.5	7,783,710	7,312,118
Total			152,021,282	148,794,517
Treasury Bonds, Advances, etc.				
Treasury bonds of Imperial Ottoman Bank	1912	6	1,955,600	470,493
Treasury bonds of Perier & Co... ..	1913	5	3,520,000	3,520,000
Treasury bonds, 5 per cent, 1911. .	1911	5	983,445	983,455
Advance of the Régie des Tabacs. .			960,878	1,164,686
Konia irrigation project			809,902	779,888
Total			8,229,825	6,918,512
Total of external loans			160,251,107	155,713,029
War Loans				
Ottoman internal loan	1918	5		17,851,120
Paper money (7 issues)				153,600,644
Germany advanced in gold				8,689,094
Germany advanced in gold for first issue of paper money....				4,409,415
Germany advanced in silver				2,321,273
Germany advanced in Turkish pounds				16,560,774
Germany advanced in marks				22,237,637
Austria-Hungary advanced in gold				57,546
Austria-Hungary advanced in gold for first issue of paper money..				2,109,724
Austria-Hungary advanced in gold crowns 240,000,000 (Bal. 137,345,880)				6,317,911
Total				234,155,138
Miscellaneous				
Old floating debt			10,397,000	10,397,000
Military requisitions, law of July 7, 1914				25,000,000
Military supplies				30,000,000
Annuities outside the Decree of Muharrem				10,408,171
Total			10,397,000	75,805,171
Total of war loans			10,397,000	309,960,309
Total Debt of Turkey ....L.T.			170,648,107	465,673,338

are only provisional) and further sums will have to be added in consequence of loss and damage to the property and persons of foreigners. But when all is said and done, Turkey's finances are in a strong position as far as the internal situation is concerned.

But it must be remembered that Turkey was on the losing side in the Great War, and this inherently sound position may be completely reversed if heavy reparation payments are assessed on the Ottoman Empire, or what remains of it. By the treaties which concluded the Balkan wars, the principle was established that those countries which received Ottoman territories should also assume their equitable share of the Ottoman debt. This principle was never put into effect, as the Financial Commission which was making the apportionment had not completed its task when the Great War broke out. However, the principle is maintained in the treaties signed in 1919 and presumably will be extended to those territories which may be detached from Turkey in the final settlements. In a word, since its war debt is so small and the prewar debt is to be apportioned, under almost any conceivable peace settlement, Turkey has little ground for fears of a financial nature insofar as its debt is concerned. But all such calculations may be nullified if reparation payments are assessed either on the principle of ability to pay, as in the case of Bulgaria, or on the principle of loss, as in the case of Germany. The actual task of apportioning and reorganizing Turkish obligations is bound to be baffling, not because of the reorganization amounts involved, but because of the complexity of the debt. Whereas in the United States the entire debt is a general charge against general revenues, in Turkey specific revenues in specific districts have been assigned to particular loans or to kilometric guarantees of railroads. The composite picture is truly complicated, but simplification by unification, funding, and the aboli-

tion of special security for loans is bound to meet intense opposition from various vested interests. Until this essential task is accomplished, however, Turkish finances must remain a hodge-podge, hampering the economic development of the country and ultimately militating against the very foreign financial interests which are so insistent about maintaining the régime of special assignments of revenues.

Aside from military requisitions and advances from Germany, the chief device of Ottoman war finance was the issue of paper currency. Even in this regard the Turks were more moderate than their cobelligerents, with the result that the quantity now afloat does not represent an almost insuperable problem as in the cases of France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia. For the first issue, gold was deposited in the name of the Ottoman Public Debt in Berlin and Vienna, and for the other issues German treasury bonds, payable in gold at various dates after the conclusion of peace, were deposited in Berlin in the name of the Debt. It should be noted that no gold was ever sent to Turkey under these arrangements and that the gold on deposit has been transferred to the Allied and Associated Powers by the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain¹ and has been removed to Paris. Turkey made a bad bargain by agreeing to float a liquidation loan in Berlin as the German treasury bonds were redeemed in gold.²

Though depreciation has been considerable and the Turkish paper now stands at about 15-20 per cent of par, the depreciation has in nowise been comparable to that in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Russia and Roumania and is little greater than in Italy. Currency fluctuations and speculation have been rampant, these sorts

¹ Treaty of Versailles, 1919, Article 259, sec. 1; Treaty of St. Germain, 1919, Art. 210, sec. 1.

² Mandelstam, "Le sort de l'empire Ottoman," page 160.

of phenomena appealing with tremendous force to the imaginations of the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, with the result that money-changing and exchange gambling are among the most prominent and least desirable activities of the capital.

Before the war Turkey's currency was almost exclusively gold and silver and amounted to about L. T. 52,000,-000 (\$228,800,000) of national money and the equivalent of perhaps L. T. 12,000,000 (\$52,800,000) of foreign metallic money.¹ There was, besides, in circulation L. T. 1,200,000 in notes of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, a private institution which has the exclusive right of note issue. The currency situation was eminently sound though far from satisfactory, chiefly due to the fact that the Turkish pound was rated at a different number of piasters in different districts and for different purposes. One beneficial result of the issue of paper money and of its depreciation is that now for all purposes and in all those districts of the Empire where it still is in circulation, the Turkish pound consists of 100 piasters. Even the currency problem, therefore, is less acute in Turkey than in most belligerent countries and the relatively small amounts of paper in circulation together with the large sums of gold that remain in the country, though in hoards, should render the path to stabilization and parity comparatively smooth.

Of almost equal importance with the facts relating to revenues and expenditures, the size of the public debt and the general financial situation of the country are those regarding the revenues and expenditures of the vilayets, sanjaks and municipalities. The vilayets are for practical purposes under the control of the ministry of the interior. They correspond in some respects to the

¹ Estimates of Count Paul de Guebhard of the Ottoman Public Debt. The former Minister of Finance, Djavid Bey, estimated the metallic money at L. T. 50,000,000.

various states of the United States, and have revenues for local purposes equal to about one tenth of those which they turn over to the imperial exchequer. The smaller administrative divisions constitute a vital element in the financial and political life of the people, but unfortunately very little statistical data are available to aid in the exposition of the questions which naturally arise. In the only year for which statistics are available the percentage ranged from 4 for the vilayet of Constantinople to 18 for that of Kharput. The official statistics show that for most vilayets receipts and expenditures balance to the piaster—a rather remarkable record! But taking them at face value, expenditures administered directly by the vilayets equal about 20 per cent of those expended by the Empire in the same vilayets, ranging from 4 per cent in Baghdad to 47 per cent in Adana. As sources of provincial revenue, tithes and road taxes are of about equal importance, and these two items account for three fourths or four fifths of the entire amount. Other sources are taxes on buildings, fees for slaughtering animals, and interest on deposits. Expenditures chiefly go for public instruction, public works, roads, the agricultural bank, agriculture, and salaries of vilayet officials.

One final question remains: the question of control. Where does responsibility rest for the collection of revenues? What checks are exercised over expenditures? The answers to these questions must remain somewhat nebulous and unsatisfactory, because positive statements would simply be misleading. Everything depends upon the character and attitude of the officials who happen to be in power rather than upon the stipulations of the organic law. There are numerous advisory bodies on financial matters both in the capital and in the vilayets, but an aggressive minister of finance or of the interior does about as he pleases in regard to imperial expenditures,

while the same type of *vali*, or provincial governor, does likewise in the vilayets. It is again a case in which the Ottoman system seems on paper to be well organized and coördinated, but which in practice may be reasonably satisfactory or utterly chaotic, according as competent and honest officials or the opposite happen to be in power. As a rule, order and strict adherence to the law are not found in Turkish financial administration, with the result that on the revenue side taxes are always far in arrears, and on the expenditure side public funds are often spent without any proportionate return. The preparation of the budget, as well as its approval by the council of state, by the parliament, and by the sultan, is little more than a formality. In reality, no responsibility exists. The ministry of finance is helpless, because most of the other ministries collect and disburse funds on their own accounts. It is needless to point out that this lack of centralization and responsibility provides an admirable setting for irregularities of all kinds. Not only does this confusion exist, but when creditors of the Government fail to obtain satisfaction from the central authorities, they apply directly to the provincial revenue officers. Government funds are, as a consequence, chronically depleted, officials are often unpaid for months at a time and naturally reimburse themselves in ways that are readily suggested.

The lack of responsibility, order, and control, are the chief defects in Turkey's financial administration. Though vexations and abuses exist, the revenue system is not badly devised. Certainly the Turkish taxpayer is far less burdened than his counterpart in most European countries. During the last century, great progress has been made in fiscal reform; the internal obstacles to establishing a satisfactory financial régime are not great. Unless reparation payments impose a crushing weight on the country, Turkey has come through the war of

1914-1918 in remarkably sound financial condition. Unless prewar conditions are radically changed, why, therefore, are improvements not to be expected? The answer is foreign interference. The story of foreign activities in Turkey is a sorry one. Cabinet ministers have been corrupted into betraying their country's patrimony. Even attempts at reform have been repressed by the powers, because a strong Turkey was the last thing they desired. How could the country be expected to be honorable and progressive when the so-called "civilized" powers were doing their best to despoil it? Du Velay vividly describes the situation:

In Turkey, in contradistinction to other countries, the government is not at liberty to act, to innovate, to reform. For example, the régime of the capitulations prevents the adaptation to the Ottoman fiscal system of a multitude of new ideas in the matter of taxes. When Turkey wants to inaugurate a license law diplomatic protests are heard immediately from all quarters if foreigners are subject to the general law. When it is desired to raise the taxes on alcohol and thus secure revenues which would easily exceed 20,000,000 francs, the interests of certain powers get alarmed, set diplomacy into operation, and the *status quo* is maintained. The creation of the smallest monopoly, like one for matches or cigarette paper, does not fail to bring forth objections. In a word, the government is accused of not paying its employees, of being at the end of its resources, of contracting too many loans, yet, those who make these accusations are the first to oppose the reforms which might put an end to the distress of the public treasury. On the question of railroads, what battles, what competition among the Powers! One wants to secure a zone in which it will be absolutely at liberty to build or not to build railroads. Moreover, it will manifest its high displeasure at the construction of lines even outside the sphere of influence which has been allotted to it. Besides, when conflicts arise between rival countries the unsuccessful candidates de-

mand compensations, as if a share in the execution of public works was their just right. Turkey is a battle ground where each power is the opponent and rival of all the rest—and it is in the midst of these handicaps that some have the effrontery of demanding from the government a healthy administration like that in the neighboring countries, of demanding equilibrium between revenues and expenditures, reform and harmony in the manifestations of its financial life!

Under generous and disinterested peace terms there are no adequate reasons that would prevent Turkey from entering upon an era of financial prosperity. In spite of all interference railroads have been built, irrigation works established, and ports somewhat developed. Internal conditions are ripe for a rapid realization of the country's potential wealth. The prerequisites are serious, honest effort on the part of Turkish citizens of all nationalities and constructive sympathy and coöperation, or at least the cessation from obstructionist and obscurantist policies, on the part of the foreign powers.

CHAPTER XVIII

GOVERNMENT

By GERTRUDE EDGERTON KNOX¹

Refrain from these men and let them alone, for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it is of God, ye cannot overthrow it—lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.
—GAMALIEL to the Sanhedrin.

On November 1, 1922, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, situated in Angora, passed the following resolution:—

After having struggled for centuries against the heavy calamities incurred through the ignorance and dissipation of the Palace and the Porte, the Empire had almost disappeared from history, when the Turkish Nation, its real founder and possessor, rose against both its foreign enemies and the Palace and the Porte which had joined them, formed the Grand National Assembly, and its armies entered into actual armed conflict with its foreign enemies and the Palace and the Porte under known conditions of difficulty and privation, and has this day attained freedom.

Approximately one year later, Oct. 29, 1923, the Grand National Assembly by unanimous vote decided that Turkey should become a republic and in simple terms outlined the new constitution.

A miracle has happened. The Turkey of long en-

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trenched theocracy, of a complicated government with a hierarchy of officials sapping its strength, has become almost overnight a republic, governed by one all-powerful assembly. Constantinople and the Sultan have been thrust aside and Angora and the National Assembly have taken their place. A great experiment in nationalism and in democracy is being tried out.

The break from the old régime started with a revolutionary movement under a military leader who had been deprived of his command by the Constantinople Government. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the head of a strong nationalist party, had labored for some time in vain to build up such a party in the Imperial Government. Having fled to Asia Minor, he stirred up the nationalist movement there and in 1919 founded the Angora or Turkish Nationalist State, as a result of the pacts made by congresses of Turkish revolutionary nationals at Erzerum, and Sivas under his presidency. The Greek occupation of Smyrna on May 15, 1919, a dramatic and most ill-considered event from the point of view of the Allies, threw all of Asia Minor into the hands of Kemal and welded together the nationalist movement, as perhaps no other event could have done. On April 11, 1920, the Constantinople Parliament was dissolved, and has not met again.

On April 23, 1920, the Grand National Assembly met at Angora for the sole purpose of stating their adherence to the "National Pact." This remarkable document of six articles might in a way be called the "Turkish Declaration of Independence of Foreign Control." It admits the loss of all the southern regions of the Ottoman Empire but demands complete independence without financial and military control for Turkey in a territory which should include the whole of Asia Minor, Constantinople and part of Thrace. The sixth article of the pact states:—

It is a fundamental condition of our life and continued existence that we, like every country, should enjoy complete independence and liberty in the matter of assuring the means of our development. In order that our national and economic development should be rendered possible and that it should be possible to conduct affairs in the form of a most up-to-date legal administration, for this reason we are opposed to restrictions to our development in political, judicial, financial and other matters.

It is noticeable that in the National Pact, a new form of government is provided for only insofar as an "up-to-date, legal administration" is referred to.

After a period of war, internal and external, the Nationalist Government of today stands with the aims of the National Pact achieved. Turkey is to be a land of the Turk, the Greek army is driven out, the capitulations are abolished, the Constantinople Government is gone, and the Angora Government is supreme in the land.

On what basis does the new government rest? What is its constitution? Soon after its convocation on April 23, 1920, the Grand National Assembly passed what is known as the Law of Fundamental Organization, a document of twenty-three articles embodying the main constitutional principles of the new order. This "Law," together with the act of November 1, 1922, abolishing the position of Sultan-Khalif, formed, until the recent declaration of the Republic, the only constitution of the New Turkey.

By the Law of Fundamental Organization, sovereignty is said to belong to the nation "without reservation or condition"; this sovereignty is vested in one chamber of deputies elected by manhood suffrage every two years. The Assembly of one chamber in Angora assumes the legislative power of the government, formerly exercised by the Sultan, the Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies. Under the Ottoman Constitution the power of declaring

war and peace, of making treaties, of dissolving Parliament, of receiving diplomatic representatives from foreign states, of appointing the Cabinet and Senate, was vested in the Sultan. By the Fundamental Pact the National Assembly at Angora has in its hands the power of declaring war and peace, and of making treaties. The power of dissolving Parliament is not placed. Under the old Ottoman government, the ministers were the appointees of the Grand Vizier, who was the choice of the Sultan. They, however, represented the majority party in Parliament. According to the Law of Fundamental Organization, the ministers are the appointees of the Assembly, which possesses executive as well as legislative power, a remarkable situation. The ministers and their assistants in a sense are only committees chosen by the National Assembly from among its own number to execute its commands. In that it chooses the ministers of the department of justice, the Assembly may also be said to possess judicial power.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha, from the beginning the president of the National Assembly, has been able to dominate the policy of the new government. As far as any stipulation in the Law of Fundamental Organization is concerned, however, the President of the National Assembly is practically without power, save as he gains the power from the Assembly. There is no balance between the executive and legislative branch such as obtains in our own or in the government of England, since the ministers and the president are directly the creation of the Assembly. Neither is there any possibility of an appeal from the decision of the Assembly to the people, as in the British Government.

With the creation of the Republic on October 29, 1923, certain changes were made in this so-called constitution, changes, the necessity for which had become increasingly evident. The executive powers of the Assembly



Kurdish Travellers at the Door of a Khan.



Courtesy Asia

Angora, the Turkish Capital, a Mediæval Hill Town.

are now transferred to the president of the Republic during the term of the Assembly. The president is chosen by the Assembly from among its own number. He is designated as the Chief of State and is assisted in his executive office by a prime minister and a cabinet which he chooses from the Assembly. The appointment of these ministers must, however, be confirmed by the Assembly. The president may preside when he feels it necessary over the Assembly and also over the council of ministers. Mustafa Kemal Pasha was unanimously elected the first President of the Turkish Republic.

Under the new arrangement the power of the executive is greatly increased. During the recesses of the Assembly, which is to be in session only four months of the year, the executive power rests wholly in the hands of the president and his ministers, strengthened by the addition of chairmen of standing committees. Already, criticism is rife, to the effect that Mustafa Kemal Pasha is taking to himself too much power. He is president of the Turkish State, president of the Council of Ministers, president of the controlling "Peoples' Party" and president of the National Assembly. Yet, "sovereign power" still is said to reside in the Assembly of the people, elected by manhood suffrage. Much depends upon the interpretation by Mustafa Kemal of his new position. By retaining the position of president of the Council of Ministers as well as of the Assembly and by remaining leader of the Peoples' Party, he seems to be doing away with any possibility of a rival to his power, in the person of the Prime Minister, a contingency which many have thought possible under the proposed change of government. It is further intimated that the Assembly did not have the power to create the new constitution, that the change was put through by the People's Party, and that the constitution can be legalized only by the consent of a constituent assembly representing the whole nation.

The one chamber form of government, good for its purpose when the country must keep to the one aim of war, now that peace times have arrived, seems too clumsy. Its duties are too many. The governments of western Europe, for a period at least, seem to have worked advantageously on the basis of the conception of the separate legislative and executive departments and a two-chamber form of government with a responsible ministry. It may be, however, that the time has come for a change in the old parliamentary form. Surely, the present situation in Europe would not seem to point to entire success in the art of governing. May it not be possible that a more powerful executive and a less complicated parliament may be the solution of the governmental difficulties which are now so apparent. One feels that the experiment in Turkey as yet is not tried out and it may be that in the further development of her present constitutional form we may have the curious situation of this "backward" country leading the way in a new era of government reform.

By unanimous resolution on November 1st, 1922, the Grand National Assembly made the following startling announcement:

1. By the Law of Fundamental Organization, the Turkish nation having transferred its sovereign power to the moral personality of the Grand National Assembly which is its real and irrevocable representative, recognizes no form of government but that of the Grand National Assembly within the territory bound in the National Pact. Consequently, the Turkish nation considers that the former government hitherto established in Constantinople and based on personal sovereignty, ended for all time on March 16, 1336 (1920).

2. The Khalifate belongs to the Ottoman dynasty and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey will nominate

him of the dynasty who is the most upright and wise in knowledge and character. The Turkish nation is the supporting power of the Khalifate.

Upon the passing of this resolution, it was proposed that November first and second should be set aside as feast days, and the Grand National Assembly adjourned to the noise of 101 guns. This was a great event in the history of Turkey. Mohammed V, the Sultan in Constantinople, upon the news of the resolution of the Grand National Assembly, fled aboard a British warship in the harbor of Constantinople and was carried to Malta. From Malta, he went to King Husain of the Hejaz. Here he does not seem to have received the hospitality he desired and at present reports is in Europe. He claims that he has not abdicated. On November 17, 1922, the Grand National Assembly appointed in his place Abdul Mejid Effendi of the family of Osman.

The position of the Sultan-Khalif is of course incompatible with the idea of a strong, nationalistic, Turkish state. As Sultan, the holder of this position was the head of the Ottoman Empire. As Khalif, he was the "Commander of the Faithful" and theoretical head of the Moslem world. The title of Khalif has only been assumed by the Sultans of the family of Osman since the year 1517, when Selim conquered Egypt, the territory of the Mamelukes, whose ruler was thus dignified. The title meant little then in the way of political power, but has been revived, of late years, as a means of cementing together the Moslem states. Among these Moslem states there is spreading now, however, the fever of nationalism. India, Egypt, and the Arab states are being affected. Turkey is more than keeping pace with them in this respect. With these nationalistic movements, the position of a Khalif, as head of the Moslem world, with political power, is incongruous. The Grand National Assembly of Turkey has for the moment, by its resolution, depriv-

ing the Khalif of all political power put the office on such a footing that the recognition of one common Khalif may be compatible with the new nationalistic movement in the various Moslem states. Meantime, the choice of this figurehead, who shall hold together the various Moslem countries, has been definitely assumed by the new Turkish government.

The reaction of the Moslem world to this new situation is the interesting factor yet to be seen in the world situation. Recently, in the month of November, 1923, Rauf Bey, former prime minister of the new government and one of the most brilliant leaders in the New Turkey, was called to account by the Grand National Assembly for a visit which he made to the Khalif while on a recent trip to Constantinople. By many this incident and the attitude of the People's Party towards the Khalif which was thus shown would seem to indicate a policy which has been evident elsewhere, namely, that of using this office of Khalif to forward the scheme of subjecting the whole Islamic world to the secular authority of the Grand National Assembly. On the other hand, Halideh Hanum, the well-known feminist and one of the powers behind the throne in the nationalist government is quoted as having said that with the disappearance of the Sultanate, all idea of "Empire" was gone and the possibility of a democracy in a Turkey which should be "Turkish" and not "Ottoman" was thereby brought all the nearer. In December, 1923, the editors of three of the best and most outspoken Constantinople papers were arrested and their papers suppressed by the government. The alleged reason for this action, in the face of the suppressed freedom of the press which prevails in Turkey, was the publication of an open letter from Ameer Ali and the Aga Khan of India, addressed to Ismet Pasha, in which prudence and calm reflection were counselled for the sake of Turkey's prestige with the Moslem world, before any

irrevocable hostile action was taken by the Turkish Government against the Khalifate. The publication of this letter and its implied criticism of the government addressed was held by the Grand National Assembly to be an act of treason and an indication of a desire to overthrow the existing régime.

For a long time there has existed in Turkey the strange condition of states within a state in the situation of self-governing religious communities, these communities having entire religious jurisdiction over their members and also a great deal of secular jurisdiction. Such communities have been known as "millet," those of the Greeks and Armenians being the most important. Presided over by their patriarchs and bishops who in reality were political rulers, they have made almost impossible any unity within the Turkish state. The Greek Archbishop, for example, with all his trappings of an ancient Byzantine king, presented to the eyes of the mass of Greeks in Anatolia a symbol of their political entity. A member of a wealthy Greek family of Anatolia was at one time attending Greek high mass with the writer; when the Greek Archbishop put on his robes, the historical robes of the Byzantine ruler, the Greek turned and said in French, "I bow with the others, although I have no belief in the church; but, there stands my king."

Such a condition as that presented by the "millet"¹

¹Col. Jasper Y. Brinton, former member of the American Military Mission to Armenia and Transcaucasia, now Judge of the Mixed Courts in Egypt, has contributed the following discussion of the millet system under the old Turkish government:—

In Turkey, the division according to religion rather than nationality, is expressed by the existence within the Empire of a large number of highly organized and powerful religious communities presided over by patriarchs, bishops or other heads, and enjoying large privileges of self-government. The justification or rather the necessity of this state of affairs lay in the recognition of the obvious fact that these Christian communities could not be governed by the law of the Koran which at that time was applied as the law of civil as well as of religious rule, and in the desire of the state to rid itself of the responsibilities and embarrassment incident to intervening in their local concerns.

system is of course entirely out of harmony with the new nationalist movement. By the recent Treaty of Lausanne (July, 1923), the enforced exchange of minorities relating to the Greeks will of course in part solve this problem. As far as the Armenians are concerned, they are not mentioned in the Treaty of Lausanne, but the great majority are now outside of Turkey. The government has not in its new constitution made any definite statements in regard to the treatment of the religious communities but there has been created a separate "Orthodox Church" in Anatolia, which has renounced its connection with the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople and has a representative in the present nationalist govern-

The privileges accorded to these communities have varied widely according to the temper of the times and the power of their respective religious leaders. From the first these leaders have been recognized as the representatives of their respective nations before the Sultan and their ceremonious appearance at the opening of the feast of Bairam during the presence of this mission at Constantinople in company with the chiefs of the Moslem Church was a very tangible exhibition of the official place which they still hold in the Turkish world, in spite of the persecutions which their people have suffered at the hands of the government.

While primarily limited to church rule, the privileges of the millets have included a large number of other subjects, including generally the exercise of legal jurisdiction over members of their own community in all matters touching personal status such as marriage, divorce, inheritance and the broad field of education. The collection of taxes has also been made through the heads of these communities. In various ways their political existence has been recognized, although their jurisdiction has been gradually and steadily circumscribed.

The Armenian Church is represented by three distinct bodies, the Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant, the first of which includes about eighty per cent of the Armenian population and the two remaining comprising ten per cent each. The Church is under the immediate headship of the Patriarch at Constantinople, and the privileges of the Church are established by an elaborate document known as the Armenian National Constitution. The Armenian Protestant Community is on a more democratic system under a Vekil, under a decree dated from 1877. The Armenian Catholic Church is under the headship of the Pope and is administered by a Patriarch at Constantinople.

The existence of these communities is of course an anomaly in a modern state. Many of their privileges are inconsistent with national jurisdiction and are justified primarily for historical reasons. Their separate judicial jurisdiction must in time necessarily yield to the development of a central judicial system under which the rights of all members can be issued without doing violence to the religious privileges of any of them.

ment at Angora. This is a most significant movement from many points of view. It may tend toward a bringing together of Moslems and Christians into one new national ideal. Over fifty churches have already broken off from the Patriarch at Constantinople. They have pledged themselves to give up the teaching of Greek in their schools and have at last reports closed their schools and are sending their pupils to the government schools. The government is contributing L. T. 2500 toward the community expenses and the synod of the new Orthodox church at Kaisarieh must submit a budget annually to the Minister of Justice. All patriarchs are required to be Turkish citizens and to have abstained from all "political activity." This last requirement is a rather exacting one and yet it shows the part which the millet system has played in the government of Turkey. By the Treaty of Lausanne the Patriarch of the Greek Church is to be allowed to remain in Constantinople. Recently Meletios, the Greek Patriarch, was attacked by a crowd of Constantinople ruffians (Greeks) possibly instigated by the Turkish Government, and fled from Constantinople to Mt. Athos. This would seem to point still further to the desire of the nationalist government to divorce entirely the church from the state and to leave no political power in the hands of its religious communities as such.

The office of Sheikh-ul-Islam, theoretically the head of the Moslem Church in Turkey and religious adviser of the government, has been done away with by the new government. Although the Sheikh-ul-Islam has for some time really possessed no political power, yet according to the Turkish Constitution his approval in regard to form was necessary for the passage of laws. His position has been taken in the nationalist government by the Minister for Moslem Affairs, who resides at Angora. This Minister for Moslem Affairs is a representative of the Moslem Church in the government in the same way

that the representative of the "Orthodox Community" is a representative for the Christian Church, both of them being under the control and a part of the new National Assembly.

The judicial system of the old Ottoman government has been practically retained under the new régime. There is great need for a reform here in spite of many changes which have already been made within recent years. This reform is especially important in connection with the abolition of the capitulations. The present system is unsatisfactory for many reasons, but especially because of the influence of the religious law upon the civil law and the theory of the origin of all law in the Koran and the teachings of the Prophet. The courts have always been notoriously corrupt and the judges underpaid. The Minister of Justice at Angora stated in a recent interview that the reform of the courts was under way, that he was planning for increased salaries for the judges and for the lessening of the numbers in the minor courts, as a move toward the speeding up of justice. The Turkish delegation at the Lausanne Conference insisted that Turkey was qualified to give an adequate judicial system to foreigners. It promised, however, to have an investigation made with the idea of reform and to take into its service as Turkish officers a number of European legal counselors whom it would select from a list prepared by the Permanent Court of International Justice of the Hague. Such a list is to be made up from jurists, nationals of countries which did not take part in the Great War.

The provincial system of government under the old Ottoman Empire was in many ways excellent, having been recently reformed. The important administrative unit was the vilayet presided over by the vali, the representative of the Sultan and the most powerful official in the provincial system. The vilayet was subdivided first

into sanjaks, then into kazas and the kaza into nahies. The tendency under the present system is toward the simplification of this arrangement. The vilayet still stands as the important administrative division and is governed by the vali who is the representative of the National Assembly. The vilayet has an elected council of its own which deals with all important local affairs. This council chooses from among its members a president and an administrative committee. This president is the executive chief. Executive power in the vilayet belongs to this committee which sits continuously. The vali interferes in the administration of the vilayet only in the case of conflict between national and local affairs. The sanjak no longer plays any part of importance as an administrative unit. In fact, it is not mentioned in the new Constitution of Turkey. The nahie or commune is now the significant subdivision in the provincial system, being in great part self-governing and having a council chosen from its own community in control of all matters not reserved to the State. The kaza is merely a grouping of nahies for purposes of administration. This scheme of provincial administration is excellent in that it combines a strong executive such as the vali with an elaborate system of popular representation in the local assemblies. There is thus furnished an elastic and democratic method for receiving the support of the local communities and for educating the people in lessons of self-government. The whole tendency of the new government is toward decentralization in the provincial system.

Perhaps the most dramatic change made by the nationalist government has been the shifting of its location from Constantinople, that center of intrigue and foreign domination, to Angora, a dirty, uncomfortable provincial town. This is a clever move on the part of the Mustafa Kemal Pasha to isolate his new government. Angora possesses no charm; it has all the squalor and incon-

venience of the ordinary provincial town in Anatolia, and yet here are meeting together every day at one-thirty, with the exception of Friday which is the Mohammedan Sunday, the "little Sultans," as they have been aptly called. They may be seen walking about the room talking in a most intense manner about the recent political movements in Constantinople. They vary in type from the most polished Turkish gentleman to the rough Kurd who can neither speak nor write Turkish. Yet on this body of over 300 deputies rests the responsibility for the conduct of the Turkish state. Many of the members of the Assembly have left more comfortable homes and are serving on small salaries or with no salary in the cause of nationalism. To the left of the Assembly building is an old edifice in which are housed the Ministries of Interior, Finance, Justice, Public Works, Economy, and Sacred Law. In one half of an empty school house is the Ministry of Education. The Foreign Office occupies the building once used by the Ottoman Public Debt.

What will be the attitude of foreign nations toward Angora as a capital? Will they be willing to give up their palatial embassies on the Bosphorus for a modest home in a provincial town? Will ambassadors be sent to Angora or will they be only minor diplomatic representatives? Many opinions are expressed in regard to the matter, but the consensus of feeling seems to be that Constantinople will come back as the capital. At present, we have the curious situation of the appointment of an official by the Angora Government, Dr. Adnan Bey, to represent the Government in Constantinople for the purpose of dealing with the diplomatic representatives of foreign powers. It is evident that if the mountain will not come to Mohammed then Mohammed must perforce come to the mountain.

Surely Russia is still a factor to be considered; and with her as a strong power again, the holding of Con-

stantinople as its capital by the Turkish Government might be a matter of timely importance. That at present the Angora Government minimizes the value of the city as a capital is evident from the fact that in the Assembly, Constantinople has only fifteen deputies, that is, 5 per cent of the total number in the chamber. For the moment this city of past power has become merely a province of the nationalist government.

Will the new government make good? The answer to this question depends in great part on international complications which are discussed elsewhere in the book. Certain good assets as a government it certainly has, especially those of simplicity and democracy. The old hierarchy of officials of the Ottoman Government with its consequent opportunity for bribery and corruption has been swept away and the government has cut itself off from the destructive influences of Constantinople. It is ruling over a population which is, comparatively speaking, homogeneous. It has separated itself from the old idea of theocracy and has put itself as far as possible on an equal economic basis with the Western nations. It has a leader of great strength and vision. Professor Toynbee presents the problem which confronts the new nation well, in one of its important aspects when he says:—"It is a tremendous responsibility which the small well-educated class bears in this crisis of transition in Anatolia toward the uninformed and impressionable majority. The new leaven of Western materialism would be for the better in so far as it raised the standard of life; it would be for the worse if it frothed up into an ill-considered or over-ambitious economic program. The need for wisdom and self-restraint on the part of the few Turks with whom the initiative will be, is certainly very great." On this question of the wise economic development of Turkey depends a great deal of the future success of the new government. In a conference recently

held at Smyrna by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, composed of delegates from all over Anatolia, the great need of a common effort for economic development was emphasized by him, showing that the leaders of the new country realize that their military victory will not be in reality a victory unless they develop the "arts of peace" which the Turk has always so notoriously neglected.

The government was greatly strengthened by the return of Ismet Pasha from the successful signature of the Lausanne Treaty, a great diplomatic victory over the powers of Europe in which the Turk gained practically all of his demands. Moreover, the occupation of Constantinople by the forces of the Entente Allies, which occupation had been in force for over four years, came to an end formally on October 2, 1923. On October 6, 1923, the Nationalist veteran troops entered the city and took possession amid great excitement and rejoicing.

The new government has been, and is still, going through a period of factional strife and is subject to much criticism. Refet Pasha, governor-general of Eastern Thrace, is leading a zealous and fanatical religious group in demanding a return to the Sultanate and a restoration of the union of Church and State. Rauf Bey, former prime minister, is the leader of an opposition group within the government, which for a time feared the dictatorship of Mustafa Kemal and demanded the declaration of a republic. With this recent declaration on October 29, 1923, a partial compromise seems to have been effected. A weak bolshevist movement tending toward the establishment of a soviet government is said to be on foot, but this is at the moment negligible. Ismet Pasha, in his first interview with the press after becoming prime minister in November, 1923, laid great emphasis upon the need for more self-confidence on the part of the Turkish people and for more faith in the republican form of government. He felt strongly that

the view still held by many that Turkey cannot get on without the help of some foreign power should be discouraged on every hand. The recent gains of the Turks at Lausanne he cited as sufficient basis for this independent attitude. He fears the beginning of secret intrigue at Constantinople against the present government; and for this fear he undoubtedly has some reason.

The program of the present government was very clearly presented to the Assembly on September 5, 1923, by Fethi Bey, intimate friend of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and Prime Minister after the fall elections. The program shows an earnest desire to meet the trying situation with which the country is confronted. First of all Fethi is concerned with the budget. He announced that the tithe would be reduced to 10% from its former 12%, the deficit to be made good by increasing the indirect taxation, by raising the taxation on certain monopolies and by remodelling the income tax so as to make it more just. This change would be of great benefit to the agricultural class. He expressed the great desire of the government to pay off its internal and external debts. As far as possible he hoped that all borrowing might be avoided except for the very necessary construction of roads, bridges and railways. The introduction of most necessary reforms among government officials, both military and civil, was advocated. All such functionaries in the future were to be of "impeccable moral character" and would have to prove their ability by the passing of examinations. Specialists were to be invited to come from abroad to organize all the departments. No officials in the future would be dismissed simply by administrative decree but only upon the basis of incompetency. This indeed would be a great achievement, as the corruption of the civil service in Turkey has always been notorious. Great emphasis was laid by Fethi upon the future plans for raising the standards of national educa-

tion. Training colleges for teachers were to be established, as well as evening classes and scholarships for deserving and needy students. It is especially significant that Fethi laid emphasis upon the equal importance which would be paid to the education of girls as well as of boys. The army and navy were to be reduced to the lowest possible limits, the police strengthened, and brigandage suppressed. This latter evil of brigandage is a most distressing one. Unless something can be done to suppress the formation of bands of political brigands such as those at present around Smyrna, the peasant will find great difficulty in developing his land and the economic advantage resulting from such development upon which the government is depending to make up the adverse trade balance of the country, will be impossible.

Such an idealistic and yet at the same time sensible program as that presented by Fethi Bey makes one hope for great results. Because of the peculiar nature of the form of government of the country, the execution of such a program depends in great part upon the quality of men represented in the Assembly. In the minds of many the Angora Assembly seems but a handful of illiterate peasants, wholly unqualified to deal with the situation. It is exceedingly interesting therefore to read the summary recently made by the *Yeni-Gun* of Angora relative to the personnel of the Assembly brought into office by the fall election of 1923. According to this summary, the Assembly contains 56 officers, 17 pashas, 21 valis, 25 men of religion, 15 doctors, 9 financiers, 10 jurists, 14 business men, 46 notables, 4 poets, 14 journalists, 3 ambassadors and a number of other men of different callings. Such a group would seem to include a high proportion of educated men. Each new member of the original National Assembly, as he took his place as a member of that historic body, read out loud, in the hearing of his fellows, the following oath:

I swear that I will not follow an idea which will be against the peace of my country and the happiness of my nation and I agree that the people shall have the sovereignty without any qualification, so help me Allah.

CHAPTER XIX

CAPITULATIONS

By G. BIE RAVNDAL¹

One day the Khoja went with Sherif Ahmed to the den of a wolf, in order to see the cubs. Said the Khoja to Ahmed: "Do you go in." Ahmed did so. The old wolf was abroad, but presently returning, tried to get into the cave to its young. When it was about half way in the Khoja seized hard hold of it by the tail. The wolf in its struggles cast a quantity of dust into the eyes of Ahmed. "Hallo, Khoja," he cried, "What does this dust mean?" "If the wolf's tail breaks," said the Khoja, "you'll soon see what the dust means."

—THE TURKISH JESTER, or "The Pleasantries of Khoja Nasreddin Effendi," tr. from the Turkish by George Borrow.

Introduction

By the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne, foreigners resident in Turkey are for the first time subject to Turkish laws. The capitulations, which were extraterritorial agreements between the Ottoman Empire and foreign nations going back to early times, granting economic and judicial privileges amounting almost to sovereignty, have been abolished completely. This is an event of the greatest importance for foreigners in Turkey and for the Turkish Republic. Although one of

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the first wartime acts of the Ottoman Government (September, 1914) was to announce the abolition of the capitulations, this act was regarded by Allied Powers and America as lacking force because of its unilateral character. The privileges granted by the capitulations were so commercially valuable to foreigners as well as a guarantee of personal liberty that it was universally believed that the institution might be materially modified but would not be abolished for many decades. Thus, the Republic has won a great unexpected victory for itself, which makes more needful than ever a review of the Turkish capitulatory régime.

By the capitulations, the groups of foreigners within Turkey living under the capitulations were subject only to their own courts, their own law, and their own judges. In the case of difficulties between foreigners of different nationalities, the case was always tried in the court of the defendant. In cases between foreigners and Ottoman subjects, trial was conducted before the so-called mixed courts in which sat three Ottoman judges and two foreign delegates accompanied usually by a dragoman from the consulate of the foreigner. Perhaps the most striking example of the lack of legal control of the Turkish Government over foreigners under the capitulations is in connection with business houses. Any business house could establish itself in the country without the authority of the federal government and could organize according to the laws of its own country. The following extract from an American official report deals with the late legal status of American firms in Turkey:—

There is no law in Turkey obliging any foreign bank, banking house, or mercantile firm wishing to establish a branch house in Turkey to submit itself to any official or legal formalities. Consequently, any bank or private firm is at liberty to establish a branch in Turkey and freely transact and conduct business.

An illustration of this is shown by the presence in Constantinople and other parts of Turkey, of branches of foreign banks, like the *Crédit Lyonnais*, the Bank of Athens, the *Banca di Roma*, etc., which had not to ask the authorization of the Turkish Government for establishing their branches here. Another example is furnished by the branch of the *Standard Oil Co.*, of New York, which established itself in the same way some years ago.

Foreign firms conserve their nationality and are governed with regard to their internal organization, and to the rights and duties of its members, according to the law of their country. As regards the position of such branches—be they bank branches or branches of mercantile firms—in case of lawsuits in which they would appear either as plaintiffs or defendants the following procedure was in force until the beginning of the war.

By virtue of the capitulations, lawsuits between Turkish and foreign subjects or firms were judged by the second chamber of the Turkish commercial court, which was formed as a mixed court. In this court an official delegate from the consulate of the nationality of the foreign subject or firm was present and the proceedings of the court were not considered valid unless the said delegate approved them by his signature on behalf of the consulate he represented. The consulate delegate had the right to refuse signing the minutes of the court if in his opinion the proceedings in the court were not consistent with legality. Such cases have happened in the past and the lawsuit had to be judged again. This is one of the many benefits of the capitulations which foreign subjects enjoyed as regards judicial matters.

Sentences rendered in favor of or against foreign subjects were executed by the Turkish competent authorities under the supervision of the respective consulates.

Such lawsuits were brought before the consular courts instituted in each consulate, and were judged by the defendant's consular court.

Pending the conclusion of peace with Turkey the

above procedure is held in abeyance. The allied and associated high commissioners, refusing to recognize the abolition of the capitulations approved and decreed by the Turkish Government during the war, do not allow their subjects to present themselves before the Turkish courts. In cases of actions being brought between them and Turkish subjects, they refuse to recognize sentences rendered by the Turkish courts either by default or even if the parties were present during the proceedings. The position is similar in case of lawsuits between foreign subjects. (Eliot G. Mears, *Commerce Reports*, May 22, 1920.)

Economically, the capitulations meant much in the way of privilege. Foreigners were exempt from every tax levied by the Ottoman Government except the ad valorem export and import duties whose maxima were fixed by the capitulations. Almost no internal tax could be levied on foreign goods. It should be stated that the powers have abused their economic privileges in many instances to the extent of preventing Turkey from developing her own industries while inferior European goods have been unloaded upon the country in great quantities. On the other hand, Turkey has been assisted through foreign countries providing markets for native raw products.

Will the abolition of the economic capitulations drive away foreign concessions and trade? Or will foreign nations place entire confidence in these new commercial treaties which have been concluded in 1923?

Turkey is now to be on the same footing in her economic and judicial relations as the European powers, with the sole exception that foreign legal advisers are empowered to receive complaints relating to arrest and imprisonment of foreigners. This provision in regard to legal advisers, however, offers little protection to countries desiring it most since the advisers, who are to have residence only at Smyrna and Constantinople,

are to be chosen from countries which were neutral during the World War. Moreover, their position is purely advisory; they can act then only when notification has been given them after arrests have been made.

What will be the outcome of the new situation? A government, as yet untried in peace times, undertakes to provide a judicial system which shall be satisfactory to the foreigner. If we judge the future by the past, the outlook is not encouraging. The personnel of the judicial system has been woefully lacking in training, the judges underpaid, and the courts notoriously corrupt. The judicial system, in spite of many reforms, is an almost hopeless jumble of several coëxisting systems of jurisprudence. Moreover, there is great confusion between so-called religious and civil law court procedure, although by the reform movements of 1908, this confusion was supposed to have been removed. The Ottoman civil code has its foundation in the religious law and is therefore inadequate for modern social and commercial usages. Already the Turkish Minister of Justice in the Angora cabinet is handicapped by lack of assistance and by a tremendous amount of unfinished business. In a recent (1922) interview, he stated that he had made some attempt to speed up the action of justice in the lower courts by lessening the number of judges, and by salary increases. Changes in legal procedure are notoriously slow in all countries, so it is not surprising that thus far, apparently he has been able to accomplish practically nothing in the way of reform.

China is one of the last countries, of any importance, in which foreigners have extraterritorial privileges. These rights, however, have not been equal to those formerly possessed by foreigners in Turkey. In the Washington Limitation of Armaments Conference (1921), the Chinese asked for the abandonment of extraterritorial rights by the foreign powers. A resolution was passed

by the powers endorsing this demand in principle. A commission of jurists was to be organized three months after the coming into effect of the Nine-Power Treaty to inquire into the status of legal reforms in China and the necessary steps to be taken for the removal of the capitulations. On the request of the Chinese Government, the meeting of the commissioners was advanced until 1923 but again postponed. Japan, which began the modernizing of her government and the reform of her judicial system shortly after the middle of the 19th century, was not admitted on an equal footing judicially and economically into the family of nations until over thirty years later.

In Turkey, the process seems to have been in the reverse order to that in Japan and China, the privileges having been granted before the reforms had been made. Numerous persons have shared the experience of a former president of the United States, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, who sharply resented foreign interference with native law until he visited the Ottoman Empire; and then he changed his mind. There is much wisdom in the assertion of Hon. Joseph Grew to His Excellency, Ismet Pasha, at Lausanne (1923):—"On the administration of justice within Turkey's territory more than on any other factor will depend the economic future of Turkey and her friendly relations with other countries."

Capitulations

The term "Capitulations" refers to treaties with complex stipulations entered under minor heads (*capitula*). In our day, the phrase "recapitulation of articles of agreement" would be more exact.

The first designation of treaties as capitulations is not of record, but probably did not antedate the Crusades.

Perhaps the earliest typical Capitulation available in

its entirety was concluded (911 A.D.) between the ambassadors of Oleg, regent at Kiew during the minority of Igor, king of Varangians, and the representatives of Emperor Leo VI the philosopher, revised, renewed (944 A.D.), and confirmed (971 A.D.). Article X of this Capitulation reads as follows:

If the Greeks under our sway commit any crime, the Great Russian Prince shall not require satisfaction therefor, but he will await the orders of our Tsar (Emperor) for the infliction of the punishment which their crime shall have deserved.

It is well known that everyone in ancient Rome who was not a Roman citizen was considered a barbarian, unfit to enjoy the privileges pertaining thereto. When centuries later (968 A.D.) the ambassador of Emperor Leo I arrived in Byzantium to propose a marriage between his August Sovereign and Theophania, daughter of the Greek emperor Romanus II, he was treated, although a bishop, as one beyond the pale of civilization on even footing with Lombards, Saxons, Franks, Lotharingians, Bavarians, Suabians, Burgundians and other "barbarians." Imagine the proud daughter of an Eastern emperor wedded to the son of a "barbarian" king! Strangers and enemies were placed in the same category by the Greeks, the Romans, the Jews, the Saracens, the Byzantines, the Franks and the Northmen (Christians, Moslems, Jews, Gentiles), all of whom acted on similar principles of exclusiveness, forbidding all fusion, all friendship, all intercourse (as far as practicable) with foreigners. The old Roman law was exclusively religious. The primitive forms of contracts, of suits at law, of transfer of real estate, were religious forms which the heads of the Church guarded with greatest care.

Religion, in fact, lies at the very root of the practice of extraterritoriality which produced the Capitulations. As long ago as 526 B.C., Amasis, ruler of Egypt, allowed

the Greeks immigrating into the valley of the Nile, to build temples for themselves in which to worship their gods, and to have laws and judges of their own. Similarly, in the Capitulations of the Middle Ages, one of their principal and most characteristic provisions accorded the foreign consul and his fellow countrymen the right to worship in accordance with their national religion. According to Moslem reasoning, non-Moslems are outside the religious pale. In the words of Rausas, the civil law (which is at the same time the religious law) neither can nor will protect him; and since the law is derived from religion, only Believers can participate. But the non-Moslem or foreigner could not always remain the enemy. Even as the Moslem law was not made for the foreigner because he was a non-Moslem, the law can neither protect him, nor judge him, nor punish him. The foreigner must, therefore, be protected, judged and punished by his own law. Capitulations do not refer necessarily to relations between Christians and Moslems, owing to the radical differences in their religion, law and customs. In the Greek Empire capitulations were perfectly well known between Christians of various races, as well as in the Christian kingdoms of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia. They were also widely known as between Christians and pagans and between Moslems and pagans. As crystallized in Egypt, the fundamental principles of the Capitulations may be analyzed under two headings:—

1. The measures required for the proper care of the rights and interests of the Christians;
2. The duties resting upon the Christians and their Governments with regard to the Mohammedans in return for privileges bestowed.

In the first category belong: (*a*) safety of persons and freedom of trade; (*b*) judicial and administrative prerogatives of consuls; (*c*) possession of fonduks (national

compounds) and churches; (*d*) individual, not collective responsibility for crimes; (*e*) abolition of the ancient and barbarous right to wrecks of the sea and protection of the property of shipwrecked merchants and seamen; (*f*) suppression of the *droit d'aubaine* (seizing and appropriating estates of foreign decedents); (*g*) mutual prohibition of piracy; (*h*) various measures for the promotion of commercial relations. In the second category belong: (*a*) confinement of commerce to certain specified ports; (*b*) regulations regarding the management of fonduks; (*c*) interdiction of smuggling; (*d*) reciprocal treatment.

While it would be a signal error to assume that the Moslem States in Africa which entered into Capitulations as above outlined always lived up to their promises, one is justified in pointing out that it was creditable to the sultans of Egypt and to those Moslem rulers who followed their example that they stood sponsors to such principles as the abolition of the right to shipwrecked property and to decedents' estates; the inviolability of private property; the personal safety and liberty of consuls.

One of the most interesting of the Capitulations granted by Egypt was that obtained by the French from Sultan Suleiman I (1528 A.D.), which was the model for the famous Turkish Capitulation of 1536. Going back still further, the Capitulation of 1528 was largely a repetition of the Capitulation signed by Selim I (on the conquest of Egypt by the Turks in 1517) which in turn was a confirmation of the Capitulation of 1251 obtained by St. Louis. The continuity of the Capitulations gave them the form of perpetual treaties rather than armistices or temporary truces.¹

¹ Their language is picturesque and pompous. The Levant Company reprinted, in 1820, the Capitulations of 1675. The introductory statement follows:—

The system of law now existing in Turkey, under which foreigners residing in the country are subject to

SULTAN MEHEMED, MAY HE LIVE FOR EVER!

Let everything be observed in conformity to these capitulations, and contrary thereto let nothing be done.

Extension to British Subjects of Privileges granted to
French, Venetians, Poles, &c.

The command, under the Sublime and lofty Signet, which imparts sublimity to every place, and under the imperial and noble Cypher, whose glory is renowned throughout all the world, by the Emperor and Conqueror of the Earth, achieved with the assistance of the Omnipotent, and by the especial grace of God, in this:

We, who by Divine grace, assistance, will, and benevolence, now are the King of Kings of the world, the Prince of Emperors of every age, the dispenser of Crowns to Monarchs, and the Champion Sultan Mehemed, Son of Sultan, Ibrahim Chan, Son of Sultan Ahmed Chan, Son of Sultan Mahomed Chan, Son of Sultan Murad Chan, Son of Sultan Selim Chan, Son of Sultan Solyman Chan, Son of Sultan Selim Chan.

The most glorious amongst the great Princes professing the faith of Jesus, and the most conspicuous amongst the Potentates of the nation of the Messiah, and the Umpire of public differences that exist between Christian nations, clothed with the mantle of magnificence and majesty, Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland (whose end terminate in bliss!), having sent an Ambassador to the Sublime Porte in the time of our grandfather Sultan Murad (whose tomb be ever resplendent!) of glorious memory and full of divine mercy and pity, with professions of friendship, sincerity, devotion, partiality, and benevolence, and demanding that his subjects might be at liberty to come and go into these parts, which permission was granted to them in the reign of the Monarch aforesaid, in addition to various other special commands, to the end that on coming and going, either by land or sea, in their way, passage, and lodging, they might not experience any molestation or hindrance from any one.

He represented, in the reign of our grandfather Sultan Mehemed Chan (whose tomb be ever resplendent!) to our just and overshadowing Porte, his cordial esteem, alliance, sincere friendship, and partiality thereto. As such privilege, therefore, had been granted to the Kings and Sovereigns of France, Venice, and Poland, who profess the most profound devotion for our most eminent throne, and to others between whom and the Sublime Porte there exists a sincere amity and good understanding, so was the same, through friendship, in like manner granted to the said King; and it was granted him that his subjects and their interpreters might safely and securely come and trade in these our sacred dominions.

The Capitulations of sublime dignity and our noble commands having been, through friendship, thus granted to the Kings aforesaid, and the Queen of the above-mentioned kingdom [the monarchs referred to

the jurisdiction of the State from which they have come, is, therefore, a survival from bygone ages. The idea which underlay the legal conception was that each State was proud of its law—in many cases regarded it as sacred—and would not extend its benefits to others. When the Moslems conquered Syria, Egypt and Spain, it never occurred to them to allow Unbelievers to share the legal privileges conferred upon Moslem subjects. But as, chiefly for commercial reasons, they wanted foreigners to come amongst them, they agreed to Capitulations. When Constantinople was taken by the Turks (1453 A.D.) they found the Genoese living in the walled quarter of Galata, under their own Consul and under Capitulations entered into between them (the Genoese) and the Greek emperors. These treaties were almost immediately confirmed and ratified. Today the Capitulations are practically what they were centuries ago. They have suffered no essential modification, either in spirit, or in language. But the régime they stand for is not now normal and universal, but is exceptional; and what in earlier days was intended as a disability and a penalty (exclusion from the local jurisdiction), has turned into a precious privilege.

Except in China and in Turkey, the capitulatory régime no more prevails over vast areas. In Western Europe the idea of territorial sovereignty gradually managed to obtain possession of the law and to nationalize and secularize it. It is true that the Reformation, because it severed the relationship of many peoples to Rome, threatened to disrupt the law of nations as it then

were King James I, King Charles I, and Queen Elizabeth] having heretofore also sent a noble personage with presents to this victorious porte, which is the refuge and retreat of the Kings of the world, the most exalted places, and the asylum of the Emperors of the Universe (which gifts were graciously accepted), and she having earnestly implored the privilege in question, her entreaties were acceded to, and these our high commands conceded to her.



Courtesy Abdullah Frères

Reception Room and Dining Room of the Sultan's Dolma Bagcheh Palace on the Bosphorus. What does the future hold in store for this Mansion and also that of Yildiz Kiosk?

existed. It is equally true that but for the Reformation, the separation of law and religion would have been indefinitely retarded and thus also the establishment of the true basis of territorial sovereignty. In the Peace of Westphalia (1648) it was decided to subordinate the religious idea to the legal one and so Europe emerged from medieval extritoriality into the modern scheme of a family of nations, independent and self-governing in all respects.

Though of Greek faith, Russia somewhat later entered into the European system of public law. This step was facilitated by the fact that Latin Europe and Greek Europe cherished identical legal traditions, *i.e.* those of the Roman Empire, derived in the one case from Rome, in the other from Constantinople.

In Greece, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria, the capitulatory system likewise vanished. Along with their political independence, these nations, in consequence of diplomatic negotiations, gained full liberty of action in the administration of justice through the suppression of the Capitulations. It is worth while noting that in the Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878), it was provided that the immunities and privileges of foreigners, as well as the rights of consular jurisdiction and protection as established by the Capitulations and usages, should remain in full force until modified with the consent of the parties concerned.

That several nations possessing capitulatory rights in Turkey are jointly concerned in their maintenance, is expressed in Article V of the Treaty of August 25, 1870, between Turkey and Bavaria, which runs as follows:

In the event that the Sublime Porte should undertake to come to an understanding with the other Powers with regard to the modification, in one sense or another, of the jurisdiction exercised by Consuls in Turkey in virtue of the Treaties and Capitulations, the

Government of Bavaria will not claim anything beyond the privileges and immunities which would be maintained in behalf of the Consuls of the other Powers, to whom, moreover, the Bavarian consuls will continue to be assimilated in all respects.

That treaties in general cannot be abrogated or modified without the mutual consent of the contracting parties was solemnly agreed upon at the Conference of London, January 7, 1871 (called to revise in certain respects the Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856), in a protocol *ad hoc* signed by the representatives present of the North-German Confederation (Germany), Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and Turkey. As translated, the protocol reads:

The Plenipotentiaries of North Germany, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, Italy, Russia and Turkey, today assembled in conference, recognize that it is an essential principle of international law that no Power can absolve itself from the obligations of a Treaty, nor modify its stipulations, except in pursuance of the assent of the Contracting Parties in virtue of an amicable agreement.

In witness whereof the said Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Protocol.

Done in London, this 17th day of January, 1871.

(Signed)

BERNSTORFF
APPONYI
GRANVILLE
CADORNA
BRUNNOW
MUSURUS
BROGLIE

In his opening address, Lord Granville who presided at the Conference had suggested this action saying that the unanimity with which the Powers, signatories of the Treaty of 1856, had accepted the idea of the present Conference (proposed by Russia for the purpose of modify-

ing the stipulations of the treaty concerning the neutrality of the Black Sea) furnished a signal proof of the recognition by the Powers of the essentiality of that principle of international law that none of them can be released from the obligation of a treaty nor modify its stipulations except in consequence of the concurrent action of the contracting parties by means of an amicable agreement. In the discussion which followed, the Ottoman Plenipotentiary, His Excellency Musurus Pasha, declared that he adhered, in the name of the Government, to the principle formulated by the presiding officer, since the Sublime Porte always had recognized its sacred character and had constantly conformed to it in its political relations with foreign nations. There can be no doubt that in the understanding arrived at in the Conference at London the Capitulations of the Ottoman Empire were included. It is well known that the Treaty of Paris of 1856, as well as the Conference at London in 1871, chiefly concerned Turkish affairs as affected by the Crimean War.

Article VIII of the Treaty of Berlin (1878) stipulates that "the immunities and privileges of foreigners, as well as the rights of Consular jurisdiction and protection as established by the Capitulations and usages, shall remain in full force so long as they shall not have been modified with the consent of the parties concerned." This referred particularly to Bulgaria. Identical provisions, however, were made in the same treaty as regards Serbia (article XXXVII) and Roumania (article XLIX).

Japan presents the most striking case of a non-Christian people being received in the sisterhood of nations on accepting the common public law as developed in Europe and America. The capitulatory régime in Japan was definitely abolished in 1899.

In the Ottoman Empire, ever since 1856, there have

been statesmen anxious to abolish the Capitulations as humiliating and hurtful to the natives. It has been claimed that foreigners occupy a preferred position and enjoy privileges denied to the people of the country. Why continue a system, Turks have argued, which hampers parliament in its legislation, the courts in the administration of justice, the minister of finance in his efforts to establish a budgetary equilibrium? Does not the Ottoman Empire as an independent nation possess the right to exercise exclusive sovereignty and jurisdiction throughout the full extent of its territory? As a matter of fact, the Turkish Government of 1914 profited by the outbreak of the European war to abrogate the Capitulations. As, however, such an act could not be consummated by a unilateral decree the capitulatory system still remains. Consular jurisdiction is maintained, and the inauguration of a revised Mixed Court system may be expected to accompany the promulgation of the Treaty of Peace. Except on real estate, no taxes can be levied on foreigners or their property without the consent of the Powers. Customs dues cannot be modified unless the treaty nations agree to the proposed change.¹

¹ In 1919, the Ottoman Minister of Finance prepared, for the American High Commission, the following statement dealing with Economic Capitulations:—

No reason or pretext of any kind can be found to justify the discrimination of the foreign subjects against the natives of a country in respect to taxes and duties. Therefore resumption of Economical Capitulations cannot be allowed in any way even if Judicial Capitulations be reestablished in some way or other. After the establishment of the Constitution the taxes and duties are being subject to the sanction of the Parliament and consequently these are being raised in accordance with the Law; moreover the Embassies have in principle agreed to their subjects being involved in principal taxes to which the Ottoman subjects are liable.

PARTICULARS OF ECONOMIC CAPITULATIONS

(1) Exemption from Djizizh & Kharaj (personal tribute paid by non-Moslem subjects of Islam) and exemption from general taxes.

Undoubtedly before many years pass the Capitulations in Turkey will disappear by the same route by which the extraterritorial régime in Japan was allowed to depart, *i.e.* by agreement of all nations having treaties.

It seems possible, however, only through the complete secularization and nationalization of the Islamic law and through the further habilitation of the Ottoman courts, so that non-Moslems may confidently and contentedly come under such law and courts without having to sacrifice their customs and convictions and with reasonable assurance of receiving fair and intelligent treatment. When the law of a people is an integral part of its religion, as Rausas observes, it cannot be applied to those who profess a different faith. The human right of liberty of conscience, which is the most necessary of liberties, is entitled to such consideration. In leaving to the conquered Christians their laws and their judges, the first khalifs gave Europe a grand example which Europe has not always followed. Herein we find a theoretical justification of the Capitulations. To it may be added a practical justification. When we impartially strike a balance for and against the Capitulations, we must admit that while they impose fiscal restrictions which Turkey is justified in resenting, and which should be promptly removed, they have had the happiest results for the Ottoman Empire, as constituting the breach which has admitted into Turkey the progress of civilization. As

(2) Customs duties not exceeding the fixed rate; exemption from taxes such as excise, slaughter fees, Bidaat (not provided by the Canon Law), export duty, toll, and yasakkol (night watchman tax).

(3) Abolition of monopolies.

Under the circumstances the Foreigners are liable only for the following taxes:

(a) Taxes provided by the Canon Law such as tithe and sheep taxes;

(b) Taxes for landed properties;

(c) Customs duties not exceeding the fixed rate;

(d) Taxes for special services such as lighthouse and cleaning.

They are exempted even from principal taxes such as the profits tax and the road tax.—E. G. M.

formerly Roman law was, in a measure, secularized by contact with the *jus gentium*, so the law of the Moslems, thanks to the Capitulations, has in part become secularized by contact with European jurisprudence, especially with that of France.

When the countries now Mohammedan, Kent remarks, shall be more completely resubjected to the doctrines of the Roman law, then can they be admitted to an unrestricted reciprocal community of rights with Europe and America. Thus would be removed the legal incompatibility which renders the Capitulations necessary in Turkey, inasmuch as Mohammed law still, in vital respects, is bound up in religion. Until this separation is perfected, Moslem states may enter, as Turkey has already done, into the sphere of European and American public law in the relation of government to government, but not in the relation of government to men. Foreigners cannot in Turkey, as in Europe and America, be admitted into the general body and mass of the society of the nation, but they must under Moslem law continue strangers and sojourners, not acquiring any national character under the general sovereignty of the country. How, for instance, could Britishers, Frenchmen, Germans, Americans, etc., domiciled in Turkey, accept the Turkish law on questions of personal status such as marriage, divorce, succession, etc., as it now stands?

The real question at issue is not one of municipal or other taxes nor of foreign postoffices, customs immunities or similar barriers. The essential consideration is this: social justice and social order are impossible where law, as in the Middle Ages, is governed by religious doctrines and rights, repulsive to the minority. And the only remedy for the racial prerogatives, as represented by consular courts and mixed courts and other survivals of the doctrine of immiscibility, is the absolute secularization of jurisprudence.

In a not distant future this separation of law and religion is bound to materialize, as a natural and inevitable reformation. It is in true line with Turkey's progress since the Congress in Paris in 1856, and especially since the reapplication, in 1908, of the Constitution of 1876. Turkey will recognize in full the principles of modern international law.

CHAPTER XX

THE TURKISH PRESS

By AHMED EMIN BEY¹

There is no oratory so easy, no writing so trenchant and vivid as the phrase-making of criticism and malice. There is none so difficult as inspiration to construction.

—HERBERT HOOVER, "American Individualism."

Introduction

The press in Turkey is a combined political and propaganda institution. Newspapers are owned and edited by leaders of various races, and may appear written in any language. There no longer exists the all-pervading censorship formulated by Sultan Abdul Hamid II, which went so far as to create a board of censors to oversee the first readers of foreign and local news. Still the rigid rules of the postwar Allied board of censors was far from permitting the independence of the press.

¹Born in Salonika, 1889. Attended Turkish elementary school, military academy, six years in the German School at Constantinople. Studied law at University of Constantinople. Joined the staff of the *Sabah*, experiencing for one year the hardships of the Hamidian censorship. Editorial writer of the *Jen-Gazetta*. Sent to America by the Turkish Government in 1910 to study sociology at Columbia University, where he received degree of Ph.D., 1914. Assistant Professor of Sociology later Professor of Statistics, Stamboul University. War correspondent and later editor-in-chief, *Sabah*. In 1917 established a daily newspaper of his own named *Vakit* (Times). Arrested in the spring of 1919 because of moderate national policy of the paper, making many enemies, including the Sultan. Subsequently released, but a month later exiled to Kutaya, where remained three months. In March, 1920, he was taken to Malta by the British as a political hostage, since his paper was considered partisan to the Nationalist cause. Released in 1922. Resumed editorship *Vakit*. Editor *Vatan*.

This article, written in Malta and dispatched from there while the writer was a political prisoner, was received promptly through the courtesy of the British military authorities.

The power of a country's press increases according to the proportionate difficulty in maintaining open news channels with the outside world. The deliberate misuse of the printed word by interested parties of every nationality is the fundamental reason for the publication of this book. The campaign of misinformation has been under way for half a century or more. To quote Mr. Cyrus Hamlin, "Among the Turks" (1878):

A great association has been formed in England for the purpose of exposing all the faults of Turkey. The testimony is mainly from travelers. It is not necessary to emphasize the honesty or integrity of the writers, or the purity of their motives. But it may be permitted to inquire whether any government could stand such an ordeal unharmed.

Suppose a great association should be formed in the United States, and money freely poured into its treasury, with the object of searching out all the atrocious murders and cases of poison in England. . . . Or, suppose such an association in England should expose all our Indian massacres, etc. Should we probably consider those who engage in such a work as actuated by a peculiarly Christian spirit? There would be some among us, doubtless, who would take that view, but would it be the national view? Would it work a grand reformation?

The Turks have not strongly presented their "case" among English-speaking countries partly because few Turks can either write or speak that language, more largely, however, because of their innate pride which has amounted to a feeling of superiority. The Armenians have been possibly more successful than any other peoples, due to their early contact with American missionaries and to the periodical massacres which have been the frequent subject of international investigation. In recent years the case of the Greeks has been discussed by the press in Greece and abroad, while the claims of

the Jews have been advanced largely through the Zionist leaders.

That the new government recognizes the value of the press is shown by the fact that at Angora, Mustafa Kemal has set up his own printing press and publishes from there the *Hakimiyet-i-Milliyé*, the influence of which is naturally far-reaching. It is under a distinct handicap contrasted with Constantinople newspapers because of delayed costly telegraph and mail service. Newspapers published at Angora and Constantinople, respectively, have an internal importance somewhat similar to those of Washington and New York City. More than ever before in Turkey's history, the Turkish-owned press holds the position of great importance.

A battle, a massacre or a political victory immediately results in a scramble of every interested party to the nearest post, telephone, or telegraph office—usually all three. The writer has seen the story of a conflict between the Turks and Armenians written the day before it happened. All nationalities are devout believers in the wisdom of exaggerating population estimates, atrocities, and political claims. Their methods of propagation are alike. They consider they are adopting the only policy upon which they can base any real hopes for an ultimately just world tribunal.

This historical chapter on the Press is devoted to the struggle by local journals, mainly Turkish, to reach the reading public living within the boundaries of the former Ottoman Empire.

The Turkish Press

The press in Turkey has assumed functions which are carried out by other specialized agencies in more advanced countries; and although the circulation is not large, each newspaper is read by several people, often being sent and read aloud to illiterates.

The first printing press in Turkey was set up in the year 1728, but newspapers date only from the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Previous to that time, the functions of the press were discharged by the mosque gatherings, public criers, traveling preachers and singers, market places, and coffee houses. Thus were made public government laws, regulations and orders, military news, the appointment of a new governor, dates of religious festivals, funerals of prominent people, arrival or departure of caravans and ships. A prominent rôle was played by preachers in molding public opinion relating to current events. Especially in the fasting month of Ramazan and the two months previous the traveling preachers reached even the remotest places. The French Embassy issued in 1795 a periodical named the *Gazette*; and in 1811 published a news bulletin. The first real newspaper in Turkey was the *Spectateur de l'Orient*, started at Smyrna in the year 1825; its name was later changed to the *Courier de Smyrne*. This journal took occasion often to attack the policy of Russia with the result that the Russian ambassador strongly protested to the Porte, and asked that publication of the Smyrna journal should cease. Turkish statesmen of that period, however, were not quite inclined to see the interest of their country in any measure dictated by Russia. In fact, one of them said: "Often, I do not need to do any thinking for myself. I do exactly the opposite of what the Russian ambassador advocates, and I am satisfied that it is the right thing." So the words of the Russian ambassador, instead of causing the French paper to be stopped, directly stimulated the establishment of a newspaper in Constantinople. This paper, also in French, was called the *Moniteur Ottoman*, and was edited by the same individual who had established the Smyrna newspaper.

On May 14, 1832, the first official Turkish newspaper

was started. A list of suggested names presented to the Sultan by his cabinet ministers did not meet his approval, so he himself devised the name of *Takvini-Vekayih* (the Calendar of Events). Sultan Mahmud's order regarding the establishment of a newspaper was in the following terms:

The publication of a newspaper was for me an ideal for a very long time. But as the time was not yet ripe, I preferred to wait for the proper moment. As the time is now ripe and as the matter does not harm our religion and our laws, and is willingly recognized by everybody to be highly beneficial, we desire to proceed to the establishment of a newspaper.

In 1843, an Englishman, Mr. N. Churchill, established the second Turkish newspaper, the *Jeridei Havidis* (Register of News). In 1861, the name of *Terjumani-Ahval* (Interpreter of the Situation), edited by Shinassi, was changed to *Tasviri-Efkiair* (Tablet of Opinion). In 1862, the great writer and agitator Kemal Bey joined the staff of that paper. In 1865, *Mushbir*, a paper established by Ali Suavi, the enlightened theologian, became the center of Young Turkish agitation. Now, for the first time, the government felt the necessity of exercising restraint. The press law of January, 1865, was promulgated, and a press bureau instituted. This law soon proved inadequate. Then followed a regulation characteristic of the Turkish system of government ever since—suspending the liberal press laws “On account of considerations of public order, to act, as often as the interest of the country required, through administrative channels, and independently of the existing press law, against newspapers which should disregard the principles, the observation of which is the essential condition of a national press.” The three stages involved were the warning, the suspension, and the suppression of undesirable papers. In 1867, the *Mushbir*, becoming the

victim of this regulation, was combined with a Young Turk paper of minor importance, published in London, called the *Hurriet* (Liberty) started in 1864. This paper, as well as the magazine *Oulloum* (Sciences), and a great variety of pamphlets, were secretly sent to Turkey.

Between 1871 and 1876, the Turkish reform movement was entirely a movement of the press. The leading writer of the period, Kemal Bey, immediately after his return from London, established a paper of his own, the *Ibret* (Admonition). There is hardly a paper in any country's history which has been subject to such severe criticism, because of its endeavors for improving domestic conditions. New papers appeared but few had a long life. Their failure did not deter other young men from trying the same experiment for themselves. The standard of the periodical publications was relatively high, because the very cream of the educated people was engaged, directly or as a side occupation, in journalism. Newspaper work meant patriotic martyrdom. Not only was suspension of papers by the government an every day occurrence, but also journalists were exiled without trial. For instance, the editor of the *Ibret* was exiled from the capital, and appointed governor of Gallipoli. After some time he managed to return and publish his paper. In 1875, the popular enthusiasm created by his play *Vatan* (Fatherland) caused him to be exiled to the fort Magossa in Cyprus. Another form of discouragement was a stamp duty imposed on all political publications.

In spite of the repressive policy of the government, the press continued to grow both in numbers and in quality. This growth constitutes an excellent index of the rapid development in the country. In 1860, the whole Empire possessed only one official and one semiofficial weekly. Also, there was the *Adedepar*, an Armenian weekly published since 1853 by the American Board of

Foreign Missions. In 1864, there were established official weeklies in the seat of every province. In the latter, wherever a non-Turkish community was in the majority, half of the space was devoted to the language of that community. In 1872, the following Turkish publications were in existence—3 dailies, 2 papers appearing three times a week, a satirical semiweekly, a satirical weekly, a weekly political gazette, a military weekly, and a commercial weekly. Also, there were 7 French journals, 11 Armenian journals, 7 Greek journals, 4 Bulgarian journals and 1 Hebrew journal. In 1876 there were 47 papers published in Constantinople, 13 in Turkish (7 of them dailies, 2 semiweeklies, 1 political weekly, 1 satirical weekly, 1 medical monthly, 1 illustrated monthly); 9 in Greek; 9 in Armenian; 7 in French; 3 in Bulgarian; 2 in English; 2 in Hebrew; 1 in German; and 1 in Arabic. The activity of the press was no longer confined to the capital.

Since 1861 there have continuously been one or more weeklies devoted to popularizing different branches of knowledge. The dailies also took interest in this line of work. This activity was of tremendous effect in breaking down the old order of things. The humoristic publications contributed to bring about this result; their influence in the period of 1870 to 1876 was far-reaching. They were ably edited by the best writers of the time. They achieved more in weakening the prestige of the government in power and rendering it ridiculous in the eyes of the people than the most frantic political attacks.

When Abdul Hamid became sultan on September 11, 1876, he was confronted by a turbulent press. He promptly decided that the press was the most vital and dangerous force to him in his fight for palace rule and personal power. Journalists of note were exiled from the capital by being given positions, such as governor-general or ambassador. Through similar gentle methods

all the prominent leaders of the reform movements were eliminated. There was no constitution and no free press left in Turkey. With the leaders eliminated and the press subdued, the country, which was under a cross-fire from external dangers and internal unrest, easily became the prey of an absolute ruler.

In 1877 the downfall of the press was complete. In August, 1877, the *Terjuman-i-Efkiair*, a paper published in the Turkish language with Armenian characters, asserted that the press in Turkey no longer existed as a factor in public life. The Turkish papers copied this statement widely, bitterly admitting its truth.

It is not surprising that the journalists in the Hamidian era could not be other than favor-seeking. Any aggressive and patriotic men among them were immediately eliminated, while the others received from the Sultan the highest titles and fattest sinecures.

The Sultan was shortsighted only on one point. While repressing every sort of discussion and criticism, as well as every open struggle for reform, he liked to pose as a protector of science and learning. He founded many institutions of higher learning which gave their students not only free instruction, but also free board and even pocket money. One of the purposes was to render the new generation grateful to the Sultan. In the press also, no restrictions were placed upon popularizing knowledge. The daily newspapers virtually became daily magazines, or better still, serial popular publications on history, science, and art. Among them were the serial publications of the Ebouzzia Library, containing foreign classics and valuable works by Turkish authors. The influence of the *Fortnightly Review* (in Turkish), published by the same editor, was also far-reaching.

This intellectual activity opened the eyes of a large number of people, and with these open eyes they did not only read fiction, but they also pondered over every

detail of the corrupt system of government. The Sultan became the victim of his educational policy which brought about just the contrary of what he expected. The militancy which expressed itself in surreptitious publications, in secret organizations, in various signs of revolt against authority, increased with great rapidity after 1890. In 1892, Ahmed Rira Bey, superintendent of public education in Brusa, recently president of the Senate, fled to Paris where he published the *Meshverett* (Deliberation). In 1894, the Armenian massacres caused a great irritation among the Turkish patriots. The necessity for urgent action against the Hamidian régime was strongly felt, especially by medical students. Four medical students laid the foundation of the secret Committee of Union and Progress. Their literature fell upon very receptive ground. The flight to Europe of Murad Bey, the popular journalist and novelist, gave a great impetus to the movement. The Sultan was exceedingly terrified. Hundreds of suspects were arrested, tortured, and condemned without trial. Some disappeared forever, others were exiled, but this martyrdom only strengthened the position of the revolutionary organization. They organized a plot against the Sultan. New arrests followed. Meanwhile, many hundreds succeeded in escaping to Europe and Egypt, and began to publish there revolutionary papers.

After the victories in the Greek War of 1897, the position of the Sultan became stronger, and the press became decidedly weaker. Now not only the political discussions, but every sort of intellectual activity, was checked. The hopeful new literature movement was entirely silenced. The daily press, which was subsidized by the palace, devoted most of its space to platitudes and to the praise of the Sultan. The proof sheets were read by two censors. The papers kept a large staff of translators, who made use of whatever they found in foreign papers

that had nothing to do with Turkey or the European situation. News items concerning the Far East, America or Australia were in special demand. Odd happenings in America furnished a favorite subject about which to write stories. In order to supply the papers with the element of attraction and sensation which they would otherwise have lacked, exaggerated stories were published about Americans. The papers were not allowed to give prominence to any local events which did not constitute an occasion to praise the Sultan. The restrictions became stricter daily. A general book or a copy of a newspaper published several years before was very likely to be considered by the secret agents of the police as incriminating and seditious literature. Not only were most of the Turkish literary works on the black list, but also books written by previous order of and by the Sultan; for instance, concerning the sham trial of the liberal Grand Vizier, Midhat Pasha. The last stage of restrictions concerned the interdiction of fiction, because "it stimulated the imagination." At first, the interdiction concerned only actions represented as happenings in Turkey or among Turks. Later, every novel and story was prohibited. Travel descriptions were singled out as undesirable. Love stories were placed under a very strict ban.

As a consequence of these conditions, the number of Young Turk revolutionary publications increased very rapidly. The *Meshverett*, on March 15, 1898, noted seven new organs established within two months. Most of these papers, usually distributed gratis, were short-lived on account of financial difficulties. Anybody could ask for any number of copies to be distributed in the interior, and many copies were sent, through foreign post offices, to different addresses in Turkey. While the recipient was not expected generally to pay for each copy, he had to pay a very heavy price if detected by the secret police. In spite of the vigilance of the authorities such papers

and handwritten copies of forbidden and out-of-print literary works were diffused everywhere in Turkey, and helped to increase the general discontent and stir up still more disposition to revolt. In 1908, when the Young Turkish revolution broke out in Macedonia, the whole country was prepared to accept the new situation with great joy.

The papers of Constantinople, subsidized by the Palace and until July 22, 1908, filled with laudable language with grotesque praises of the Sultan, at once adopted a very insulting and aggressive attitude. Their circulation increased so fast that a person frequently had to pay as much as forty cents for a newspaper issued to sell at one cent. Everyone wanted to celebrate the end of "the nightmare of despotism and oppression" by speaking and writing, or by listening to or reading what was spoken and written. Bulky street literature consisting of leaflets, pamphlets, pictures and cartoons were created overnight and found a wide circulation. Enterprising publishers were engaged at once in putting out editions of all forbidden works. Within a few weeks the number of Turkish dailies rose from 3 to 15. A new class of comic publications, between 5 and 10 in number, appeared during the first months of the new era. Some of the more zealous men thought that periodical publications of every sort and shade had to be created at once. Dailies, weeklies, and special magazines were accordingly established without regard to satisfying any local demand. There was even a communistic weekly, called *Ishtirak* (Communism) with the following Turkish saying as its motto: "One eats, one looks, there the trouble broods." Every one of the new societies and groups wanted to have its own organ. Almost simultaneously, there appeared weekly or monthly organs for painters, architects, chemists, veterinary surgeons, physicians,

lawyers, actors, workingmen, government officials, former political exiles, alumni of the Civil Service School, and university students. Nearly all of these journals were short-lived. Enormous sums were wasted by inexperienced men. Only three of the several dozen dailies survived, although some of the literary periodicals and illustrated magazines were, relatively speaking, more fortunate. European Turkey, especially Macedonia, with its prosperous economic conditions and animated intellectual environment took great interest in this class of publications. Several well edited and printed periodicals were published with financial success, until Turkey lost most of her European possessions.

The press was the most active factor of the new era. It had enormous influence, but with the rapid growth in their number, coupled with the inexperience of their editors in discussing public questions, unenviable abuses arose. No one dared to object to the licentious language of the press. The reactionaries, who were responsible for the oppression of the press in former days, were now most zealous supporters of an unrestricted press. The discussion in Parliament of a press-control law was so strongly attacked everywhere that the government was helpless. These elements interested in creating anarchy took full advantage of the situation. The palace was intriguing with great skill. There were discontents among every class of citizens. The larger part of the press was on the side of discontents. On April 5, 1909, Hassan Fehmi, editor of the opposition daily, the *Serbesti*, was mysteriously shot on the street. The funeral was a very imposing one, and really was the first step of revolt against the Government. On April 14, 1909, the city was in the hands of military insurgents acting according to the orders of the palace. The offices of the Committee papers were pillaged by the mob. The inde-

pendent papers were silenced. The reactionary press triumphed.

But within a week a Young Turkish army was within reach of the capital. The language used regarding the Sultan changed also from day to day. During the first days of the counter revolution, there were papers using the pompous phraseology of old days. When the news of Young Turkish military preparations reached the capital, he began to be spoken of simply as "our Sultan." As soon as the army reached Constantinople, the palace intrigues were made subjects of daring remarks. When the city was actually taken, the papers assured their readers that the great emblem of oppression and despotism was no longer capable of further harm.

The new Government established after the dethronement of the Sultan held the press responsible for the outbreak of April 13, 1909. Accordingly, the majority of the opposition papers were suppressed, and most of the members of their staff exiled. Some of them saved themselves by flight to Europe, and became engaged in violent denunciation of the Young Turkish Government. The papers at home used what freedom was left them to complain, in sharper and sharper tones, of the lack of sufficient freedom.

The enchanting idealism of the revolution days had entirely disappeared. The constitution did not prove to be the magic panacea which could make a paradise out of a disintegrating empire. The militaristic tendencies were especially represented by a new type of papers, appearing in localities where the revolution of 1908 had started. These papers were named *Weapon*, *Sword*, *Bayonet*, *Bullet*, *Thunderbolt*, etc., and were published by retired army officers. The arrogant chauvinism displayed by these papers was something beyond imagination. They attacked foreign powers: they strongly attacked the political opponents of the "sacred" Com-

mittee of Union and Progress; they attacked the intellectual environment of Constantinople where the idea of opposition seemed to take root. The political intolerance of the Committee increased the opposition and made the press more and more hostile. On July 29, 1909, Samim Bey, editor of the *Sedayi Millet* (Voice of the People), was mysteriously shot and killed in the streets. On July 11, 1911, Zekki Bey, another opposition editor, met the same fate.

In those days of increasing chaos, some of the papers became blind tools of international intrigues. For instance, when an American group under Admiral Chester was seeking a railway concession in Asiatic Turkey, these papers were used by several foreign embassies, which were naturally antagonistic, to agitate against the project and to make it impossible for parliament to give even a serious consideration to the matter. Without this agitation, the Chester project would undoubtedly have been carried out, and would have changed the whole aspect of things in the Near East.

With the outbreak of the Italian War, the Committee of Union and Progress put new restrictions on the press, but chiefly with reference to those catering to the opposition. Another change came when the first Balkan War broke out in October, 1912. The papers, which used to give opinions rather than news and comment upon every bit of news in a way to appeal to their readers, learned now to put emphasis on news. Even the most unpleasant events were recorded with headlines accordingly. Whereas, in former days, a self-respecting man never accepted work as a reporter, but began his journalistic career as a translator of foreign papers, a new class of educated reporters now appeared.

After the humiliations of the Balkan War the Committee of Union and Progress returned to power. It had not become more tolerant, but political conflicts had lost

their old meaning for the people. The old game was no longer played. The public, as well as the press, showed more interest in constructive problems of reform than in strife. Another sign of the new order of things was the selective decrease in the number of the dailies and the increase in serious periodical publications. Instead of 9 Turkish dailies in 1911, 6 only were published in 1913. The number of humorous semiweeklies dropped from seven to three. Illustrated magazines rose from three to four. In 1913, there were 13 periodicals for children and for school use, whereas there was not one such in 1911. Two weeklies for women began to be published. Religious periodicals rose from 4 to 6; publications of societies and organizations dropped from 5 to 4. Five new agricultural periodicals made their appearance. Military and naval periodicals rose from 4 to 5 and the scientific ones from 3 to 7. Besides there were an official daily and 8 weeklies published by the different departments of state. Among non-Turkish language dailies and periodicals, published in Constantinople, there were also great changes. French publications dropped from 14 to 10, while the Greek publications rose from 13 to 18, Armenian from 16 to 23, Arabic from 2 to 3, and Hebrew from 1 to 4. The only German daily was continuing its publication. The Bulgarian weekly disappeared after the Balkan War, while a new Persian paper appeared. The provincial press also received a great development. In 1913, there were 117 Arabic, 108 Turkish, 25 Greek, 19 Armenian, 11 Hebrew, 4 Albanian, 10 French papers, and 1 Bulgarian paper in the provinces. The entire number of periodical publications in the Ottoman Empire was 338.

The self-critical tendency and the desire for internal development were still dominating the publications of the Turkish press, when new war clouds appeared on the horizon. The Turkish press, naturally sympathetic

to Germany, was one of the chief factors in creating local atmosphere favorable for German purposes. At the same time, the German press bureau sought close intercourse not only with the press of Constantinople, but even with the Constantinople correspondence of the remotest provincial paper. Even the unimportant Turkish press reporter, who went to the German press bureau for news, was treated with every attention. He was, of course, inclined to give emphasis to the German news. The Entente Allies had no similar news organization.

When, one day, a short communication appeared in the papers, announcing that the Russian fleet had made a surprise attack on some units of the Turkish fleet and that a great victory had been won by the Turks, everyone, including the Sultan, believed the false story. The censorship imposed on Turkey, after the outbreak of the war, was something beyond imagination. No foreign papers were allowed to come in. Restrictions on home papers were such that they could publish nothing but official communications from German and Austrian sources. Newspaper reporters had no opportunity to get the facts. In order to attract attention, the papers, limited to uninteresting news bulletins, published large headlines, maps, and pictures on the first page. Most of the dailies appeared with more pictures on the first page than written material. The German and Austrian press bureaus in Constantinople distributed picture cuts to the papers. Practically every sort of discussion was prohibited. Not only was external and internal politics barred, but also the military situation was rarely allowed to be mentioned, and then to be referred to in the most uncritical and optimistic fashion. Even cultural, economical and social problems could not be discussed. The military censorship regarded every discussion, even of a technical character, as a sign of dissension. It was to the interests of the army not to give the enemy the im-

pression that there was any disharmony in the country. There was not a single word in the Turkish papers regarding the Armenian deportations, or the abuses in the war organization, or the contrast on the one hand between huge, unearned war fortunes and accompanying waste and luxury, and, on the other, privation, famine and death. Turkey's primitive economic organization proved a complete failure.

For some time the papers could not give utterance to these feelings. In the autumn of 1916 the situation began to change. Commercial speculation in essential commodities had become unbearable. At last the Government realized that general discontent would cause an internal explosion if complaints in the press did not receive attention. When the authority of the all-powerful censorship was once shaken, the arrogant military rigidity could no longer be kept up in silencing every suggestion of the press.

Besides the alarming living conditions, the question of providing newsprint paper for the press was a vexatious one. Turkey manufactured no paper. On the other hand, paper was not allowed to be exported from Austria and Germany. Paper, obtained through the channels of the flourishing illegal war trade, was so expensive on account of graft that newspapers could not afford to purchase it. Again, the Germans played the game for all it was worth. The German press bureau attached to the German Embassy was most ready to supply the press with newsprint at bare cost. This was a very tempting offer, because the cost price was one sixth to one seventh of the prevailing market price in Constantinople. Of course, it was a very humiliating position for the Turkish press to be supplied with paper, consequently influenced, by a foreign embassy during a great national struggle. Indeed, the Ottoman Press Association was established early in 1917 with the main

object of defending unitedly the dignity of the Turkish press, and of breaking the absolute monopoly exercised by the German Embassy.

In spite of the opposition of the Government, the struggle for freedom from foreign influence was a long one, but at last it was crowned with full success. The German syndicate for supplying paper to the trade began to furnish the national press association direct with the necessary paper for the entire Turkish Empire press.

Following the struggle relative to the newsprint paper problem, the press began to show also a fighting spirit against the Government. They succeeded in arranging weekly sittings between the editors, the head of the press bureau, and the head of the information department in the general staff of the army also in charge of military censorship. This meant at least an opportunity for discussion. Specific complaints could be made against the censorship, which necessarily led to an amelioration of the existing conditions. Bad feeling against the allies and the causes of friction had increased to such an extent that public opinion was insisting that the columns of the press should be thrown open for a general news service. The political censorship was abolished on the ground that it was unconstitutional. Curiously enough, the members of the cabinet were the very men who had established the censorship. Thereafter the press, subject to the press law only, could discuss anything. There was a military censorship, but without any real authority. The papers were asked to send to that censorship only matters of a purely military character which might contain information useful to the enemy.

A very active period began for the Turkish press. War abuses and scandals implicating men in high positions began to be disclosed. Irregularities by the military authorities were not overlooked. Although the

general public was unsuccessful in devising remedial measures, it hailed with joy the new order, because it gave expression to the resentment and indignation deeply felt by all. During the last six months of the war perhaps no other country had such a free press as Turkey. The attacks against the Central Powers, principally over the booty in the Caucasus and in the Balkans, were at times so bitter that the German authorities were deeply alarmed. These discussions of foreign politics helped to postpone an insurrection of the army. The satisfaction created by the free discussion of domestic problems had also a similar effect. Otherwise, the internal situation of Turkey would have been extremely dangerous. Any incident might have caused a sweeping outbreak. As soon as Bulgaria signed an armistice, the military situation became hopeless. The war cabinet of the Committee of Union and Progress was forced to retire. The new cabinet of non-party character and moderate national views was formed. Everybody had suffered so badly through the system of administration during the war, that it therefore pleased them to have the press indulging in most abusive language regarding the war leaders. After the unanimous outbursts in the press had continued for some time, a new division among them began to appear. Some papers began to point out external dangers, to warn the public that attention should be given to the problems of future existence, and that hatred of the past could not be the main issue in public life. Papers using such a language were called supporters of the old régime by the group of papers which were interested in creating troubled conditions in order that they could intrigue at leisure. But these leaders soon had a large following. The Ottoman Press Association which had comprised during the war all papers irrespective of language, became more and more united on a common national policy.

The country was already in great internal chaos, when the Entente representatives began to arrive. The ambitious politicians, who well knew that they had no hold on the nation, began to seek the favor and protection of the foreign representations. Petty intrigues, individual lust for power, and personal feelings of revenge took the place of an open preparation for peace and a united national struggle for existence. The parliament was dissolved by the government, although this meant the last general representation for the whole Empire. The larger part of the press was constantly complaining of the lack of national harmony, attacking the government for its weakness, and using a more and more threatening language against the Sultan and his despotic designs. Some big scandals in which two or three cabinet members were directly involved also were disclosed. The government could not establish a censorship, because it was unconstitutional. One of the main causes of agitation against the Union and Progress Party had been its unconstitutional censorship. The new government, which had the natural ambition of acting exactly contrary to their predecessors, did not dare to establish a censorship. The Allied missions came to their help. In December, 1918, an interallied censorship was established, both for the purpose of safeguarding the military interests of the Allied Powers and at the same time of checking publications of a nature to create new interracial animosities. Although this censorship was contrary to the spirit of the armistice, the Turkish Government, instead of objecting to it, tried only to take advantage of it for its own ends. The censorship was very arbitrary, it had no working principles, no definite aims, no leadership. It never discussed matters; it only dictated and ordered. It imposed hard punishments for the slightest offenses. Not only infractions of the rules, but also the mere sending in of undesired news items created liability to punish-

ment. As the British, French and Italian officers had charge of the control by turns, the political tendency of the censorship and the special interests concerned changed from day to day.

This extraordinary rôle, gradually assumed by the Allied Powers on the press and certain other branches of the public life, had a disintegrating effect on everything Turkish. The country had been making preparations for peace. Political powers were given to those who had taken a flattering attitude towards one or more of the Allied Powers, which resulted in advantage being taken of the situation to create an atmosphere of terror to their enemies. In January, 1919, wholesale political arrests were started, not with a reasonable plan to pay for past wrongs and to punish the guilty, but merely to satisfy political passions. At the beginning of March, 1919, this tendency was accentuated, when an extremist party government came to power. The papers with national aims were at once silenced, and two of the editors exiled. Party passions were so strong that there was hardly any trace in the public life of any anxiety or concern about the future of the country. All organizations interesting themselves in propaganda work relative to the further introduction of foreign languages were suppressed. The head of the National Congress was exiled to Kutaya. The responsible government of Turkey was really leading the country to a natural death, anticipating the deadly blow of the peace treaty. Without the occupation of Smyrna by Greeks, the Turkish nation would have hardly found a possibility of saving itself from the increasing apathy and the loss of national consciousness. The happenings in Smyrna stirred up so much indignation that the interallied censorship judged it a better policy to allow the press free expression. Violent public meetings took as their main theme the Fourteen Points of President Wilson. All the

papers had agreed to publish, simultaneously, in staring headlines, the Twelfth Point, considered the only hope for Turkey. As early as December, 1918, practically the entire Turkish press favored the idea of establishing a "Turkish Wilsonian League;" and then to invoke American assistance and guidance for regenerating Turkey.

When the agitation in the interior threatened to become too violent, the central government tried to check it. It was too late. The interior country assumed a defiant attitude which gave rise both to local resistance against the Greek advance in the western Anatolian districts, and to a general nationalistic movement against the peace treaty in the eastern districts. The press of Constantinople sympathized with these activities, but under the interallied censorship had now lost its former importance in Anatolia. There appeared several nationalistic organs in the interior which gave all the news, even if they might be considered of doubtful origin and fantastic character; they commented upon the situation in a most aggressive and violent tone. In January, 1920, the parliamentary elections were finished at last. There was now a representative body which could speak in the name of the country and formulate the minimum peace aims of Turkey. The situation was now well in hand from the Turkish national point of view. All the efforts were concentrated on the peace problems. Most of the Turkish papers in Constantinople were acting in a concerted way for national ends.

Of course, this could hardly be in the interest of the Powers which had in mind an unacceptable peace, which could be dictated only to a disunited, disintegrating Turkey, too weak to resist, and lacking a national consciousness. To prepare for the peace, a violent propaganda was set going about fresh Armenian troubles in Cilicia, but the Turkish press was forbidden even to mention

the matter; while the papers published in non-Turkish languages were allowed to use the most abusive language. The Ottoman Press Association protested violently against this attitude. The propaganda was also designed to provide the proper atmosphere for the military occupation of Constantinople. The occupation took place on March 16, 1920. The supposed leaders of thought and action, including Turkish editors, were then arrested by the British authorities and exiled to Malta as political hostages.

Since that time, there has been a complete break—virtually a state of war—between the capital and the interior. After the occupation of Constantinople, three of the papers with nationalistic tendencies (*Tasviri-Efkiar*, *Ifham*, *Yeni-Gun*) were suspended. The *Vakit*, *Ileri* and the *Aksham* continued to be published as mere news sheets. The *Peyam-Sabah* and *Alemdar*, on the contrary, found now a very favorable situation to express their opinions. A new successful pictorial daily came out of the office of the humoristic weekly, the *Diken* (Thorn). Since the most interesting political events could not be touched upon, all attention had to be given to feature stories. A newspaper appearing as an illustrated daily magazine easily could succeed. The Constantinople papers, which ordinarily satisfied the thirst for news even in far-off districts, were not allowed to go outside. For this reason, the interior of the country developed more and more its own press.

Speaking generally, the Turkish press is technically and intrinsically the best developed branch of Turkish public life. It gives news, it stimulates, it advises, it directs. One can hear statesmen in responsible positions saying: "We could not help it. The press did not do its duty of stimulation and guidance in this matter." Strangely enough, the same persons are sometimes responsible for complete suppression of the freedom of dis-

cussion. The public, also, on every question, places a large share of blame on the press, which has consequently many enemies, but, nevertheless, has a magical influence on both the educated classes and the masses. The reading public is small, but select. Therefore, the literary and moral standard of the press is relatively high. The newspaper editor is honored in the community, and is supposed to have great capabilities. The new type of journalist takes a great interest in his profession, and does not consider it a mere stepping stone for political success. Among the best features of most Turkish papers is the fact that they are owned by their editors, and that the business side is subordinated. There are few papers controlled by financial or political interests. Most of the papers profess to be, and to some extent are, independent national organs. As it was clearly proved during the war and since the armistice, the great majority of the papers cannot be influenced with money, especially foreign money. The editorial and news columns are generally untainted, and a certain selection is exercised even in the advertising columns.

Although the papers depend mostly on circulation and advertisements for their income, these business departments have a primitive organization. No paper has its own means of distribution; each copy is sold to any news vender who calls to the office and pays cash. A reduction of 25 per cent in the printed price is allowed agents. There are, however, wholesale dealers covering every part of the city, who handle and transport and then resell the paper to news boys. Outside of the tobacco shops there are no news stands. With a more efficient way of distribution the papers could easily gain 50 per cent in circulation. Street signs and other conspicuous methods to increase circulation are not popular with the readers. They often create the opposite effect. Prize distribution has also proved a failure. As a rule, papers which fol-

low conservative advertising methods are preferred by the public.

The circulation of every paper fluctuates widely. A good "scoop," a special article, a feature story by a popular writer, a serial publication of a good novel—especially by a good native writer—may prove a great success. The circulation changes with political activities. Violent personal attacks and polemics which, ten years ago, helped circulation, now, normally speaking, have a strong detrimental effect. The people, so heavily tried after many national misfortunes, take more interest in issues than in personalities.

As a result of competition in late years, the papers have greatly changed their make-up. The expression of opinion is now confined to editorial columns. Commentaries in the news columns have almost died out. Even the most unpleasant and adverse news is published, receiving position and display according to its value. Uniform headlines and display type have become the rule. In addition, almost every daily publishes regularly pictures, maps, sketches or cartoons on its first page. News of accidents, crimes and scandals, which were dealt with formerly in a few lines without headline, are appearing even on the first page with proportionate display. Foreign press dispatches dealing with Turkish affairs, internal politics, and news on national organizations of an economical and social character receive a great deal of attention. Since newsprint paper must be imported from abroad, and as the exchange rate with countries furnishing the supply is very unfavorable, the papers are reduced in size. Nevertheless, they are expected to publish feature stories and a serial. Foreign news is obtained from the bulletins of the telegraphic agencies, and from foreign papers. At present there are no professional correspondents in foreign news centers. Occasional work is accorded by students and other Turkish residents in for-



Courtesy Sebah & Joaillier

A Characteristic Turkish Butcher Shop.



Courtesy Sebah & Joaillier

A Well-appointed Shopping Street, Devoted Largely to Pottery Wares, in Anatolia.

eign countries. News service from the interior is rudimentary and incomplete. Although some of the provincial dailies have a large private telegraphic service from Constantinople, the dailies in Constantinople receive news only from occasional correspondents, or reprint from the provincial press. The Turkish national telegraphic agency which transmits news to the interior gets very little from there in return.

The news service in the capital is much better organized. Most of the reporters are graduates or students of the Turkish University and possess knowledge of one or more foreign languages. The reporters receive a monthly payment ranging between twenty and sixty Turkish pounds (\$88 and \$264). The "free lance," paid by the line, has made his appearance in late years, and has proved in many instances a success. On the staff of most papers, there are those who can translate French, English, German, Greek, Armenian, and Arabic, and sometimes Italian, Russian, and Persian. Formerly after the French system, all the foreign articles went through the hands of a *secrétaire de rédaction*. Now the functions of the *secrétaire* is increasingly divided between a news editor, a man in charge of make-up, and the person looking after feature stories, fiction and special articles. The editor-in-chief takes care mainly of the editorial columns, writing daily editorials which appear over his signature.

The advertising columns are gaining more and more in importance.¹ In view of the limited size of all papers,

¹ On the subject of advertising in Constantinople newspapers, the writer (E. G. M.) had an article in *Commerce Reports*, October 30, 1920, which depicted briefly the conditions at that time:—

"The population of Constantinople is very cosmopolitan. All the foreigners speak their own language and read their own newspapers. In order to reach the public in general, advertisements should be published in newspapers of at least four languages. However, the best results are obtained by publication in Turkish newspapers, for on the one hand the Turkish population is most numerous, and on the other the Turkish reader is more

it is now very easy to fill the space available for advertisements. The latter are either brought to the office directly or sent through an outside bureau. No soliciting of any kind is attempted. The papers are anxious to get government advertisements. Formerly, the round sums paid annually by banks and other companies for advertisements were necessary for the very existence of the papers, even though these sums meant a restriction of certain possible criticism. Now the running expenses of the paper are so high that these yearly payments are relatively unimportant.

Although five Turkish and two Greek papers possess modern rotating presses, most of the papers, because of the limited circulation, are using simple flat-bed printing presses. Owing to the irregularity of the communication with the interior, circulation in the provinces is small. Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Hejaz, Albania, Western Thrace, Macedonia, Bulgaria, which are very good fields for Turkish papers, are closed for the time being. Besides, the great mortality in the army, including thousands of well educated reserve officers, has meant a great loss in the ranks of the reading public. With the return of normal conditions, it is hoped and expected that the former outside sales may be resumed. Considerable importance is also attached to a recent rapid movement which has established the Turkish Turkish as the standard Turkish written language in Russia. Many newspaper owners claim that the future business success of their organs is dependent upon reaching effectively the

susceptible to the claims of advertisements than are Europeans and Armenians. It has been found by experience that advertising in newspapers gives very good results in Constantinople, especially if it be pushed vigorously. No advertising is carried as yet on tramcars. Street advertising is not protected by law and cannot be recommended to foreign concerns. All things considered, it is better to use the newspapers as a medium for publicity. The circulation of printed newspapers is not very great, but in spite of that advertising therein yields excellent results. French newspapers have an approximate issue of 6,000 to 8,000; Greek, 4,000 to 12,000; Armenian, 4,000 to 8,000; and Turkish, 10,000 to 15,000."

Turkish reading public in the former Russian provinces, especially the Caucasus.

Typesetting is still done by hand. Although successful experiments with linotypes have been made for the Turkish language, they are not yet in use in newspaper offices. In view of the fluctuating circulation, it becomes sometimes very hard to find the desired number of typesetters (who are relatively well organized). Although Turkey lacks legislation to protect labor, this organization of workers has succeeded in compelling employers to pay indemnities to discharged typesetters, to provide regular pay when the paper is suspended by the censorship, and to obtaining help in case of sickness and other emergencies. In 1917, the newspapers had to pay 27 Turkish pounds (\$118.80) weekly for typesetting. In the summer of 1920, this figure rose to 175 pounds (\$140, considering the Turkish pound worth now actually 80 cents), an increase of 550 per cent in terms of local currency. During the same period the wages of the journalists employed by the same papers rose only 200 per cent. The journalists also had a syndicate, but this did not prove successful.

Valuable results have been accomplished by the Ottoman Press Association, a body which aims to defend the rights of the press against the Government, to raise the moral standard of the press, to maintain comradeship and tolerance among journalists, to act as an arbitrator in professional conflicts, and to represent the press as a whole. It has offices and social rooms on the Avenue of the Sublime Porte, where most of the newspaper offices are located.

CHAPTER XXI

THE YOUNG TURK MOVEMENT

By SALIH KERAMETT BEY¹

Assurance is fatal and contemptible unless it is founded on self-knowledge.

—GEORGE SANTAYANA, "Character and Opinion in the United States."

Introduction

On July 24, 1908, the Young Turks, under the name of the "Committee of Union and Progress," brought about a bloodless revolution against the hated Sultan Abdul Hamid II, which resulted the following year in his permanent exile at Salonika. This series of events was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm by most peoples within Turkey as well as by those outside. Only a few of the Sultan's personal followers were distressed at the sudden changes. The early flood of book and magazine articles emanating from impartial authorities were almost uniformly optimistic regarding a reformed Turkey. The new leaders, however, mostly Macedonian Jews, soon perceived that their sweeping reforms were more suited to the West than to the East. The atmosphere of Paris had made them forget the true character of conditions in

¹ Born at Constantinople, 1885. Graduated from the Lycée of the Galata Serai with the degree of bachelor of arts and sciences, 1903. Graduated from the Higher School of Agriculture at Halki, 1907. Employed in the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt, 1907-1909. Inspector of Studies in the Lycée of Galata Serai, 1909-1910. Tutor to Prince Omer Faruk, 1910-1915. Attended Institute of Scientific Agriculture at Vienna, 1910-1915. Attaché to the Turkish Embassy at Vienna, 1916-1919. Registered in the Political and Economic Sciences at the University of Vienna, 1916-1919. Professor of Turkish at Robert College since the year 1919; and also in December 1923, Private Secretary to his Majesty, the Khalif.

Turkey. The groups of Young Turks in Turkey and outside had little contact with each other, due to the almost perfect censorship practiced by the Sultan. In a short time the Young Turks gave evidence of their inexperience as well as their lack of intelligence for constructive leadership. An autocratic monarchy was succeeded by a like autocratic oligarchy.

The Old Turks left alone religious and race questions. The Young Turks adopted the meddling policy of the Turkification by force of non-Turkish nationalities. The Young Turks endeavored to impose their language, and also universal compulsory military service. Their ideals of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" were too far advanced. (Dr. Nazim at Paris denied entirely the importance of the race question.) Their surprisingly easy victory made their leaders overconfident, childish, impetuous and autocratic. Notwithstanding the flight of its leaders in 1918, there is an important nucleus of the "C. U. P." left in Turkey, especially in Constantinople. This group has not thus far asserted open political opposition to the Defense of Rights (Kemalist) Party, although its members are not sympathetic towards the adoption of many recent innovations of the newer progressive movement.

The Turkish Republic is the latest stage of the Young Turk Movement.

The Young Turk Movement

The expression "Young Turk," as opposed to Old or Conservative Turk, means merely "Liberal Turk." Although age in no way distinguishes the two, it is natural that the Liberals should recruit their ranks, for the most part, among the intellectual youth. The century-old decadence of the Ottoman Empire, accelerated in the course of the nineteenth century, had engendered among the enlightened Turkish patriots a movement of dissatis-

faction. This new spirit developed as the vexations increased, and became accentuated near the end of the reign of the Sultan Abdul Aziz. The opposition of enlightened minds to governmental abuses received the name of the "Young Turk Movement."

The bankruptcy of the State in 1875, and the national upheavals in the Balkans, accompanied by grave political complications which prepared the way for foreign intervention, profoundly moved these Turkish patriots who were awake to the situation. They were convinced that all these evils were due to autocracy, and could be remedied only by suppressing absolutism. Convinced that it was psychologically impossible to induce the Sultan to adapt himself to new conditions, the reform statesmen resorted to force and dethroned him in the year 1876. They hoped from his successor, Murad V, the realization of this fundamental reform, but were disappointed. The mental trouble of the new Sultan, in consequence of the tragic death of his uncle, did not permit this. Therefore, they were obliged to depose him also, after a reign of three months. According to the law of succession to the throne, he was succeeded by the oldest male survivor of the dynasty: in this case, by his younger brother, Abdul Hamid II. It was from the latter that Midhat Pasha, then political chief of "Young Turkey," finally obtained the promulgation of a fundamental law intended to institute a constitutional régime throughout Turkey. The solemn promises of reform made in 1839 and 1856, had remained to a great extent sterile owing to lack of national control. In the minds of its authors, the Constitution granted December 23, 1876 should have precisely filled this gap, thus assuring the conscientious and uninterrupted execution of the reforms so often promised.

This is what would probably have occurred if the stubborn and crafty resistance of the sovereign from the be-

ginning had not hindered it. His autocratic temperament, however, made him very jealous of his power, as well as profoundly hostile to any attempt at effective control. In consequence, he systematically checked all efforts tending to this end and for this purpose took advantage, without scruple, of the political crisis in which the State was involved.

At the conference of ambassadors at Constantinople large concessions were proposed in order to quiet the national revolts in the Balkans. But the Sultan's council rejected them on January 18, 1877, declaring them incompatible with the Constitution. A few days later, the Sultan dismissed and exiled Midhat Pasha, claiming that this minister was unsuccessful in the execution of this fundamental law. The reason for this was very simple. The prime minister, whose patience with respect to the inveterate hostility of the sovereign was exhausted, had actually written to the Sultan that the Constitution must not remain a dead letter, and that in promulgating it there had been no other purpose than abolishing absolutism. He indicated to the sovereign his rights and duties, defining and establishing those of the ministers, assuring complete liberty to the nation, and thus uplifting the country by a common effort. The political result of this tyrannical action of the Sultan was not long in appearing. The Marquis of Salisbury, replying to a question raised in the House of Commons, declared in effect, February 20, 1877, that in Turkey there was neither aristocracy, nor governing class, nor organized democracy, nor representative government. It was in itself a complete indictment, of which later events bore testimony to the wisdom of this English statesman.

Aside from the deplorable effect of the arbitrary measure above mentioned, the constitutional proclamation itself had been received in Russia with the most skeptical reserve. The inspired echo of it is found in the press of

the period, which evidently reflected the opinion of influential and pan-Slavic circles. Thus, at the moment when the subversive propaganda of the Russian political emissaries in the Balkans became more and more pernicious, though the only rival Great Power still capable by its "splendid isolation" of intervening in favor of the reformist intentions of the Turkish Government was Great Britain, yet Abdul Hamid did not hesitate to alienate the progressive sympathies of the English rulers (still disposed to give full credit to constitutional promises on the strength of the favorable testimony which Sir Henry Elliot, the ambassador from England to Constantinople, rendered with regard to the sincere liberalism and the constructive work of Midhat Pasha and his collaborators).

This selfish and blind policy of the Sultan, tending solely to affirm his despotic authority to the detriment of the vital interests of his Empire, was not long in producing its disastrous effects. Although he sought craftily to give to his arbitrary encroachments some semblance of justification, and convoked the Ottoman Parliament on March 19, 1877, to deceive public opinion, this hypocritical dramatic trick no longer influenced the course of events which continued to move on in conformity with the diplomatic factors which determined them. On April 24, 1877, Russia declared war. On February 13, 1878, the British fleet passed through the Dardanelles. The next day the Ottoman Parliament was dissolved by order of the Sultan. It was not destined to be convoked again until thirty years later. Thus, the reform effort of Midhat Pasha had failed miserably, due on the one hand to the opposition of uneasy autocracy, and on the other hand to the concerted pressure of foreign ambitions.

It could not have succeeded even if it had victoriously resisted these hostile influences; the average culture of

the mass of the people was still too little developed to defend needed reforms. As a result, the movement was dormant for a short period and soon disappeared, leaving only regrets in the hearts of enlightened patriots.

That which followed was merely the inevitable psychological consequence. Abdul Hamid II, thus freed from troublesome constitutional restraints, adapted himself readily to the exigencies resulting from the military catastrophe, and capitulated on March 3, 1878, giving his consent to the Treaty of San Stefano. This was more than sufficient to condemn him for all time in the eyes of all those who, in this terrible debacle, retained sufficiently sound judgment to penetrate his personal and base motives. Seldom, in fact, had people suffered a more profound disappointment. Hopes disappeared of a Turkey, elevated to the rank of great European powers, possessing a formidable fleet and an army commanding respect, guided by the liberal tendencies and reform measures of the leaders, Rachid, Ali, Fuad and Midhat. These dreams vanished in an instant and he who, by deliberately rejecting national representation, had assumed alone full responsibility for it, exposed himself in this way to the consequences of this profound disappointment.

Ali Suavi Effendi, an enlightened theologian, endeavored on May 20, 1878, to deliver from prison Sultan Murad V, who was then living in seclusion in a palace on the shores of the Bosphorus, where he had now recovered his health. The purpose of the *coup d'état* was to restore to him the throne which belonged to him rightfully. This daring attempt, which took the form of a bold assault failed, owing to the vigilance of agents commanding the guard; and Abdul Hamid escaped with a nervous shock which helped materially to develop in him that fear of plots and that abnormal anxiety as to his personal safety which characterized the rest of his reign.

After the Treaty of Berlin had been signed, the Sultan deemed it advisable, on the day following his first dismemberment of his Empire, to keep public opinion in his country occupied with the trial of Suleiman Pasha, who had been held responsible for the military defeats. He believed that he could disguise in this way the disastrous effects of his arbitrary interventions. And as the English fleet continued its stay in the Sea of Marmora, he accepted on October 24, 1878, the reforms demanded by the British Government, which wished to avoid in this way latent complications and the necessity of keeping the pledges made as a result of the Convention of Cyprus. At that period English diplomacy appears to have hoped for the realization of the most urgent reforms, and a year later, in November, 1879, tried, by a naval demonstration, to assure the execution of the promised reforms. But once more it obtained only promises, which led to a change in British tactics for the purpose of coming to an agreement with other nations, thus preparing the way for the occupation of Egypt. English diplomacy was concerned chiefly with maintaining communications with the Indies across the western basin of the Mediterranean. Discounting, with customary discernment, the chances of effective help from Turkey against its great Asiatic rival, Russia, it foresaw from the beginning the final bankruptcy of the Hamid régime, and from the first decided on an effective seizure of the Suez route. And while this grave change of policy was taking place, the Sultan concerned himself only with the consolidation of his own position, he thought only of definitely eliminating all danger which might come from the side of the liberals, and furthermore, he had Midhat Pasha accused of regicide, going even so far as to have him imprisoned in 1881 and strangled to death in 1884.

In this way he hoped to inspire his political adversaries with a paralyzing terror, and by this course he

appeared to have succeeded for some time. The friends of reform, routed by perfidious accusations and hypocritical defenses, and discouraged by the abuses of their own government and the encroachments of foreign powers, put aside temporarily all thought of resistance. Those who could not submit without complaint preferred to exile themselves voluntarily and take refuge in Switzerland, in France, or in England. Others resigned themselves, suffered, and waited. But the administrative and political disorganization continued only to weaken the nation. This truce of bewilderment and discouragement lasted approximately ten years.

In 1894 the Armenian disturbances at Sassoun drew general attention to the disastrous consequences of this state of things; from that time, revolts followed one after another—in September, 1895, at Constantinople, two months later at Diarbekr, in June, 1895, at Van, and two months later again at Constantinople. National aspirations, revived by revolutionary propaganda, tried in this way to bring on intervention by the Great Powers, basing their demands on Articles 21, 23, 61, and 62 of the Treaty of Berlin, which conferred the right to intervene in Turkish domestic affairs. Even these violent efforts did not yet attain the political results aimed at; they did have a considerable influence in Turkish circles, where alarm was felt at this imminent danger. On the 16th of November, 1895, the Ottoman constitutional party published abroad a ringing proclamation, demanding reforms from the Sultan. Excitement spread in the capital, and shortly afterward (in September, 1896), the famous occupation of the Ottoman Bank took place. In Constantinople the Young Turks were arrested *en masse*. On the sixth day of December the Liberal Ottoman committee published abroad a new political manifesto, demanding that the constitution of 1876 be put into effect. There followed almost unceasing violent attacks, demands at

the foreign embassies for intervention, elaborate propaganda in the interior provinces, merciless deportation of the liberals, recrudescence of political espionage, and systematic repression.

The deep-seated suspicion of the Sultan accentuated under the reaction of these nervous shocks, and especially under the pernicious influence of the vast spy system with which he had surrounded himself, gave him a morbid anxiety and monomania on the subject of treason. As a result, he chose, as members of his immediate following, those persons who gave him the most incontestable proofs of blind servility. Naturally, these people could be recruited only from the ranks of those who were narrow-minded or corrupt or both. It is not at all astonishing that under these conditions, the ignoble camarilla, exploiting unceasingly the master's morbid terror of plots (largely imaginary) directed against the security of his person and his reign, should have incited him to more and more arbitrary acts, and to harsher repressions. These very excesses paved the way for decisive liberal action.

Several propaganda committees were organized within the country and abroad. That of "Union and Progress" was established in 1896 within the faculty of medicine at the Turkish University at Constantinople, but its founders soon found themselves obliged to go into voluntary exile abroad in order to escape the terrible fate reserved for the Young Turks who fell into the hands of the secret police. The League of Personal Initiative and of Administrative Decentralization, which later operated in France, possessed a vitality superior to that of the preceding organization, and rose considerably above it due to the strong intellectual tone of its political and social program. A multitude of propaganda organs sprang up at the same time, and the Young Turk journals published at Cairo, Geneva, Paris and London were disseminated

throughout the Ottoman Empire, despite the most vigilant secret surveillance, through foreign post offices which were free from the investigations of censors.

But the most energetic impulse to the liberal cause came from the political situation, growing ever more threatening. The permanent dissolution of the Empire was accelerated. Despite the Turkish armies, Tunis, Egypt, Eastern Rumaili and Crete had virtually been detached from the Empire. New Macedonian upheavals continued to threaten the peace. To the covetousness of the Great Powers was added that of the adjacent Balkan States, and the Near Eastern question assumed even greater difficulties.

The end of the nineteenth century is marked by a return to imperialistic designs, the intolerable pressure of which was soon felt in its principal field of exploitation, the Near East. To England's proposition of an agreement based on a division of the Ottoman Empire into zones of economic influence, Germany presented her policy of peaceful penetration and obtained the concession of the Baghdad Railway. The antagonism of these two principal imperialistic tendencies regarding the land route to India marks one of the starting points of a more or less hidden issue which was to be settled on the same ground, in open combat, fifteen years later.

An analogous and not less virulent rivalry existed in the Balkans where the Teutons sought to hold and even consolidate their position against Slavic expansion. By the Muztef agreement relative to the maintenance of the integrity of Turkish possessions, Austria began to defend herself in Macedonia, where joint control with Russia created a state of alarming uneasiness especially propitious to the revolutionary propaganda of the Young Turks. It was particularly in the military garrisons, where those intelligent young officers, whom the central government considered it prudent to remove from the

capital, found themselves thus united in homogeneous groups. Ordinarily assigned to the pursuit of revolutionary bands, they were directly exposed to the worst consequences of the arbitrary régime from which the country was suffering. The common dread of the future united them still closer, and the first secret military organization, a committee of public safety, was organized in Scutari, Albania, shortly after the conclusion of the Austro-Russian agreement.

This was the beginning of the domestic military organization which was later known under the name of the "Committee of Union and Progress." It was entirely independent of the exterior organizations and worked solely by its own methods for the realization of the common purpose. And this purpose was the restoration of the constitutional régime. According to the conviction of the directors of this movement, such a change would suffice to prevent the dismemberment of the Empire, by virtue of the administrative reforms which they promised to imitate and accomplish.

In 1907, the organization was directed from Monastir, where a considerable military garrison was then stationed. It has reached to Erzerum. Even at that period, it was not yet in touch with the Young Turk committees functioning abroad, and was obliged to transmit its communications for frequent publication in a French paper, *L'Indépendance Belge*.

The English-French entente of 1904, dealing with the question of Egypt, and the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, regulating Asiatic questions and deciding principally the fate of Persia, greatly agitated the directors of this secret organization, which now extended its action to the capital, where it contented itself by way of precaution, with a small group, the membership of which was very carefully chosen. They dimly suspected that these different agreements concerned indirectly the fate

of their own country, and discovered a year later the confirmation of this suspicion. They then took an active initiative in the liberal movement, soon forcing the Sultan to proclaim the constitutional act of July 23, 1908.

The unexpected success, which almost in a day crowned this bloodless revolution, was a surprise to everyone. Those who had participated in the movement could scarcely believe their eyes and still hesitated to unmask themselves. They had no confidence in the sincerity of this sudden decision and they expected a reaction. The Young Turks abroad were, if possible, still more astonished at this sudden disappearance of the absolutism which had so long and heavily weighed on the destiny of the Empire, and which burst at once, like a soap bubble.

The first stupor having passed, acclamations came from all sides. Politicians who were likely to be seriously disturbed by this change applauded the most loudly, secretly planning to take new and strategic measures in the near future. In the meantime, the Young Turks, who did not yet trust their strength and therefore did not dare to assume governmental responsibility, sought to restore the central authority, overthrown by the influence of the provincial organizations. The legislative elections took place under these conditions, and the interminable national manifestations abolished temporarily all serious governmental activity. The proclamation of the new status of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and of the independence of Bulgaria, opened up one of the difficulties of the new régime. The border states began in this way to take precautions against the possible consequences of a theoretical and inexperienced policy. Unfortunately, the directing Young Turks were without experience in administrative matters. Their profound ignorance of diplomatic combinations in action, their utopian belief in the salutary influence of the mere proclamation of the

constitution, the chauvinistic and empty character of their domestic policy continued later to furnish to all those who had ambitions to fulfill the pretext which they needed to justify their attacks.

After the insurrection of 1909 was suppressed, and the sultan Abdul Hamid was replaced on the throne by his younger brother, the Young Turk Party, which had in the meantime been reinforced by the liberals who had been working abroad for the same cause, felt itself for the first time in an undisputed position. They deliberately took in hand government affairs, but the period of administration was far from being a happy one for Turkey. The new oligarchy which thereafter presided, in the name of the party of "Union and Progress," soon discovered the discouraging difficulties of the parliamentary system, sincerely applied. Lacking the necessary breadth of view to impress everybody with the consistent justice and the benefits of an impartial liberal administration, they thought to avoid the danger by creating for themselves a blind and factitious parliamentary majority.

By this very act they condemned themselves. The parliamentary parody, which was to mask the act of absolutism, could end only in failure. Disappointments such as the Albanian, Bulgarian, Arabian and Armenian troubles at home, and the successive wars abroad beginning with 1911, followed in seemingly quick succession.

During the short intervals when the party of Union and Progress was replaced by the opposition party, there were no evidences of a better administration. Political passions were unchained, but the system of government remained the same, *viz.*, absolutism disguised as parliamentary rule. Even under this masked form, the direction of affairs becoming at times too difficult government officials dissolved one parliament after another only to order new elections more to their likings.

At the beginning of the great world conflict, which was finally to determine the fate of three empires, the party of Union and Progress was once more in power. Spoiled by the partial success of their venturesome policy during the last phase of the Balkan War, vexed by the suspicious reserve of England, whom they accused of sacrificing Turkish friendship to the Russian entente, blindly flattered by German solicitations and the prospect of a profitable military alliance, the members of the triumvirate of unhappy memory which then ruled over Turkey, made, without the slightest judgment, the most serious decisions. And then when they found themselves beset by the insurmountable difficulties which were certain to result therefrom, they played their last cards without hesitation; afterwards, when the fatal hour for Turkey finally struck, they ignominiously fled.

Thus the hopes which arose at the beginning of the Young Turk régime were not realized. Among the leading causes are the lack of social culture of the Ottoman people in general, and of the Mussulman and Turkish element in particular; the fundamental incapacity of the rulers; and the persistent bad faith of the interested powers which strengthened by their hypocritical or brutal interventions the separatist tendencies of the Slavic, Greek, or Armenian communities. But the same historical causes, which had paralyzed the execution of the repeatedly proclaimed reforms, brought on the familiar consequences again, namely, successive national insurrections, uninterrupted wars for spoils, subjugation and persecution of the vanquished, indescribable suffering and emigration of the Mussulman population—all this under the fallacious and disgusting pretense of uplifting and liberating oppressed peoples.

These ignorant and pretentious errors merely hastened the century-old decadence. Young Turkey, liberal at first, was drawn irresistibly toward a more particu-

larist conception of its destinies, which was the inevitable reaction from its administrative disappointments and the revolting effect of political aggressions. It was from the sad failure of this Ottoman entente that was born the Nationalist Movement which characterizes the present phase of the political situation.

CHAPTER XXII

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

By ALBERT HUTCHINSON PUTNEY¹

The Hens were at war with the Eagles.

When the day of battle came near, the Hens went and asked the Foxes to help them.

"We would willingly help you," replied the foxes, "if we could forget what you are, and what Eagles are."

He who enters upon a quarrel with one more powerful than himself runs a great risk, and is certain to meet with disaster.

—TURKISH FABLE.

Introduction

Despite the fact that the Ottoman Empire had existed for centuries as the sovereign nation, she was not formally admitted into the "family of nations" until the year 1856. The Great Powers, by this unprecedented action, made it appear that the status of Turkey corresponded to that of other nations, yet they accompanied this declaration with elaborate provisions for the protection of their national interests within the Empire.

The internal relations of the Ottoman Empire have always been peculiarly affected by external conditions.

¹ Born at Boston, September 28, 1872. A.B. Yale, 1893; LL.B., Boston University, 1895; D.C.L., De Pauw University; Ph.D., American University. Practiced at Boston, 1895-98; Chicago, 1899-1913; Professor, 1900-12, Dean 1904-12, Illinois College of Law; Dean Webster College of Law, June, 1912, September, 1913; Professor National University Law School, 1914-19. Chief, Division of Near Eastern Affairs, Department of State, 1913-19. Dean, School of Jurisprudence and Diplomacy, American University, Washington, 1919-24. Author: "Government in United States," 1904; "Law Library" (12 vols.), 1908; "United States Constitutional History and Law," 1908; "Currency, Banking and Exchange," 1909; "Corporations," 1909; "Principles of Political Economy," 1909; "Bar Examination Review," 1910; "Foreign Commercial Law," 1910; "Handbook of Election Laws" (with James Hamilton Lewis), 1912.

This is especially true of the Armenian question which has been made the subject of numerous outside investigations. Unfortunately, however, the only material benefits accruing to the Armenians have been liberal charity donations. The outside powers have consistently refrained from using force in their behalf. The external relations of Turkey have involved strange alliances which have been the result of the desire of one nation after another to maintain a continual shifting balance of power in Eastern Europe.

The Ottoman Empire would have crumpled to pieces centuries ago had not the jealousies of European Powers kept it together, or had the majority population of subject races combined against it. The Eastern question—in last analysis the handling of the dismembered Turkish provinces—has been kept to the fore in European diplomacy on account of the political machinations of Russia, France, Germany and Great Britain. The “divide and rule” policy consistently followed by the Turkish Government has found a ready response among one or more of the European Powers in their schemes for maintaining a “balance of power” in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. The general policy has been for one or more foreign powers to encourage the Christians living under Mohammedan rule and then to reverse their policy, abandoning them to their fate. At the present time Great Britain, Holland, Russia and France control countries numbering a total population of over 150,000,000 Mohammedans. An American historian has chronicled the inconsistent record of diplomatic events of the last one hundred years affecting the Levant.¹

¹ The history of international relations during the last hundred years shows in almost every decade the decisive influence of the question of the devolution of Mohammedan lands in the foreign policy of the Great Powers. Who can deny that the Eastern question, created by the decadence of Islam and kept in the foreground of diplomatic preoccupations by the fear of each Power that every other Power was trying “to get in on the

Whenever the non-Moslem races have made a show of independence, the Ottoman Government has curbed their initiative by means of massacres or deportation. A strange fact which occurs at once to the student of Turkish history is that it was not until the first Balkan War in 1912 that the neighboring Balkan countries, formerly a part of the Turkish Empire, formed a coalition against the Turks; and yet this coalition immediately broke down on account of the division of the spoils. Afterwards, in the second Balkan War, one of the Christian nations, Bulgaria, renewed the war in which her Christian opponents—Greece, Rumania and Serbia—welcomed Turkey as an ally. Despite the tremendous extent of the Ottoman Empire in the earlier centuries, the subject peoples made no concerted effort to abolish Turkish rule.¹

It is hopeless to attempt to prophesy Turkey's future relations with outside powers. No permanent political

ground floor" in Mohammedan countries, has been the principal factor in European alliances and European conflicts since the Congress of Vienna?

Napoleon's lack of success in holding Alexander after the Tilsit interview; the impairment of the Holy Alliance over the questions raised by the War of Greek Independence, the policy of England toward France in regard to Mohammed Ali; the Crimean War and the treaty of Paris; French intervention in Syria; Bismarck's bribe to Russia in 1870; the attitude of England and Austria toward Russia in the Turkish War of 1877 and the Congress of Berlin; Italy's entrance into the Triple Alliance after France took Tunis; the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904, with Egypt and Morocco as the principal "compensations"; the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, for which Persia paid the piper; Russia's use of her opportunity in Serbia after Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina; the effect of maritime considerations upon Italy's international relations when she found herself in Tripoli and Rhodes; the change in the attitude of the Balkan States toward one another when the Powers imposed the Albanian embargo—had these events no part in preparing and precipitating the Great War? (Herbert Adams Gibbons, "The Reconstruction of Poland and the Near East," pages 104-106.)

¹ Lord Eversley writes: "There can be little doubt that if the Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbians had combined to resist the invading Moslems, their efforts would have been successful. But, Greeks and Bulgarians, Greeks and Serbians, hated one another more than they feared and hated the Ottoman Empire. . . . Want of union of the Christian states was a main cause of the servitude of all of them for nearly five hundred years under Turkey's rule." ("The Turkish Empire," page 373.)

status can be determined upon without giving most careful consideration to the potentialities of Russia, a country with strong historic and economic claims. Future alliances involving the defeated Central Powers may also greatly change the political situation in the Near East. Any Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turanian movements will be watched with special interest.

International Relations

The dawn of the twentieth century found the Turk still maintaining a precarious hold over a portion of south-eastern Europe. His position still remained, as it had always been, a most anomalous one. After five and a half centuries of occupation the Turk continued as a stranger and an intruder.

Had the Turk been other than what he really was, he might simply have become a new nation, alongside of the other southeastern nations. Being what he was, the Turk could not do this. He could not sit down alongside of the other nations. He could not assimilate the other nations, or be assimilated by them. He could not sit down among the other nations as a constant neighbour and occasional enemy. If he came among them at all, he could come only as a ruler, and, if as a ruler, then as an oppressor.

As far as the Turks are concerned, the Turkish government is a government, though a despotic one. To the Turks the Sultan is their sovereign, the head of their nation. As members of that nation, they are his subjects. A Turk is a subject of the Sultan, if not in the sense in which an Englishman is the subject of his Queen, yet at least in the sense in which a Russian is the subject of his Emperor. But the Christian subjects of the Sultan, that is the people of the lands in which the Sultan and his Turks are encamped as strangers, so far from being the Sultan's subjects in the English sense, are not even his subjects in the Russian sense. He is not the head of their nation, but the head of a foreign nation, a nation whom they look on as their bit-

terest enemies. They are not his subjects, because he does not give them that protection which is involved in the relation of sovereign and subject, that protection which the Russian receives from his despotic sovereign no less than the Englishman from his constitutional sovereign. They are not his subjects in the English, or even in the Russian sense, because, as he gives them no protection, they owe him no allegiance. He is not their sovereign, but a stranger who holds them down by force. They are not his subjects, except in the sense of being held down by force. (E. A. Freeman, "The Ottoman Power in Europe," pages 40-41, 74.)

The continuous character of the decline of the Ottoman Power during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been graphically shown by the statement that, since the failure of the Turks before Vienna in 1683, the close of every quarter century has seen the Turkish Empire smaller in area than it was at the beginning of such quarter century. The last quarter of the nineteenth century was especially unfortunate for the Sublime Porte. While the rigid terms of the Treaty of San Stefano were somewhat ameliorated in the Treaty of Berlin, the terms of the latter treaty, nevertheless, involved heavy territorial sacrifices for Turkey. The surrender of her rights over Serbia and Montenegro, it is true, involved no loss to the Empire; perhaps the same might be said, in a somewhat modified form, with relation to the surrender of the qualified Turkish control over Moldavia and Wallachia. The remaining cessions, however, were real and grievous losses.

During this period, or before, the Ottoman Empire would have fallen, had it not been for the fact that "the Turkish power was propped up by the wicked policy of the governments of Western Europe."¹

Important, indeed, as were the results of the Berlin congress, this congress deserves to be remembered less

¹ Freeman, *op. cit.*, page 132.

for what it did, than for what it failed to do. A little wisdom, a little unselfishness among the Great Powers of Europe on this occasion might have largely solved the Near Eastern question. Firmness, wisdom and unselfishness, however, have been the characteristics which have been most uniformly wanting in the dealings of the Great Powers with the Turkish question. A small part of the subject Christians of Turkey was freed from Ottoman control, another part was transferred from the misrule of Turkey to the misrule of the Austrians and Magyars, but the great majority was left within the Ottoman Empire with no provisions in the Treaty sufficient to protect them in any way in the most elemental of human rights.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the position and outlook for the future of the Christians of Turkey was little improved, and in some respects had recently grown worse. To the tyranny of religion there had been added a still fiercer tyranny of race. The Turks had always been the most cruel of Mohammedan conquerors. To the fierce religious intolerance of Islam they had added the inherent cruelty of the Central Asiatic nomad. It was only after the Seljuk Turks had succeeded the Saracens as the rulers of the Holy Land, that the persecution of the Christians in that region reached the extreme which brought about the invasion of Crusaders from Europe. But, during all the centuries from the eleventh to the nineteenth inclusive, all persecutions by the Turks had been in the name of Islam; and the teaching of Islam is that Christians and Jews should be reduced to a position of inferiority and obliged to pay tribute, but not to be destroyed, so long as they submitted to the rule of the Moslem. The Turks were now learning, however, the ideas of Turkish nationalism and of Pan-Turanianism which were to so greatly influence the course of the Revolution of 1908, and to destroy all the

good which was expected to result therefrom. Nor had the Christians of Turkey much to hope for, from the Great Powers.

The attitude of the departments of foreign affairs in Russia, Great Britain, France, Austria, Germany and Italy toward Turkey in the early years of the twentieth century may be briefly summarized.

The position taken by Russia towards the Ottoman Empire was one of constant hostility and potential aggression; this was hereditary and natural. During the two centuries that the vast inland Empire of the Russians had fought for a proper outlet to the sea, the dream of such an outlet through the Black Sea, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles had been the one most desired of all. At the opening of the twentieth century the Russian Empire lay extended halfway around the Black Sea waiting for the opportune moment to crash through the remaining barriers in order to secure for herself an unrestricted access to the Mediterranean Sea.

The Russian Tsars, moreover, dreamed of the day when, as the successors of the Eastern Roman Emperors, they might sit on the throne at Constantinople. The Russian advance meant in the main the transfer of authority from the Ottoman Empire to the Russian Empire, not the freedom of the subject races of Turkey. In justice to Russia, however, it must be said that she had done more for the subject races of Turkey than any of the other great European powers. Russia had given freedom to the Bulgarians, had assisted in securing independence for Greece, and the position of the Armenians who had passed under the Russian rule was much better than it had been under the Turks.

The attitude of Great Britain towards the Turkish Empire can only be understood when it is remembered that the British Government has always looked at the Near Eastern situation through India-colored spectacles.

To England, the events most to be dreaded in the Near East were those which might threaten the safety of the route to India, or tend to arouse the hostility of the eighty million Indian Mohammedans. The exaggerated fears entertained by England on these two points has made her Near Eastern policy during the past century the most deplorable incident in the whole history of her foreign policy; and this is true whether such policy is criticised with respect to its morality or with respect to its intelligence.

The supposed influence which the Sultan of Turkey as Khalif could exert over Mohammedans outside the boundaries of his Empire was too slight to justify—even on the basis of selfish policy—the extremes to which various British premiers and foreign secretaries were willing to go in support of Turkish interests; while no pretense of a defense can be made for the policy which would permit the Oriental Christians to suffer the oppression of Ottoman misrule, in order that the Mohammedans of India might more readily submit to British rule.

How little Great Britain gained in India by her conduct towards Turkey is strikingly shown by the fact that the great Sepoy Rebellion in India, in which so many Mohammedans were implicated, took place immediately after the close of the Crimean War in which Great Britain had made such great exertions on behalf of Turkey.

A few of the British writers and diplomats have a truer view of the relation between the Porte and the Indian Mohammedans. Lord Sydenham, writing in the *Balkan Review*, February, 1920, said: "Turkey means nothing to the great mass of the Indian Mohammedans, and of the position of the Sultan they have no idea." He then quotes "a most able Punjab Mohammedan" as follows:

Centuries have passed since the idea of the Khalifate, which European ignorance and imagination exagger-

ates and regards as a sort of Popedom of Islam, has become practically extinct and obsolete, and if it exists at all, it only exists as a religious fiction or myth, as far as the Mohammedans of countries other than those under the Sultan of Turkey are concerned. Even in Turkey, a Khalif who is now easily made or unmade by Turkish soldiery cannot be said to be "hedged with divinity" or to possess much religious influence.

The French policy towards the Porte was an old historical one. France was the first of the nation-states of Europe (as distinguished from the earlier city-states) to have important dealings with the Ottoman sultans. From the early part of the sixteenth century when Francis I made a coalition with the Porte against Charles I of Spain, the French occupied a very privileged position in that Empire. Not only was France the first of the countries of Western Europe to become a nation-state in Turkey, but she also became recognized as the general protector of Christianity in Turkey, and on most occasions was conceded the exclusive right, among Christian powers, of representing other Christian countries. France's recent interest in Turkey has been centered in Syria. While the policy of France in the Near East was neither as certain nor as consistent as that of Russia or of Great Britain, it has, in the main, favored the upholding of Turkish authority.

The attention of Austria began to be directed towards southeastern Europe after the Prussian defeat of Austria in 1866, and the exclusion of the latter from the German Confederation. The crafty Bismarck sought to help turn Austrian attention away from German interests in the Near East field by securing the insertion in the Treaty of Berlin of the provision placing Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austrian occupation. Austria and Russia had already exchanged views on this point, how-

ever. From this time on, the Austro-Hungarian Near Eastern policy became one of grab in the Balkans: if possible, this country was willing to transfer territory from the Turkish to the Hapsburg yoke, but it was just as willing to extend its boundaries at the expense of the independent Balkan States. Any animosity which Austrian or Magyar may have felt towards the Turks was mild compared with the hatred which they felt towards the Serbian. In fact, at the opening of the twentieth century, a strange aspect of the Pan-Turanian movement was to be found in the efforts of the Magyars for a *rap-prochement* with the Turks.

The German interest in the Near East was of very recent development. Bismarck was notoriously opposed to any German interference in this region. Starting with the Triple Alliance, the idea of *Mitteuropa* (a word which was in reality intended to cover the whole region "from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf") became the key-stone of German ambitions and diplomacy.

The historians of the future will have only one harder problem to solve than that as to how Germany succeeded in deceiving her enemies in the years just preceding the outbreak of the World War. This harder problem will be to discover how Germany succeeded in deceiving her allies. In the early years of the century Germany was contemplating a more complete absorption of Turkey than even Russia had ever hoped for, but she planned to secure such an absorption not in the guise of an open enemy but under the cloak of a treacherous ally. No student of history can doubt that German success in the recent war would have been speedily followed by what would have been practically the German annexation of Turkey. In view of the many brilliant triumphs of Turkish diplomacy, it is hard to understand the Turkish blindness and stupidity on this occasion. Possibly the one contingency against which the Turks never thought of

providing was the possibility of meeting a diplomacy more dishonest than their own.

The Italians were interested in the Turkish question on account of the important Roman Catholic interests in Palestine, and on account of the ambitions of a large element in the Italian population to extend the Italian possessions in the Red Sea region or in the eastern Mediterranean. The relations between the Italians and at least two of the Balkan races were not of a cordial character. The Italian position was complicated by her membership in the Triple Alliance.

There remains to be considered the attitude of the United States towards Turkey and the Near Eastern question. The United States had acquired extraterritorial rights in Turkey by the treaty of 1830, proclaimed February 4, 1832. While the commercial and political interests of the United States in Turkey had never been large, it had exceeded all other countries, except possibly France, in the extent of its missionary and educational activities. About the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the workings of "dollar diplomacy" began to bring about a change in the policy of the United States towards Turkey, and at one time the surrender of American extraterritorial rights in Turkey in exchange for the grant of railway and mining rights in Anatolia to an American syndicate, was considered by the state department. The United States has a record of genuine sympathy in Turkey's problems, but the Government has consistently maintained the policy of refraining from using force or other forms of intervention.¹

¹"It is only the United States, standing outside all past quarrels and misunderstandings, that can act with a free hand without suspicion of selfish ambition. The United States has a great stake in Turkey—colleges, schools, hospitals and missions, created on a grandiose scale, entirely apart from, and unsupported by, their government. All has been done at private expense by unselfish individuals contributing money for what they believed to be the good of others, and seeking no return except

The news of the Turkish Revolution of 1908 came as a most pleasant surprise to the Christian nations of the world; but all too soon these nations were forced to realize that they had been still again deceived by Turkish guile, and that any real reform under Ottoman rule was an impossibility.

The Revolution was loudly proclaimed both in Turkey and throughout the world, as being both non-racial and non-religious. During the first part of the Revolution in 1908, the Committee of Union and Progress was joined by great numbers of Turks, Albanians, Bulgarians, Armenians and Greeks.

Whether the Turkish leaders were honest in their attitude at this time is a mooted question which, perhaps, can never be answered. If, however, they were sincere at this time in their protestations of belief in religious and racial equality, this attitude was a mere passing and abnormal phenomenon which soon disappeared under the combined pressure of the influence of the natural characteristics of the Turkish race and the exigencies of the current situation in Turkish politics and Moslem religion. One of the immediate causes of the Balkan wars was the attempt to Turkify Albania and Macedonia. It was in the period following the first Balkan War that the ideas of a Pan-Turanian movement began to supersede that of a Pan-Islamic movement. While the former retains all of the religious intolerance of the latter, it unites with it a racial consciousness suggested by and modeled after

in the success of the work undertaken. There is nothing in history to place on the same high level of ideal purpose. It is necessary now for the United States, in justice to its own citizens, to protect the ideals and the property of those citizens, and there is no other way of doing it except by directing the Turkish Government. Other nations, whether friendly or not to the United States, know that the United States, as a country, has practically nothing to gain from this. . . . No one trusts any concert of European Powers; and the grabbing of territory in Anatolia by them individually is dangerous to the world, unjustified by racial reasons and false to history.'—Sir W. M. Ramsay, *International Review*, April, 1919.—E. G. M.

the ideas of racial grandeur developed in Germany. The leaders of this movement endeavored to reach their goal by work along two lines: (1) by Turkification of all the non-Turkish races in the Ottoman; and (2) by agreements with all the branches of the Turko-Tartar race outside the Empire. The former attempt led to the breach between the Turkish and Arabic Mohammedans, and to the Armenian deportations of 1915; little practical work was done towards the unification of the various Turko-Tartars subdivisions until after the collapse of the Russian Empire. A further discussion of the Pan-Turanian movement will, therefore, be postponed till later in the chapter.

The danger of a Balkan war had been perceived by the Great Powers in 1908, and again in 1911. Early in 1912, the Powers began to take steps to try to prevent such a war. In January, 1912, the Russian Government brought to the attention of the English and French governments the dangers of the situation. These three governments made a joint demand upon Turkey to put down the insurgent bands and to reform the Government. By mid-summer the situation had become very critical, and Austria-Hungary, becoming alarmed, sent a note on August 14 to the other European Powers, urging: (1) "progressive decentralization" of Macedonia; (2) the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Balkans; and (3) the strengthening of Turkey.

On October 4, 1912, after both Turkey and the Balkan States had mobilized, France suggested that either all the European Powers should act jointly, or that Russia (representing the Entente) and Austria-Hungary (representing the Triple Alliance) should act in the name of all Europe. England accepted on condition that all the Powers should act in Constantinople, and that Russia and Austria should act for all at the Balkan capitals. Austria accepted with the provisos: (1) that Turkish in-

tegrity and sovereignty should be maintained; (2) that the general plan outlined in the Austro-Hungarian notes of August 14 should be followed; and (3) that the fact of the accord of the Powers should not be communicated to Turkey. France accepted these amendments and the other Powers agreed to the French program.

On October 8, 1912, an Austro-Russian joint note was presented to the governments of the different Balkan States, informing them (1) that the Powers would not permit the peace of the Balkans to be disturbed; (2) that the Powers would take in hand the question of Macedonian reforms; (3) that should war break out the Powers would not permit any change in the Balkan *status quo*; and (4) that collective action would be taken by the Powers at Constantinople. This note came too late to restrain the Balkan States: Montenegro had already declared war upon Turkey before the note was presented to that country, and the other Balkan States in their replies to the note thanked the Powers for the interest, but stated that they preferred to deal directly with Turkey. On October 10, a collective note of the Powers was delivered to the Turkish Government demanding reforms in Macedonia in accordance with the law of 1880, but this note also had no effect on the situation.

The result of the First Balkan War took by surprise all of the Great Powers of Europe. The completeness of the victory of the Balkan States made it necessary to decide at once upon the question of the disposal of the European provinces of Turkey. Under the existing conditions the Powers were compelled to acquiesce in the increase in area and population of the four Balkan States which had attacked Turkey, but it was a consent which was unwillingly and ungraciously given. German and Austro-Hungarian diplomacy at once took up the problems of how to break up the Balkan League, stir up dissensions in the Balkans, and increase the influence and

power of Germany and Austro-Hungary in that region. There were many indications that the Bulgarian attack upon the countries which had been their allies in the first Balkan War, was encouraged by the Central Powers, and that consequently the Bulgarian defeat was a severe disappointment to them.

The erection of a portion of the territories of European Turkey inhabited by Albanians into an independent Albanian State was an act of justice on the part of the Great Powers, but from the outset Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Italy were each seeking to reduce this new state to the position of a quasi sovereign state—each of the three Powers seeking to secure a controlling interest over its policy and government. The overthrow of the short-lived government of William of Wied, following the outbreak of the World War, was another blow to the diplomacy of the Central Powers; and helped to hasten the day when these Powers determined to commit to their military departments the carrying out of their Balkan and Turkish ambitions.

For a short time after August, 1914, Turkey did not declare war; but before her entrance into the war she attempted to abolish all capitulatory rights in Turkey while all the principal European countries were so completely occupied elsewhere. In view of the marked discriminations against Christians contained in the Moslem Law, and of the notorious corruption of Turkish judges, all the countries possessing extraterritorial rights in Turkey—except Germany and Austria—felt that such rights could not safely be surrendered, and refused to acquiesce in the action of Turkey.

The protests of the United States and other countries were unheeded by Turkey, which disregarded all extraterritorial and capitulatory rights during the continuance of the war. A little later Turkey, without having received any provocation, entered the war as an ally of

the Central Powers. The Turkish proclamations upon the entrance of that country into the war were as follows:

MANIFESTO OF H. I. M. THE SULTAN

To my army, To my navy:

Following the declaration of war between the great Powers, I called you to arms to defend—in case of necessity—against the enemies seeking to take advantage of circumstances to protect our government and our territories which have always been the object of illegal attacks. While we were living in armed neutrality, the Russian fleet, which was equipped to lay mines at the outlet of the Black Sea, unexpectedly opened fire on our fleet which was manœuvring. This attack was contrary to International Law and while one should expect that Russia would make amends, both the said State and her allies, the English and the French, broke off their diplomatic relations with our government in recalling their ambassadors. Immediately thereafter, Russian soldiers attacked our eastern frontier; the allied English and French fleet fired on the Dardanelles, and the English ships on Aqaba. As a result of these treacherous acts of hostility, repeated one after the other, we have been obliged to break the peace that we always wanted, to take arms to defend our legal interests in allying ourselves to Germany and Austria-Hungary.

The Russian Government has caused many territorial losses to the Imperial Government in the last three centuries. On every occasion, it has sought to destroy by war and a thousand kinds of devices, every force which would increase our national power.

The Russian, French, and English, which by their oppressive domination, bring forth groans from millions of Mohammedans attached to our Khalifate have never ceased to nourish evil intentions towards our Khalifate and they have been the cause and instigators of all the disasters that have befallen us. This, then, is the great war that we have undertaken to put an end, with God's help, to the attacks directed against

our Khalifate and against the other rights of our Empire. Thanks to him, and to the spiritual assistance of our Prophet, our fleet in the Black Sea and our brave soldiers at the Dardanelles, at Aqaba, and in the Caucasus have struck the first blow against the enemy, which increases our belief in our victory in the path of righteousness which is with us today, the countries and the armies of our enemies are crushed under the victorious feet of our allies, which tends to confirm our conviction.

My heroic soldiers!

Do not abandon for a single instance, your resolution, your energy and sacrifice in this *Holy War* which we have declared against the enemies of our beloved religion and Fatherland. Attack the enemy like lions because on your victory depends the life and protection of my Government and of 300 millions of Moslems who I have called to the great Holy War by a holy fetva.

In the masjid, the mosques, the hearts of 300 millions of innocent and oppressed Mohammedans, addressing prayers and invocations to the creator are with you.

Soldiers, my children!

The duty which is incumbent in you today has not been assumed by any army in the world. In fulfilling this duty, show that you are the descendants of the Ottoman armies which at one time made the world tremble in order that the enemy of religion and of the state may not dare to foul our sacred soil and may not be able to disturb the tranquillity of the sacred ground of Hejaz which holds the Kaaba of God and the sacred tomb of the Prophet. Show clearly the existence of a Turkish army which knows how to scorn death for their King, and which knows how to defend by arms their religion, their country and their military honor. We will come out of the Holy War, a State strong and glorious, having repaired its losses of the past. Do not

forget that you are the brothers in arms of the two most courageous and strong armies in the world with whom we march in this war.

Let those who may fall in the field of honor carry to those who before have poured out their blood for their country good news of victory. Let the sword of the surviving heroes be sharpened.

MEHMED RESHAD.

Comrades:

I communicate to you the Imperial Iradé of our well beloved Generalissimo, our glorious Khalif and Master. With the help of God, the spiritual aid of our Prophet, and with the benediction of our venerated Sultan, our army will destroy our enemies. The heroism which my brothers, the officers and soldiers have shown on sea and land until now, constitutes the greatest indication that enemies will be annihilated.

Only each officer and each soldier must not forget that the field of battle is the field of sacrifice. There, the soldier who throws himself furthest forward, the soldier who unafraid of the shrapnels and the bullets of the enemy stands up and holds firm until the end, that surely wins. History is the witness that no soldier is so tenacious and so ready for sacrifice as the Ottoman soldier. We all must remember that the spirit of the Prophet and his disciples is descended on us. Our glories await us there—what shall we do? If we wish to show that we are their true sons and to save ourselves from the curses of our descendants, let us work.

Three hundred millions of Moslems and former compatriots who groan in chains all pray for our victory. We are all mortal, but happy be they who march forward; happy are they who fall as martyrs for religion and fatherland.

Forward; always forward, because victory, glory, martyrdom, paradise, is to them who march forward. Death and shame for those who hold back. Blessed be our saints and our sacred martyrs. Long live the Sultan!

(Signed) ENVER
Vice-Generalissimo.

The manifesto of the Sultan contains the usual misstatement of facts found in the declaration made by Germany on her allies during the war. Just as Germany claimed that her invasion of Belgium was in self-defense, so the Turks claimed that the Entente Powers—who were doing everything possible to keep Turkey neutral—made an attack upon Turkey. In reality, the war was commenced by two German ships which had taken action at Constantinople in raising the Turkish flag and raiding the Russian Black Sea coast.

Perhaps the blasphemy of the Kaiser's claim of God's partnership in the murderous work carried on by Prussia's military machine during the war was strikingly exhibited in its true light by the *jihad*, or Mohammedan holy war, declared by the Sultan at the instigation of the Kaiser. The incongruity of Turkey's declaring a "holy war" which logically would have to be waged against her own allies, was such as to render the use of such measure impossible except to the Hohenzollerns. Some explanation of such a situation was necessary even for the ignorant Turk, and it was, therefore, proclaimed far and wide through Asiatic Turkey, that the Germans had become converted to Mohammedanism, and were showing the sincerity of this conversion by destroying all the Christian churches in Europe. The widely circulated pictures of the ruined Christian churches in France and Belgium seemed to the mass of the Turks conclusive evidence of the reported German conversion!

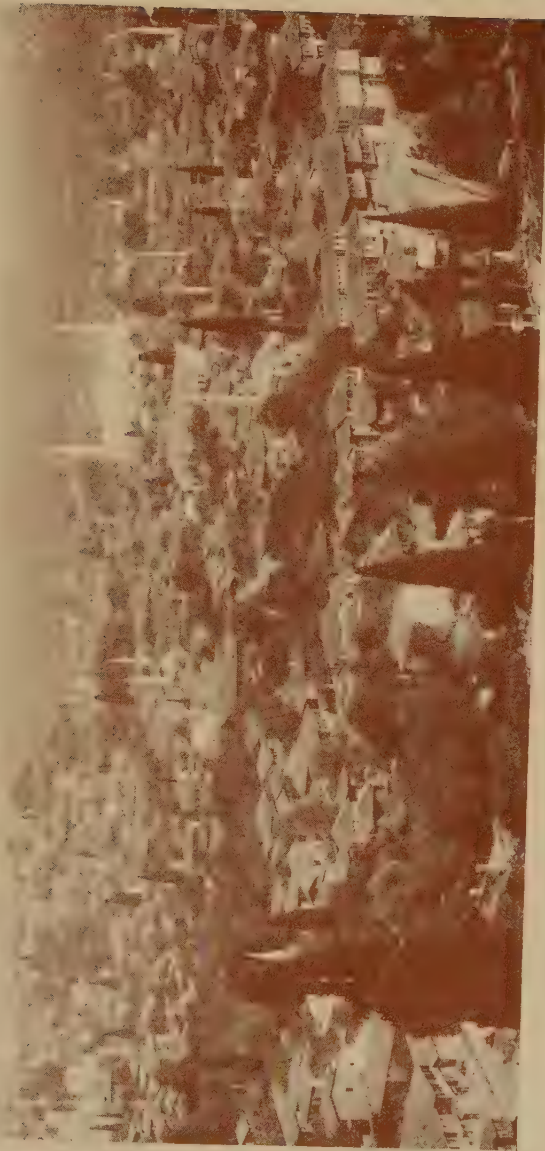
During the years 1915 and 1916 a series of secret agreements between the Entente Powers provided as to the disposition, in the event of Entente victory, of the greater part of the territories of the Turkish Empire. By the first of these agreements—the so-called Sazonof-Paleologue Agreement of March 4, 1915—Constantinople and the control of the Straits were conceded to Russia. By the London Pact of April 26, 1915, Italy was prom-

ised, *inter alia*, as the prize of her entry into the war, the Dodekanese, and a "just share" of the territory in the neighborhood of Adalia in case a partition of Turkey was decided upon. Two additional secret agreements were made in 1916. By the first of these Russia, after her successful campaign in Turkish Armenia, was promised the vilayets of Trebizond, Erzerum, Van and Bitlis; by the second—the Sykes-Picot Treaty—provisions were made for the disposal of the southern, or Arabic portions of Asiatic Turkey. These and other agreements are to be found in the Select Documents of this book.

It is not essential to this chapter to discuss the military operations of the war with which Turkey was connected, nor to consider the relative responsibility of the Germans and Turks for the Armenian deportations—in this matter there was infamy enough for all. The failure of the United States to declare war against Turkey after she had entered the war against Turkey's powerful allies will be a matter of curious interest and considerable surprise to the historians of a later day.

The relation of Turkey with other Powers was greatly influenced by the orientation of Germany's policy which became necessary in the summer and fall of 1917. By this time it was evident even to Germany, that she had failed in three of her great objectives.

The three objects here referred to were: (1) the creation of a Pan-Islamic movement which would furnish valuable military assistance to Germany, not only during the present war, but also in the fulfillment of German dreams for still greater expansion in the future; (2) the creation of a vast German colonial empire in Central Africa—a "German India"—which in the future would serve as a vast reservoir from which Germany might draw the raw material, from which German officials might build a great German colonial army; and (3) the opening of a German road to the east by the "Berlin to



The Oulu Mosque of Brusa in its Striking Setting.

Baghdad" route. The Russian collapse, however, raised the hope in Germany that the three general objects above referred to, might be accomplished in a different form. With the advertised German ability in inventing substitutes it was planned to substitute the Pan-Turanian movement for the Pan-Islamic movement; to create the "German India" in Central Asia instead of Central Africa; and to make the main German advance to the east or the north side of the Black Sea instead of south of it, substituting a "Berlin to Bukhara" route for the "Berlin to Baghdad" scheme.

These changed conditions in Russia, and the new German attitude, made the ideals of Pan-Turanianism, for the first time, seem within the realm of attainable possibilities. A report published late in 1917, by the *Intelligence Bureau, Department of Information*, British Government, discussed the situation as follows:

Pan-Turanianism, in its origin, is (a) artificial, and (b) European. The Osmanlis did not extract it for themselves from Persian literature (though they study Persian as we study Greek and Latin classics); it was offered to them from Europe, and they have not been the wooers but the wooed.

A trained philologist may be conscious of some unity of structure in all Turanian languages as contrasted with the Indo-European family, but to the uninitiated Osmanli there is no visible relation between his own language, which belongs to the Turkish group, and Magyar which is Ugro-Finnic. On the other hand the relation of the various Turkish dialects to one another is obvious to any one. It can be seen on the map in the names of rivers, mountains, and towns. The Turkish-speaking peoples stretch from Turkey in Europe through Anatolia, Transcaucasia, Northern Persia and Afghanistan, to Russian Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan, and, in a more broken chain, round the northern shores of the Black Sea, through Bulgaria, Dobruja, Crimea, the Volga provinces, and Siberia, to

the neighborhood of Arctic Ocean. They cover even a more extensive though less compact area than the Slavs, and the different Turkish dialects are as readily intelligible to all Turks as the differences in Slavonic languages are to any speaker of one of them. It was, therefore, only natural that as soon as the Ottoman Turks became linguistically conscious of their nationality, they should become conscious at the same time of their affinities with other Turkish-speaking peoples, just as the national revival of the separate Slavonic populations produced a common sense of Pan-Slavism among them.

Pan-Turanianism, then in the sense of a Pan-Turkish movement originating among the Ottoman Turks, is part and parcel of Ottoman Turkish nationalism, and can only be understood in relation to it.

During the century ending in the year 1912-13, the centre of gravity of Turkey had actually shifted from Europe to Anatolia. After 1913 there was a corresponding change in the national consciousness. The Turkish nation abandoned the tradition of being a dominant race in Europe, resolved to develop its own latent possibilities in Anatolia, and conceived the ambition of making up for lost alien subjects by attracting to itself the scattered branches of the Turkish race outside the Ottoman frontiers.

The problem of Turkish nationalism in Central Asia was infinitely remote before the Russian Revolution has made it imminent. The 'break-up' of Russia thus opens greater opportunities for Ottoman irredentism in Central Asia than in any other Turkish-speaking area. In Central Asia Pan-Turanianism and Pan-Islamism do not conflict with each other. The whole population is Turkish; the whole population is Sunni; and the present possessor is not an ancient Moslem State, but a recent Christian conqueror. If Russia vanishes as a power from Persia and Central Asia, German-Ottoman diplomacy will certainly make serious efforts to erect a Turkish-Islamic alliance of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan.

The Pan-Turanian policy reckons on the loss (at any rate temporarily) of some or all of Turkey's Arab

provinces, but hopes in compensation to build a new Turkish Empire on a Turanian basis, at Russia's expense, and in a sphere where Great Britain cannot intervene. Its first objective is the Russian Caucasus; through the Caucasus it aims at the vast Turkish-speaking populations of Russian and Turkish Central Asia; and its ultimate aspirations include southern Persia, Baluchistan, and Afghanistan. Its ambitions thus clash directly with the security of India.

The whole foreign policy of Turkey, therefore, has changed since the close of the Balkan wars. Reconciled, at least temporarily, to the loss of all European territory taken from them as the result of these wars, and also to the loss of the Arabic portion of their former Asiatic provinces, it was determined upon to counterbalance, and more than counterbalance, these losses by the union of the predominantly Turkish portion of the Ottoman Empire with the vast, though somewhat indefinite, Turko-Tartar territories in Central Asia.

The idea naturally suggested itself of the formation of a *bloc* of five Mohammedan States—Anatolia, Caucasus, Persia, Turkestan and Afghanistan—contiguous in territory and bound together in a confederation, or, at least, by strong bonds of alliance. The successful carrying out of this idea has been a strong possibility ever since the summer of 1917. The creation and maintenance of such a *bloc* would be a constant menace to Western civilization, and to everything for which it stands.

The weak link in the proposed chain (from the Turkish standpoint) is Persia. The Mohammedans of Anatolia, Caspasia, Turkestan, and most of those in Afghanistan are Sunnites. The Tartars of the eastern Caucasus are Shiites. The Turanian race predominates in Anatolia, comprises almost the entire population of Turkestan, constitutes a strong racial strain in Caspasia and Afghanistan, and can easily work in harmony with the

other Mohammedan races of the two latter countries. The Mohammedans of Persia are Shiites: the great majority do not belong to the Turanian race. The elimination of Persia would cut the proposed *bloc* completely in two, leaving Anatolia and Caucasia to the west and Turkestan and Afghanistan to the east. Here is a point where it is necessary for Pan-Turanianism to call upon Pan-Islamism to aid it in bridging over this chasm. So far all efforts to bring Persia within the orbits of Turkish agitation have failed. Even the famous conference at Baku, from which so much was expected, proved barren of results. The best hope for the accomplishment of Pan-Turanian purposes in Persia would now seem to lie either in the coercion of Persia through the development of strong military forces by her Sunnite neighbors, or in the mistakes of the Occidental nations. What Turkish propaganda failed to accomplish may easily result from the unwise interference or the callous indifference of foreign powers.

It was urged by some of the Christian inhabitants of Turkey and by students of Near Eastern politics during 1917, and perhaps as late as 1919, that a second practical method of breaking the proposed Mohammedan chain existed. A very small amount of assistance rendered to the armed bands of the Armenians and Assyrians which had been collected in the mountainous regions of northeastern Turkey, northwestern Persia and Transcaucasia might have sufficed at that time not only to have accomplished this purpose but also to have opened up a line of communication with the Cossacks and the Ukrainians, and possibly to have changed the whole course of developments in Russia. Nowhere else in the wide field of warfare might so much have been accomplished with so little aid; but the blindness of the Entente military leaders to anything not directly connected with the "West Front," caused this opportunity to be

neglected. Even the final desperate request of the Armenians and Assyrians for a small supply of arms and ammunition and a few experienced officers was refused or neglected.

At the close of the war, Turkey, in a state of collapse, was prepared to accept any terms the Powers might impose upon her. The usual lack of wisdom and the usual delays resulted in creating the existing chaotic conditions in the country.

Many different suggestions as to the part which the United States should play in the settlement of Turkish affairs were made from many different sources; but, in the end this country refused to undertake any part of the work. One proposal, which appeared to be initiated by certain large business and financial interests in this country,¹ was that there should be one mandate for all Turkey, which mandate should be given to the United States. The extensive propaganda in support of this proposal frankly advocated this kind of a mandate on the ground that it would be a profitable one for the United States, at the same time calling attention to the heavy expenses and lack of financial returns or commercial benefits which would come with the acceptance of a mandate over Armenia alone. A single mandate for all Turkey would have left the Turks as the predominating race throughout the Empire and was bitterly opposed by all the subject races of the Empire—Christian and Moslem alike. The propaganda in favor of this plan, therefore, included wholesale praise of the Turks and attacks upon the Armenians and other subject races.

The arguments used to induce the United States to accept a mandate over Armenia alone were all based upon

¹ The same conclusion was reached by the Harbord Mission and by other disinterested groups in both America and Europe. See "Report of American Military Mission to Armenia." Sixty-sixth Congress, 2d Session. *Senate Document 266*, 1920.—E. G. M.

pleas of humanity, and contained no promises of financial or commercial returns. The attitude of those supporting the Armenian mandate is well set forth by Professor William Linn Westermann in his chapter on the Armenian problem which appears in "What Really Happened at Paris," New York, 1921.

It is useless at this time to write of the Treaty of Sèvres, or to speculate as to what the future may have in store for Turkey. It may be asserted with confidence that the treaty will never be carried into effect in its original form.¹

The foregoing contribution is an historical review of international diplomacy as it had affected the Ottoman Empire during the 20th century until the dissolution of the Imperial Government. Therefore, it provides the logical background for the succeeding chapters in this book.

¹ The brilliant Col. Thomas E. Lawrence wrote in the *Sunday Times*, May 30, 1920, this strong statement: "The terms of the Turkish Treaty are admitted as impossible by those who had a hand in framing them. No account was taken of the actual conditions of the former Turkish Empire, or of the military and financial strengths of the countries devouring it. Each party making the terms considered only what it could take, or rather what could be most difficult for her neighbors to take or to refuse her, and the document is not the constitution of a new Asia, but a confession, almost an advertisement, of the greeds of the conquerors. No single clause of it will stand the test of three years' practice and it will be happier than the German Treaty only in that it will not be revised—it will be forgotten."—E. G. M.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

By ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS

It has been well said, "Man is based on Hope, he has properly no other possession but Hope; this habitation of his is called the Place of Hope."

—THOMAS CARLYLE, "French Revolution."

The Armenian question in Turkey has passed into a new phase. Not only has this former non-Moslem population been largely removed through slaughter and deportations within the prewar Ottoman Empire, and departures across the present national borders, but also a Turkish National State, with the fervent declaration of "Turkey for the Turks," has been created. Under the new order of things, there are probably not over 300,000 Armenians left in Turkey,¹ approximately half of whom are in Constantinople, while the New Turkey has been stripped and has stripped itself of former territory and population so that it now numbers not over

¹ These estimates are based upon the statements of Lord Curzon and Ismet Pasha at the first Lausanne Conference, December 12-14, 1922. Lord Curzon gave the number of Armenians as 150,000 in Constantinople and a like number in Asia Minor. Rev. G. R. Montgomery, director of the Armenian-American Society, in an interview to a representative of the *New York Times* (December 26, 1922) stated that there were 70,000 Armenian refugees in Asia Minor and 40,000 Armenian refugees in Constantinople. Apparently, these latter figures took no account of a hundred thousand or more other Armenians in the former Ottoman capital. It is doubtful whether there are now 25,000 Armenians in Asia Minor and 150,000 in Constantinople. K. Aslan ("Armenia and the Armenians from the Earliest Times until the Great War," N. Y., 1920) estimates that in 1914 the Armenians in Turkey numbered approximately 1,800,000 divided as follows,—the Armenian provinces of Anatolia 950,000, Cilicia 150,000, and other regions of the Empire 700,000.

9,000,000 inhabitants, mostly Turkish and Kurdish Moslems.

With the practical wiping out after the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) of the millet organization, or separate religious communities, more than ever before in their history the non-Moslem minorities are subject races subordinated to the unchanged conception of their ruling masters; namely, that the Turkish race is the bulwark of the State in which the non-Believer is not to be regarded as the equal of the Believer. This distinction, which in its essence is not a spiritual one, has its tradition in the writings of the Prophet Mohammed; yet the religious motive seems to be singularly missing in the all-powerful Grand National Assembly at Angora which has performed the dual act of electing the Khalif from the House of Osman and of depriving the Commander of the Faithful of all temporal power. In Turkey, the sultan is a memory. Church and State are divorced in an abrupt fashion. There are many indications that the government under the presidency of Mustafa Kemal Pasha desires to emphasize this radical turn in Turkish affairs.

To explain in brief past as well as more recent happenings in the Ottoman Empire, there is the calm judgment of a world-wide authority, the late distinguished barrister of Constantinople, Sir Edwin Pears. "The causes of the massacres in Armenia in 1894-7 were four. All of them had been in operation for years. There was first, a traditional feeling among their Moslem neighbors that they had the right to plunder Christians; second, the superior industry and thrift of the Armenians, which had enabled them to acquire land and become generally wealthier than their neighbors, who thus coveted their possessions; third, their superiority in intelligence, due to their thirst for instruction which had induced them to be less tolerant than they had formerly been of

periodical robbery and outrages upon their wives and daughters. In other words, education had fostered the desire to be free. Lastly, a series of petty persecutions by their Moslem neighbors, especially by the Kurds, and the impossibility of obtaining redress. These causes led to the emigration of many Armenians to Russia and America, and to the formation of revolutionary committees outside Turkey. In despair of obtaining redress, a few Armenians within the Empire joined these committees. These bodies gave Abdul Hamid the excuse for massacre." Sir Edwin Pears attributed the deportation during the World War to the same fundamental causes, the chief difference being that the more recent orders were carried out under higher degree of organization and with greater thoroughness.

The persecution of the Armenians during the late World War was the worst in their history as far as loss in population was concerned. The horrors of the deportations can scarcely be exaggerated. In this case, an underlying motive was the desire of the Ottoman Government to coalesce the rising Pan-Turanian movement by doing away with the Armenians who formed a barrier between the Turkish Moslems of southeastern Europe and western Asia Minor and the Tartars and Turkomans of the Caucasus and Central Asia. This idea received marked support from the Germans during the War, especially because of the failure of the Pan-Islamic drive. "It is the invention," said the late Viscount James Bryce in the House of Lords (1920), "of some German ethnologists to unite a considerable number of West Asiatic peoples who speak the same language in a common devotion to the same cause and in a common recognition of the power of the Sultan as Khalif." The Pan-Turanian movement met with little success.

The Imperial German Government did not oppose the deportations, although many German missionaries, as

well as prominent Turkish officials, such as Rahmi Bey, governor of Smyrna, were outspoken in their condemnation of this proceeding. The Ottoman Government continued the policy of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid; namely, that "the best way to get rid of the Armenian question is to get rid of the Armenians."

Another pronounced reason for the hostility of the Sublime Porte was due to the efforts made towards creating an independent Armenian State, which the Russian Tsar as well as the Turkish Sultan feared might become another Bulgaria.

It is important to understand, moreover, that the religious aspect has always been overemphasized. Lest the reader be inclined to belittle the verdict of historians, what better authority than the utterance of Viscount Bryce with reference to the Armenian slaughter (1915), in the House of Lords on October 6, 1915? To quote the version of Mr. A. J. Toynbee, in "Turkey: A Past and a Future": "There was no Moslem passion against the Armenian Christians. All was done by the will of the Government, and done not from any religious fanaticism, but simply because they wished, for reasons purely political, to get rid of a non-Moslem element which impaired the homogeneity of the Empire, and constituted an element that might not always submit to oppression. All that I have heard confirms what has already been said elsewhere, that there is no reason to believe that in this case Mussulman fanaticism came into play at all. So far as can be made out, though of course the baser natures have welcomed and used the opportunities for plunder which slaughter and deportations afford, these massacres have been viewed by the better sort of religious Moslems with horror rather than with sympathy. It would be too much to say that they have often attempted to interfere, but, at any rate, they do not seem to have shown approval of the conduct of the Turkish Government."

Not only in internal aggression but also in war, the Ottoman soldier has seldom been an outright proselyte for Islam, although he has gloried in the paradise which awaits the faithful who die under its banner. A study of the Ottoman, as distinguished from the Arab, conquests affords little evidence that the overrunning of Asia and Africa was actuated by religious motives, particularly since the conquered were already Moslems. In fact, these and subsequent military operations served to widen the accustomed gulf between the Sunni, Shiah, and other Moslem sects as exemplified by relations of the Ottoman Turks with the Arab tribes and the Persians. In their European conquests, which reached to the gates of Vienna, the invaders made no display of missionary fanaticism as the prime impulse. When Mohammed the Conqueror took Constantinople in 1453, he displayed a remarkable degree of tolerance towards the dwellers within the Queen City. In all fairness, therefore, it should be noted that the Turkish Moslem has not been known for proselyting Christians or Jews. But the much-accentuated conflict between the Crescent and the Cross is an ever-present threat possessing real potentialities, which can be used by people of every religious conviction to suit particular ends.

With regard to Turko-Armenian troubles, also, the outstanding error has been in considering the problem as wholly, or even largely, religious. This statement has been corroborated recently by personal letters from the Protestant clergy in America and Great Britain. Basically, the reason for these difficulties is economic, similar to, but far more intense than that of the relations between the Jews and the Gentiles. The Turkish Moslem has despised business, he has not been interested in making money, he adores leisure—"keif" as he calls it. The non-Moslem, notably the Armenian, has been his banker. Sir Edwin Pears has stated that a Turk and

an Armenian living side by side will, after a year's time, bring about a situation whereby the Armenian will have all the money. In my opinion it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this debtor and creditor relationship. The Turk is the more honest of the two; the Armenian is the more alert, the shrewder, and the harder worker. A perplexing problem of the new order in Turkey is the latent economic ability of the Turkish Moslems.

But the economic factor alone probably would not have disturbed markedly the lethargy of Turkish peasant or officeholder, had not the Armenians conceived the thought of their separate State, carved out of Turkey. The Turk has always been very much exercised when the question of partition has been raised. The formation of Armenian secret societies with branches abroad has aroused his wrath to action. To those who can study these forces calmly, does his attitude seem strange or abnormal? Most Americans can remember as if it were yesterday the daring scheme of the Imperial German Government to embroil Japan and Mexico into an attack upon the United States promising, if successful, a generous slice of territory in our Southern States. I wonder what the Texans would have done about it? Without pretending that there is any more than a suggestive parallel, for we must remind ourselves of the legitimate Armenian aspirations as well as the military traditions of the Ottomans, there is the universal dread of losing any part of the national domain. Without attempting in any way to excuse unpardonable acts, the writer prefers to let these conditions be recorded with a proper perspective. According to Near Eastern standards, human life is worth far less than territory.

The Armenian tragedy in Turkey is the inevitable outcome of uncontrolled propaganda. Stimulated into a sense of growing independence and of false security be-

cause of the extensive publicity in foreign countries and the successful appeals for charity, these people were led to believe that the time had come when they would be partitioned off entirely from their oppressive ruler, the Ottoman Government. (A clear distinction should be drawn between the oppressive, corrupt officials at Constantinople and the downtrodden, isolated Anatolian peasants, whether Turk or non-Turk, who are no better or no worse than most rural dwellers.) On the other hand, their well-wishers believed or were led to believe, presumably the latter, that the Armenians were sufficiently united and strong to maintain a separate existence somewhere in Asia Minor. Exaggerated population claims, a common failing in the Levant as well as elsewhere, helped to seal the doom of the race. The carefully worked-out estimates of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace gave the Moslems, largely Kurds and Turks, in the year 1914 at least sixty-eight per cent of the total population in either the larger or the smaller so-called "Turkish Armenia," with the Armenians less than twenty-four per cent in either territory. Comparative postwar percentages, on the theoretical basis that in 1920 "order will be restored so that old survivors can return," were estimated as at least seventy-five per cent Moslems and sixteen per cent or less Armenians. No official census has ever been taken in Turkey, but there is no proof for believing that these results are seriously inaccurate. Thus, publicists have been placed in the contradictory position of trying to prove the existence of mammoth numbers of killed, and also survivors. It can be said in all fairness, that this one form of propaganda, however well-intentioned, has had its quick boomerang.

But there is the more vicious type of propaganda also practiced by all races and peoples. Friendly to both Turks and Armenians, President Cyrus Hamlin of Robert College, in his book, "Among the Turks," written

half a century ago, shuddered at the possibilities of the Armenian press bureau just starting in London which was preparing to maintain a world-wide information service for telling everything bad about the Turks and everything good about the Armenians. Under such an attack, the Turks acquired their unsavory reputation among foreign peoples; while, on the other hand, the reputation of the Armenians is due in great part to reports spread, in some cases by certain missionaries, and in other cases by drawing-room sentimentalists. (Consult chapters on Racial Characteristics and on The Turkish Press.) Whoever has been in the Near East is especially aware of the meaning of the Japanese proverb, "Where hate follows hate, hate becomes eternal." The Greeks lost their wonderful opportunity after the World War due to a premature desire for territory which they have been too weak or too ill-supported to obtain. The Armenians failed to obtain their ambitions because their claims on which they had staked everything were not backed up by their friends and supporters when it came to the final test.

How long will it take minorities or weak countries to understand that in practical politics outside assistance is a mere gamble? Yet, if ever a people thought that they were well-supported from abroad, the Armenians were justly entitled to this opinion. Did not Great Britain, in accordance with the Treaty of Berlin (1878), promise to protect the Armenians and was thereby allowed to occupy and administer the Island of Cyprus as a "place of arms"? Have not Christians abroad been generous and ready to aid every appeal for financial assistance, in some cases to the point of pauperizing Armenians (as many representatives of the latter race have told me)?

At the time of the disorders in the nineties, Great Britain failed to move towards decisive action,—Lord Salisbury said that British ships could not traverse the

Taurus Mountains!—while Russia, probably as friendly to the Armenians as any power, was not interested since the sufferers were mainly Protestants and not communicants of the Orthodox Church. Few outsiders appreciate what a wide gulf there is between the Orthodox Catholic and Protestant within a single racial group. In countries where the Eastern Churches are virtually State institutions, the position of the non-Orthodox communicant is not always an enviable one. Christian tolerance is frequently absent.

The diplomacy of the Great Powers should be held largely responsible for the present condition of the Armenians. While the foreign chancelleries have nearly a perfect record in protesting to the Sublime Porte against the condition of the Armenians, it is not clear that these notes were always framed with the thought that they would result in improving the situation of the Armenian race. They have constituted threats, but unaccompanied by military force. History since the armistice of 1918 presents the same story. Despite the fact that the Armenians were military allies of the Entente, which exposed them more than ever before to antagonism from the Ottoman Government, there was no *quid pro quo*. Not only have the Allies failed to compensate them for their valuable military efforts; but worse still, the French Army in Cilicia enrolled local Armenians in their own regiments to fight against the Turks, and then by signing a separate agreement with the Nationalist Government, it abandoned them to their fate. Thus, not only during the World War but in the postwar military struggle for freedom, the Armenians revolted against and fought against their Government. To a foreigner, the Armenians would appear to be traitors, a conception, however, which is unwarranted on account of the "millet" or community system by which each religion maintained an almost separate existence within the former Empire.

What would have been the reaction in America had the German-born in America taken to arms in 1917-1918? Despite the dissimilarity in underlying conditions, there is a common war psychology. In the world conflict, the Armenians in Turkey knew that they staked their all.

To the everlasting disgrace of the Allied and Associated Powers, the Armenian question became a shuttlecock after the Turkish armistice. It was well-conceived by European diplomats and military advisers that America should nurture this proposed buffer state, which occupies one of the most difficult strategic positions of any world area. President Wilson had an influential, if small, following in the United States in connection with this plan; but his rough treatment at the hands of professional diplomats at home as well as abroad sickened the American public of further participation in world affairs. The temper of the majority of the American public on the Armenian question in 1919 was unmistakable. Pitiful, indeed, were the words of the President to Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, spoken at Paris, that in all the appeals to him "he did not find a single one, either from strong nations or weak, that contains an offer to help him or help America unreservedly or disinterestedly in applying at Paris the principles which everyone had so acclaimed as the basis of the peace."

Had the United States assumed a "mandate" for Armenia, we should have been accused of having an imperialistic motive behind all our missionary, educational, and relief work—a charge which would stand unanswered! As far as America is concerned, the proposal became a phantom following the report of the Harbord Mission, 1919-1920 (Select Document 20), sent out by President Wilson, which did not make any specific recommendation as to acceptance or rejection, but correctly stated that American troops would be required in the

early stages. This was apparently news to many Americans. Following this refusal by America to take any definite action, the Allied Powers cast the blame for world unrest on America's unwillingness to act, especially as regards an Armenian mandate, and gained further time through the action of the Supreme War Council in getting President Wilson to draw the boundaries of an Armenian State within an inadequate maximum area. And then, after the receipt of his report, it shelved the exhaustive findings without making the innocent contents public. America, nevertheless, must assume some share of the culpability. She was afraid of foreign entanglements.

Turning now to the Allies' responsibilities with reference to Armenia, we find that a surprising situation existed after October 30, 1918. Although the Mudros armistice (Select Document 14) gave the Allied troops right to occupy any part of the Ottoman Empire, the so-called Armenian vilayets in eastern Asia Minor were left to the control of Turkish irregular troops! It is absurd to explain the distribution of troops because of lack of sufficient Allied soldiers, for the British, French, Greeks, and Italians in all had over one million combatants and about as many non-combatants in prewar Ottoman territory during 1918 and 1919, supposedly to liberate the Bedouins, Kurds, Syrians, Asiatic Greeks, and the like! In Turkish Armenia at this same time there were only a few Allied political officers. On May 15, 1919, the date of the Greek landing at Smyrna, the total Turkish army numbered less than 20,000—so we are told by competent American and British observers. Yet, Lord Curzon, speaking sympathetically in the House of Commons (March 11, 1922) said: "Armenia is really an international interest, and it ought not to fall to the duty or to the charge of any individual state to be solely responsi-

ble for this people in the future. Their sufferings have touched the whole world. The obligation to restore them has been given by the first powers of the world, and it is no unhonorable thing to ask the world—and by ‘the world’ I mean the Allied Powers in the recent War—to show their interest in the future of that country.”

The plight of the Armenians was obviously not helped by the separate conflicting claims of their own race, but was certainly made even worse by the array of secret agreements between the Arabs, British, French, Italians, and Tsarist Russia. Diplomats have told me that they have been at a loss to harmonize the interests and desires of the group representing the provinces around the Turko-Russian frontier and that of the equally emphatic Cilician Armenian group. The former was represented by a noted poet, Avetis Aharonian; the latter by a prominent Egyptian landowner, Boghos Nubar Pasha. The proposal for a unified administration over Turkey, suggested by the King-Crane Mission as well as the Harbord Mission, met with bitter attacks. This solution was obviously in contravention to the self-determination idea, a Western conception which had the expressed approval of Western officialdom. The difficulties arose partly because the Armenian delegations asked for more territory than they could maintain without foreign intervention, and partly because of a clash in arriving at a solution of strategic, imperialistic, and national claims or desires on the part of the conquerors. The Allies left the peoples of Russian Armenia and of the vilayets (provinces) of Eastern Anatolia to the mercies of Bolshevik Russia and Kemalist Turkey. The Cilician Armenians were confronted with the French share in the Sykes-Picot secret treaty (1916) between Great Britain and France. France, to block British designs and to prevent possible further military reverses from the Kemalists in Cilicia, disowned her Armenian legions, and gave no further

succor to the Armenian cause;¹ within three months, all but three thousand out of one hundred and twenty thousand Armenians in Cilicia had departed. Thus ended all the confident postwar expectations of the peoples in the Entente Allied and Associated populations, the seemingly sure result of the military activities in Western Asia which prematurely promised to liberate Armenian peoples and lands from Ottoman rule. America pursued the policy of safe isolation. France, Great Britain, and Italy were otherwise engaged.

Let us close this record of writhing political and military events with the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords (on March 30, 1922): "But when we say that this matter is now left to the League of Nations, is it not really a kind of camouflage, a kind of screen to shield those who find it impracticable to fulfill the promises that they have made?—and I do not deny that it may be impracticable."

The impartial student (if such an individual can exist) testifies that prior to the reign of the "Great Assassin," Sultan Abdul Hamid II, whose mother was certainly a non-Turk and generally reported to be an Armenian, the Armenians and Turks lived side by side with surprisingly little ill-feeling. Even today, the bonds are frequently close. In the main, however, the internal and international events of the past few decades have been accompanied by a bloody record of the Turks against the Armenians.

There are bits of unimpeachable testimony of Arme-

¹ This diplomatic move was in marked contrast to the earlier intentions of the French foreign office to occupy Cilicia as an Armenian protectorate. Rev. George R. Montgomery (*Current History*, October, 1921) is authority for the statement that when M. Georges Picot was sent to Asia Minor in April, 1917, his instructions read, "In the coastal zone, which one day will be placed under your protectorate, your direction should have a more exclusive character, so as to give the population a clear intimation of the future in store for them." After the Mudros armistice, M. Picot was established at Beirut with the title of "High Commissioner of Syria and Armenia."

nian persecution of the Turk, but perhaps less organized and certainly on a far smaller scale. Only those persons who have dwelt in Turkey can realize the provocation which all local peoples have in common, but in varying degrees. They are human beings. In fact, whether or not the Armenians would have been better off had they retaliated to a greater extent no one can say with assurance. Note the following extract from the *annual report* (1919) of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: "We realize now, as never before, the impossibility of solving the question of tyranny over intolerance in Turkey. Even the Armenians are inclined to take advantage of the Turk when he has the latter in his power, and the Greek himself seems to be showing as much of an unchristian feeling towards the Moslem. How can we help inject into the minds of the millions of the Levant a spirit of tolerance and love? This is our task and a sobering one, it seems."

Briefly, the present plight of the Armenians in Turkey is this: there are very few of them left. The greater number of the more intelligent Armenians who lived in Turkey just prior to the World War have perished. Of all those who survived the years 1914-1922, several hundred thousand are in the Soviet Republic of Armenia, with its capital near Mt. Ararat. Many migrated to the Russian Kuban country and to Persia. There are approximately one hundred thousand in Syria, where they have set up stores and shops, and by their energy are being considered a "menace" by the Syrians, Jews, and foreign elements. (This is the old story, told once more.) Many influential Armenians remain in Constantinople, while the foreign colonies in western Europe and America are considerable. They are still a people "without a country," as far as Turkey is concerned.

The Treaty of Lausanne (1923), the last peace treaty arising from the World War, signed by the representa-

tives of the victorious allies and the conquered Turks, makes absolutely no mention of the Armenians as such nor of an Armenian Homeland.

At Constantinople, now a mere province instead of the Imperial Capital, there is in existence an active "L'Association d'Amitié Turko-Armenienne," designed to bring about a *rapprochement* between the Turks and the Armenians. The honorary president, a friend of mine, is Kerestegian Effendi, an influential official of the Imperial Ottoman Bank. The Turkish officials at Constantinople are members. At a recent meeting a message of greeting was read from Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The praiseworthy object of the Association is to "forgive and forget former troubles and grievances" due, as one of their speakers recently stated, "to the snare and delusion of external politics." This is in accordance with the remarks of the representative of the Armenian community, as reported to the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne (July 24, 1914): "The first essential in any society composed of different races is to establish harmony between them. The unhappy past must be forgotten. The strength and energy of the Nationalist Government has given the country complete independence. If the spirit of concord be now applied in internal administration, peace will become lasting, and the peoples will enjoy prosperity. Any attempt to disturb the security and tranquillity of the country must henceforth be exemplarily punished."

Dr. Talcott Williams makes the statement that at one time the Armenians, numbering approximately eight million, inhabited a country with an area of 200,000 square miles. Now, in their own Soviet Republic, located in former Russian territory with Erivan its capital, their name is accorded to a definitive country amounting to about 15,000 square miles with a population of 1,300,000

—similar in area to Switzerland but with only one third the latter's inhabitants. The Armenian Republic, profiting by the beneficial work mainly of American relief organizations, has sufficient seeds and agricultural implements so that it is self-supporting with respect to food requirements. Thus, in an unexpected way, the Armenians have a real National Home under their own control.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ARAB QUESTION

By ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS

I am the fish that lives in the sea. The greater the sea, the fatter the fish.

—HUSAIN IBN ALI, Grand Sherif of Meccæ

In 1914, the Arabs in the Ottoman Empire probably outnumbered the Ottoman Turks. They were the outstanding element in the southern provinces. Mutually repugnant, these two races have practically nothing in common. The two bonds, language and religion, which offer a suggestive basis for coöperation and compatibility, are of trivial practical consequence. For while the Turkish literary language is derived partly from Persian and Arabic, colloquial Turkish and the main framework of the language are Turanian, not Semitic. Not only are the vast majority of Arabs and Turks illiterate, but also rare indeed is the Arab who can understand spoken Turkish, or the Turk who can understand colloquial Arabic.¹ The ties of religion as well as of language have been much overemphasized.

Except during those intervals when Middle Eastern civilization has been threatened by outside aggression, Islam has not presented even an approach to a united

¹ Professor W. L. Westermann recounts this delightful tale of a verified occurrence in a session of the Turkish Parliament (1908-1909): "An Arab member rose suddenly in his place and droned away at a long and rambling speech in Arabic which was not understood by the majority of the members who were Turks. The speaker of the House glared at the chanting Arab long and ominously. Suddenly, he jumped to his feet, hit his desk a resounding blow and bellowed, 'Sit down, jackass!' This the Arab orator promptly did."

front. Fundamentally, the Arabs claim that the teachings of the Prophet, a dweller in the great Arabian desert, apply with less realism to inhabitants of other regions. The Turks, in objecting to the interpretations of the Koran made by the Arabs, claim that their own conception of Allah is different; and, according to Prof. A. J. Toynbee, the Committee of Union and Progress arranged for its own translations from the Arabic. Another serious consideration is that the Mohammedan world embraces numerous sects and creeds which are frequently more antagonistic to each other than to other religions. There is the leading, orthodox sect, the Sunni, with its shrines at Mecca and Al Madina; and then there are many dissenters. In the latter group are the Shiahs, with their influence radiating from the Iraqi cities of Karbala, Najaf, Kadhimain and Samarra, all of which are extremely sensitive to Persian influences. Their followers include most of the Persian and Indian Moslems, as well as a good proportion of coreligionists in the Transcaucasus, southern Iraq, and in the Yemen. Conspicuous also, is the extreme Wahabi sect which has as its center, Riyadh, in central Arabia, the stronghold of the powerful Ibn Saud, Sheikh of Nejd. The Wahabi sect, very strict in its interpretation of the Koran, is so doctrinaire as to believe that there must be no change from the original practices common in the time of the Prophet. To them, among the extreme vices are the wearing of jewels and precious stones, smoking, the use of alcoholic drinks, and any change from the days of the early khalifs regarding the position of women. Their followers have no respect for either of the two main Moslem sects, although they are somewhat less critical of the Sunni. Their place in the Arabic world is one of great importance, since Ibn Saud, the most powerful chieftain in Arabia, whose quiescence has been secured mainly through British gold, could doubtless make short

work of the so-called kingdom of Hejaz as well as of other parts of Arabia. Twice the Wahabi forces have sacked Mecca and Al Madina. In northern Africa, the Senussi sect, with its main stronghold in the oasis of Kufra in the Sahara desert, is a powerful force. This chapter, however, deals mainly with the Arabs of Western Asia.

Temperamentally, the Arab and the Turk have wholly unlike habits, customs, ideals and environment. An interesting comparison based upon a personal experience has been made by the late Sir Mark Sykes, who possessed a rare knowledge of both races:—"For once I had the opportunity of observing a perfect demonstration of the fact that the Turks are a ruling race, and in what their superiority lies. While the Arabs with me—although as faithful, hard-working men as one could wish—raved, shrieked, cursed, and flew into childish passions, were ready to give up in despair, and always required leading, the Turks were stolid, dogged, and businesslike. If one fell head over ears with his horse on the top of him, he would only grin and pass the word to the others that there was a drift to be avoided. They trudged steadily, never gave signs of fatigue, always used their judgment, gave orders to one another quietly, and never once lost their tempers. They reminded me of English soldiers who mean to accomplish a long march and have set their teeth. . . . A Turk will understand an Englishman's character much sooner than he will an Arab's; the latter is so subtle in his reasoning, so quick-witted, so argumentative and so great a master of language that he leaves the stolid Osmanli amazed and dazed, comprehending nothing."

The Arabs, a generic term of confused application at best, are incapable by themselves of forming a vast united kingdom. Most of them are too intensely tribal. There is a marked hostility between the urban and rural

communities; moreover, the city inhabitants view each other with suspicion and lack of sympathy. The real Bedouin looks with contempt upon the cultivator of the land and regards it as a disgrace for a descendant of his to intermarry with one of these toilers of the soil. A still further sharp, dividing line and a source of disunity is that drawn between the religious hierarchy and the rest of the population. In the holy cities, we find the leading centers of political, racial, and religious intrigue in the Islamic world.

The Arab has a feeling of great self-complacency; he is strikingly independent. This is due, in part, to the fact that he is an excellent physical specimen. He knows that only the strong can survive the exactions of the desert and he rests content in his very existence. Mr. Lowell Thomas quotes Col. T. E. Lawrence (*Asia*, August, 1920):—"We who have gone out to discover the meaning of the desert have found only emptiness—nothing but sand, wind, soil and empty space. The Bedouins leave behind them every extraneous comfort and go to live in the desert, in the very arms of starvation, that they may be free. The desert exacts a price for its secret. It makes the Bedouins entirely useless to their fellow men. There has never been a Bedouin prophet. On the other hand, there has never been a Semitic prophet who has not, before preaching his message, gone into the desert and caught from the desert dwellers a reflection of their belief." The self-confidence of the Arab is also due to a knowledge of, and a pride in, the brilliant traditions of his race.

In view of all these factors, the result of different environments, it is not surprising that the Arab and Turk have consistently regarded each other as foreigners, and with contempt. The Ottoman Government never had any real hold over its Arab provinces. Outside of the cities, its influence has been virtually nil. No attempt

was made to administer laws or collect taxes where the difficulties involved seemed to be unusually large. The southern lands were a constant source of irritation to the Turkish sultans, who felt impelled to send repeated expeditions of Turkish troops into the Yemen and the Hejaz. These persistent efforts to quell disturbances caused heavy fatalities to the invaders and at the same time intensified the separatist tendencies on the part not only of the Arabs but also of the Turks themselves.

In the attempts to govern the Arab provinces, the Ottoman Government pursued the policy of endeavoring to break up the strong tribal organizations. To this end, were created sheikhs or syeds (large landed proprietors) who were granted an unusual degree of local autonomy and were allowed to benefit at the expense of weaker neighbors. This scheme had the effect of causing still further dissension among the Arabs; and to that extent could be considered from the Turkish point of view partially successful. In southern Iraq, where the population is largely Shiah, the inhabitants suffered an added measure of ill-treatment. The British Foreign Office Handbook on "Turkey-in-Asia" contains this statement:—"The Bedouin element does not desire any government; the Shiahs do not desire a Sunni government; no one, except perhaps some Kurds, wants to be ruled by Turks; but all desire to be ruled by Moslems." Like most people, the Arabs believe that the less government there is, the better off they are.

Had the World War not occurred, there seems every likelihood that the Arabs would have prosecuted a vigorous rebellion in order to achieve an Arab national state. In 1914, the mutinies among the Arab officers in the Turkish army were numerous. *Plans had been carefully laid by them for extensive propaganda and military effort looking forward towards liberation from Turkish rule in the year 1923.*

When Turkey entered the World War in October, 1914, she realized that the Arabs enrolled in the Turkish army would probably constitute a negative factor; but she feared still more that her nominal subjects would seize this opportunity to pounce upon their national masters. The British were quick to sense the situation and intrigued at once with the Sherif of Mecca and other influential leaders. The basis for negotiation was some kind of an Arab independent régime, freed from the rule of the Turks. The Arabs were ready to drive the best bargain possible in return for their participation in the war, but naturally had distinct preference for an alliance with the power or powers which would give them money, a greater measure of liberty, and support of their national aspirations.

The aid of the Arabs was solicited by the British by means of subsidies and through an important series of agreements and understandings, only a few of which have seen the light of day. The most notable of these was the British arrangement with Husain ibn Ali, Grand Sherif of Mecca, whereby the latter was promised British support for a single Arab confederacy or a group of confederacies in the event of the successful prosecution of the war. (Note carefully Select Document 4.) At the Kuwait conference, which was attended by the Sheikh of Mohammerah, whose allegiance to the Shiahhs has always been shaky and whose support was necessary to make secure the southern outlet from the Anglo-Persian oil fields, the ruler of Nejd was reported to state that he believed the British policy to be that of aiding the Arab cause. Thereupon, Ibn Saud received from the British the distinction of K. C. I. E., and a liberal subsidy stated at that time to be two thousand pounds sterling monthly in gold, or its equivalent in Indian rupees, in addition to ordinary expenses. Sir Percy Cox demonstrated further his intimate knowledge of Middle Eastern affairs

by giving close attention to the Shiah holy cities in Iraq. But there was a peculiar situation in that the British Indian Office was sending arms and ammunition to Ibn Saud, while the British Foreign Office was likewise subsidizing Husain, traditional enemies, who used the means afforded to fight each other. (Consult *British Parliamentary Papers*.)

In dealing with the Arabs, both British and Turks have found that money is a mighty expedient. For example, the money supplied to the powerful Mohammerah Ali of Karbala by the British was extremely helpful in enabling him to maintain his position. Turks were also liberal with money subsidies, but apparently were not as discriminating as the British. Unfortunately for those parties which dispense funds, there is no real check over their use. Thus the Turks who treated an Arab leader, Ibn Rashid, liberally in this respect never were successful in getting him to fire a single shot against the British. In fact, it is recorded that the Turks and British alike were so disgusted with the way the Arabs continually "sat on the fence," that during a certain truce it was seriously proposed that a combined army should be formed to subdue the Bedouins!

Although the Ottoman Government gained practically no support from the Arabs, an attempt was made to enlist their help by the useful resort to an *embarras* through the declaration of the *jihād*. This appeal met with little success except where, as in the case of the unorthodox Sheikh of Mohammerah, it provided a good excuse for plunder. After the advance of the British forces to the Shatt al Arab, the Arab opposition largely disappeared, due in part to the so-called civilized methods of warfare. "As for the guns of the English," an Arab combatant is reported as saying, to quote an official British document, "they filled the air with noise, threw up the earth, and knocked down the palm trees. That Sahib, is not war."

In the eastern Mediterranean, the Turks tried to dominate the military situation by an attack on vulnerable points. The attack on the Suez Canal, however, was repulsed, chiefly due to the inadequate military preparation and to the difficulties encountered in crossing the Sinai desert. The harsh methods of Djemal (Jemal) Pasha, Turkish Minister of Marine, who was sent to Syria as military governor, caused bitter hatred against the Turks and weaned away still further any sympathy that the Arabs might have had for them. Djemal (Jemal) Pasha treated barbarously natives and foreigners alike, and in the process starved nearly one fourth of the Lebanese in their own beautiful mountains. Turkish forces, which were widely scattered in Ottoman territory in a dual endeavor to put down insurrections and to deal with foreign invaders, suffered defeats at Erzerum, Trebizond and Erzinjan at the hands of the Russian General, Grand Duke Nicholas. When German troops joined the Turkish forces, the combined army was successful in besieging the Anglo-Indian forces under Major General Townshend at Kut al Amara, and were also triumphant against the Russian army in Persia. German troops were later withdrawn to the European theatre of war. There followed military triumphs by the Anglo-Indian forces in Iraq, and with Arab assistance, in Palestine and Syria. Despite the many acts of heroism under almost intolerable land and climatic conditions, the wonderful advances of General Allenby's forces and the timely service rendered by the Arab Camel Corps under the leadership of Emir Feisal, a son of the Sherif of Mecca, military historians are virtually unanimous in stating that these Middle Eastern commitments nearly lost the war for the Entente Allies. Although Premier Lloyd George stated before the Supreme War Council in January, 1918, that there was a surplus of men and equipment that might be employed in the Levant, as later investigation proved, not

only did the British Prime Minister make the palpable error of drawing no distinction between fighting and non-fighting men but also he made the mistake of underestimating the situation on the Western European front. But for the arrival of fresh American troops in France during the spring of 1918, it is virtually certain that the woeful expenditure of soldiers, equipment and money in order to "liberate" the Arabs from Turkish rule would have produced a ghastly scandal. Major General Sir John Davidson, director of military operations at general headquarters during Sir Douglas Haig's command in France, in the *Nineteenth Century and After* (November, 1922), condemned the poor military strategy in indulging in these *petits paquets* in which the British army suffered 89,246 wounded and 48,124 killed. "It did, in fact," he said, "have the result of seriously risking our defeat in France in the spring of 1918, and was the cause of our embarking on national adventures of a costly and hazardous character in the Near and Middle East."

At the time of the Mudros Armistice (October 30, 1918), the Anglo-Indian forces had overrun the greater part of Iraq, and had entered Mosul (near ancient Nineveh) on November 8, 1923. The campaign of General Allenby's forces in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine was one of the few great Allied successes in the World War. In November, 1918, the British alone had a tremendous force in Iraq, Palestine and Syria, numbering approximately two million, counting combatants and non-combatants, which provided an exceedingly consequential factor in the military and diplomatic postwar relations between the Turks, Arabs, and the Allies.

Encouraged by the promises of the Allies, those Arabs who had fought alongside of them during the war believed that they were to secure thereby their "liberation." In the winter of 1917-1918, the leaders in Feisal's

forces, many of whom came from Baghdad, formed a secret society called the Ahd al Iraqi, the purpose of which was to attain the absolute independence of Iraq in its close federation to an equally independent Syria, to include Palestine, under the control of King Husain or some member of the Sherifian family. The Arab aspirations seemed about to be realized when in October, 1918, an Arab State headed by Emir Feisal had already been established in the Damascus-Aleppo region; it was subject only to the British army of occupation, supposed by most persons to be a temporary step which would result later in more or less complete Arab independence.

The national ambitions of the Arabs, however, became decidedly inconvenient for those Great Powers which had become parties to secret treaties during wartime. The British-Husain understanding has already been mentioned. While this arrangement has considerable justification in its effect on the winning of the war, the same cannot be said for the equally significant agreement of May 9, 1916, between the British and the French, which divided between these two countries most of the southern section of prewar Turkey, largely inhabited by Arabs. This concord, called the Sykes-Picot Agreement (Select Document 5) was named after the British and French negotiators respectively, the former a great admirer of the Arabs notwithstanding that the treaty which bears his name interferes with their hopes and desires, and M. Picot, who had served as French Consul General at Beirut. Five zones were created, roughly as follows: (1) Palestine, extending from the River Jordan to the Mediterranean, which would be internationalized; (2) Haifa, a Palestine port, and Iraq, from near Tikrit to the Persian Gulf, to be a British sphere of influence; (3) the Syrian coast from Alexandretta to Tyre, Cilicia and most of southern Armenia to be French; and (4) the interior, constituted mainly of the provinces of Aleppo,

Damascus, Deir-ez-Zon, Mosul and Urfa, to be "Independent Arab," under distinct separate British and French political influence. Unlike most persons who have expressed an opinion about these two agreements, Colonel Lawrence, that Oxford graduate who stepped from archæology into Arab diplomacy, states that he is possibly "the only informed free-lance European who sees no inconsistency or incompatibility between them: the trouble has been, he states, that the Sykes-Picot Agreement no longer satisfies the British and French governments, and taken by itself it is unworkable. "The geography of the agreement is the geography of the White Knight, and it makes a similar irruption into economics when it lays down that the Baghdad rule may not be finished till a Euphrates railway has been built!" If the published rumors are to be believed, it is not to the credit of British diplomacy that during the progress of the World War, the Sherifian Agreement was not made known to the French and the Sykes-Picot Agreement was kept secret from the Arabs.

Mention should also be made of other secret treaties, including the Partition of Asiatic Turkey (Select Document 7), according to which France, Great Britain and Russia planned to divide up practically all of Asiatic Turkey, but made allowance for the Arabic formation of an "Independent Arab State, or a Federation of Arab States." Italy, however, who had entered the war following the secret Pact of London (Select Document 3), demanded further explicit acknowledgment of her post-war claims, which were duly incorporated in the St. Jean de Maurienne Agreement (Select Document 9); this last agreement is also cited because it was a potent cause of subsequent political and military events in Turkey, even though its provisions had little reference to the Arab regions.

The declaration of Lord Balfour on November 2, 1917

(Select Document 10), in its expressed desire to create a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, thus conflicted with previous understandings. While it translated into idealistic terms the insistent demands of the Zionists which, moreover, struck a responsive chord among Christians and Jews in most parts of the world, at the same time it fitted in very well indeed with the natural British desire for additional protection for the Suez Canal. It is noteworthy that even as late as the middle of 1919, the Palestine Arabs, who make up from eighty-five to ninety per cent of the population of Palestine, apparently were not unfavorably disposed towards the Balfour declaration. Writing to Professor Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School, who represented the American Zionists, Emir Feisal referred to his close relations with Dr. Weissmann, the British Zionist leader, and made this clear statement:—"We feel that the Arabs and the Jews are cousins in race, have suffered similar irritations at the hands of powers stronger than themselves, and by happy coincidence have been about to take the first step toward the attainment of their national ideals together. We Arabs look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement." (*New York Times*, March 5, 1919.)

At the Paris Peace Conference the case of the Arabs was intrusted to Emir Feisal, who claimed to represent officially the Hejaz and also the entire Arab military forces of Syria, Iraq, Nejd, Hejaz and Yemen. With Colonel Lawrence as interpreter, Emir Feisal made a public statement at Paris on January 19, 1919 (see *New York Times*), that the Arabs desired to become the youngest independent state in Asia and to accomplish this they were appealing to America "as the most powerful protector of the freedom of man." If we may depend upon newspaper dispatches, similar views were expressed when that remarkable Arab, the lineal descendant of the Prophet, called on the Pope on April 25, 1919. There

seemed to be reasonable grounds for anticipating a future Arab state in view of the deliberate public utterances of leading European statesmen, notably the unqualified British statement to the seven Syrians of Cairo, June 11, 1917, who were assured that prewar Arab areas freed by military action of their inhabitants during the war would remain entirely independent.

Although Turkey, subjected to treatment similar to that accorded other countries on the losing side of this war, was not invited to send delegates to Paris (Ottoman representatives were actually heard but rebuffed), the Arab case was different. For not only had these inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire rendered a certain amount of military assistance—General Allenby is quoted as asserting that their aid was “invaluable”—but also they had been given definite promises regarding their future. On the other hand, it may be recalled that at that very important Peace Conference meeting at Paris on March 20, 1919, Mr. Lloyd George stated that the British had done most of the fighting in Turkey, almost without French help, and therefore ought to have what they wanted. Therefore it is not surprising that both British and French staged Arab demonstrations during the progress of the Peace Conference, and made every effort to appear *sympatico*.

The outcome of the whole situation was this: some of the “liberated” areas were saddled with “mandates,” a vague term which Lord Balfour interpreted before the Supreme Council of the League of Nations (May 17, 1922) to mean, a “self-imposed limitation by the conquerors on the sovereignty which they obtained over conquered nations.” Allied troops were not immediately withdrawn from Asia after the Mudros Armistice. General Allenby’s staff and troops were stationed in Egypt, Palestine, and Iraq. In accordance with an understanding between the British and the French, the former’s

troops withdrew from Cilicia in December, 1919, and were replaced by those of France who added this territory to their military occupation of Syria. An immediate result was military action by both the Turks and the Arabs against the French troops who were unable to hold their own against the Moslems. Events moved rapidly. The huge Anglo-Indian force had taken possession of Iraq, but it was apparent, however, that the Iraqis hated the Indians and were not impressed with the blessings of the Anglo-Indian civil service. Despite the assertions of Lord Grey, Lord Robert Cecil, Major General Sir Percy Cox and other persons in the House of Commons that the British had no obligations in Iraq during the postwar period, British troops were retained in the country.

Thus nearly the whole Near and Middle East began a strenuous revolt against the Allied troops late in 1919, chiefly due to the failure of Allied diplomats to keep their promises to the Arabs and to others. The happenings of 1919, 1920, and 1921 were heavily censored by the Allies in occupation of Turkey. (The reader should consult the Chronology in this volume.) An obvious attempt was made to have it appear that the inhabitants of prewar Turkey were fond of French and British intervention. An amusing performance was that of M. Georges Picot at Beirut, who held self-determination papers in one hand while he doled out food from two French ships with the other. Colonel Lawrence, who subsequently held an important position in the Middle Eastern department of the British Government, wrote in the *Times* (August 26, 1920): "The people of England have been led in Iraq (Mesopotamia) into a trap from which it will be hard to escape with dignity and honor. They have been tricked into it by a steady withholding of information. The Baghdad communiqués are belated, insincere, incomplete." We know that the rising of the East caused

the British to reverse their policy in Turkey, India, Persia, Afghanistan, and Egypt; and the French to capitulate to the Kemalists (Select Document 29). The Chronology furnishes a mirror for these and other happenings, at home and abroad.

Of the Ottoman Arab lands, Syria by France and Iraq and Palestine by Britain are held under "mandates" accorded by the League of Nations. Transjordan (Kerak) is under separate British control, while the extensive Yemen has been lost in the shuffle. There is no pretense that these "mandates" have any connection with Article XXII of the Treaty of Versailles, since no effort has been made to record the free will of the inhabitants on the desired sovereignties. A plebiscite in the Middle East is an anachronism.¹ No people would voluntarily accept foreign control except under necessity. A native government is always preferred to foreign government partly because it is less honest and also because it is apt to mean remission from taxation. (None of the great powers have sufficiently appreciated the axiom of Lord Cromer that alleged benefits conferred on local people mean nothing to them compared with a reduction in taxes.) Mr. W. L. Westermann, Chief of the Western Asia Division, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, has described the methods used by both France and Great Britain since the World War in these terms (*Asia*, September, 1922):—"They follow the lesson learned by General Allenby in his invasion of Palestine and Syria, that the Near Eastern troops have no defense against bombing from the air. When the tribes cause trouble, a

¹In the official report of the first Lausanne Conference, Lord Curzon makes these remarks: "The plebiscite is a fatal and pernicious system of endeavor to settle a frontier. . . . In every plebiscite held since the war, it has proved necessary to have an army to keep the people quiet and to prevent them from cutting each other's throats. . . . Plebiscites are only good for a unified, not a mixed population, and for a single, not a confused, issue."

punitive expedition of airmen soon brings them to reason by bombing their villages or encampments. But this method is chiefly effective in the districts settled with cities and villages. In the desert itself bombing from the air is of less avail. Here more time-honored methods are used, of playing one tribe against another, and of controlling the marts along the edge of the desert, where the nomads are compelled to buy those many necessities of food and clothing which the desert does not furnish. In a small way this is the economic blockade. As a French administrator in northern Africa put it, 'Nomads are held in check not through desert outposts, but by way of the stomach.' "

However, both countries, France and England, have done a great deal to stabilize economic conditions within the "mandated" territories, through the construction and building of railways, irrigation works and other development projects. They have also installed efficient methods in the national and local administration of Syria, Palestine, and Iraq. The British have only one political officer in Transjordan. The flourishing Jewish colonies and the Rutenberg electric power concessions in Palestine are real achievements, as is the new Jewish University at Jerusalem. Dr. Elwood Mead, a recognized American agricultural authority, has stated that the activities in Palestine since the English have had control have been the most constructive outcome of the World War. While the inhabitants of these Arab countries will never be satisfied with any government, foreign or native, it may be that in time the local peoples will make a fair balance sheet of their own situation. No one has yet found an ideal solution of educating or dealing with backward peoples, especially with those of different traditions and civilizations. To modernize them, whether desirable or not, would require several generations. It is a fact, however, that the people do want to be left alone. What may

happen to them under a continuance of foreign imperialism or colonization is another question, which no one can answer.

But there is no reason to believe that the future relations between the Turks and Arabs will continue to remain as they are now. Nationalist Turkey has become separated from its former Arab provinces, while the Arabs have exchanged their impotent Ottoman rulers for representatives of Western Powers. It is an extremely suggestive statement which appeared in the *Times* late in 1922, from the widely-read Arab newspaper of Cairo, *Al Mokattam*: "Two months ago it was known that Kemal Pasha favored the creation of an Arab Government, to include all the Arab countries which were formerly part of the Turkish Empire, to work with the Turkish Government in regard to questions of military, financial, and foreign policy in a manner similar to that which obtained in Austro-Hungary before the war." Such an arrangement is possible but unlikely, that is, assuming that Great Britain, France, and Soviet Russia take no steps separately or jointly which may antagonize greatly the Moslem world.

Apparently France and Great Britain, and possibly Italy and Spain, have decided to assume responsibility for Arab affairs. One of the chief sore spots is Palestine, where the British "mandate" has now met with severe opposition from the Arabs who threaten to stir up trouble all the way from Tangier on the Atlantic to Bombay on the Indian Ocean. Lack of unity between the Allies in their policy toward the Arabs is in general at the basis of this difficulty. Left to themselves, the Arabs—Hejazi, Iraqi, Nejdi, Palestinian, Syrian—will continue their tribal feuds and other internal dissensions and there will be no concerted opposition either by Arabs alone or in any stable agreement with the Turks. In reality, there is less likelihood of a federation between

. . .

Arabs and Turks, or a return to the former status, than there is that both peoples may form outstanding elements in a strong reaction against Western influence in which able support can be rendered by Afghanistan, Egypt, Persia, and possibly India.

That the British foreign office has made a great change of front regarding its "mandates" is evident from its policy towards Iraq (Select Document 33), which even goes so far as to promise its ward assistance in joining the League of Nations! The French foreign office has relinquished its hoped-for "mandate" over Cilicia, which remains in Turkey. In November, 1923, when the British High Commissioner in Palestine offered to treat with the Palestine Arabs on an official basis similar to that accorded to the Jews, the proposal was promptly turned down by the Arabs who did not wish thereby to acknowledge that the Jews, the minority, held an equal position with them. A recent event regarding the other "mandated" areas of prewar Turkey is the action of the executive committee of the Syro-Palestine congress in filing a formal demand with the League of Nations on November 25, 1923, asking that the French and British "mandates" for Syria, the Lebanon, and Palestine be set aside and that these three countries be allowed to make up a single Arab State. The demands are: (1) to recognize the independence and sovereignty of Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine; (2) to recognize the right of these countries to unite between themselves, with a civil and parliamentary government, and to federate with other Arabian states; (3) to pronounce the immediate cession of the mandates; (4) to order the evacuation of Syria, the Lebanon, and Palestine now occupied by English and French troops; (5) to renounce the Balfour declaration concerning the national Jewish home in Palestine. Perhaps the newly-formed Arab National Party may become a disturbing factor.

One very important matter which is scarcely referred to in this chapter but is taken up elsewhere in the book is the position and location of the Commander of the Faithful. The Grand National Assembly at Angora voted on November 1, 1922, "to elect future Khalifs from the members of the House of Osman; but the individuals so chosen should be deprived of all temporal power." This new departure is in marked contrast with the position held in recent years by the Turkish Sultan, who has maintained his religious prestige due to his position as the head of the strongest Moslem State. Great Britain has been pursuing the Sherifian policy, which is that of restoring Moslem leadership to the descendants of the Prophet, who are represented by Husain and his sons, the most notable of the latter being Emir Feisal. To the credit of British diplomacy, it should be stated that their promises in the early days of the war have been fulfilled to the extent of placing one son on the throne of Iraq at Baghdad, and another on the throne of the Transjordanian (Keraki) kingdom at Amman. The British, therefore, have a strong influence in the Moslem world. Should the former importance of Baghdad and other Arab cities be restored, it would doubtless tend to weaken the Turk's claim as the leader of the Islamic world and to strengthen tremendously in this respect the Arab influence in the East. There might be a return to the romance of "The Thousand and One Nights."

CHAPTER XXV

THE KEMALIST MOVEMENT

By ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS

"Will you walk a little faster?" said a whiting to a snail,
"There's a porpoise close behind us, and he's treading on my tail.
See how eagerly the lobsters and the turtles all advance!
They are waiting on the shingle—will you come and join the dance?
Will you, wo'n't you, will you, wo'n't you, will you join the dance?
Will you, wo'n't you, will you, wo'n't you, wo'n't you join the dance?"

"You can really have no notion how delightful it will be
When they take us up and throw us, with the lobsters, out to sea!"
But the snail replied, "Too far, too far!" and gave a look askance—
Said he thanked the whiting kindly, but he would not join the dance.
Would not, could not, would not, could not, would not join the
dance.

Would not, could not, would not, could not, could not join the dance.

"What matters it how far we go?" his scaly friend replied.
"There is another shore, you know, upon the other side.
The further off from England the nearer is to France—
Then turn not pale, beloved snail, but come and join the dance.
Will you, wo'n't you, will you, wo'n't you, will you join the dance?
Will you, wo'n't you, will you, wo'n't you, wo'n't you join the dance?"
—LEWIS CARROLL, "Alice in Wonderland."

The Kemalst Movement is commonly referred to as the Turkish Nationalist Movement. This current parlance has been incorporated within this book. A word of caution, however, should be given in order that the reader may distinguish between this later successful manifestation and the international movement which antedated the World War.

After the overthrow of the "Red Sultan" Abdul Hamid II, the Committee of Union and Progress based their state policy upon (1) the principle of centralization, which aimed to make the racial Turks the predominant force even to the point of excluding the others, and (2) a

Pan-Islamic order to resuscitate Ottoman political influence. At the Congress of the Committee of Union and Progress in 1909, the small "Nationalist" element was unable to make any headway; but this group gained many adherents during the subsequent Balkan wars. Its proponents emphasized the necessity for Turkification of all Ottomans. In order to accomplish this result, a resort was made to the religious motive which embraced the Pan-Islamic idea, and to the Pan-Turanian idea of assimilating Turkish elements in the Caucasus and elsewhere to the East in order to bring about a Turkish racial union. It was in connection with the Pan-Turanian conception that Enver Pasha, who had fled from Turkey late in 1918, devoted his efforts in Soviet Russia, the Caucasus, and Turkestan in 1918-1922. Not only had Enver Pasha, a pro-German, been "cool" during the late years of the Great War towards Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who was not a German sympathizer, but also they were enemies in the latter period, and were sponsoring movements that clashed. The former still cherished the thought of a Pan-Turanian state, the latter was anxious for a "Turkey for the Turks."

The Kemalist Movement, also known from the outset as the "National Defense Movement" was based on the Congresses of Erzerum and Sivas, and has had for its avowed platform the determination to oppose all efforts to dismember Turkey. In order to place this patriotic revolution in its proper perspective, it is well to sketch rather briefly the significant political events in Turkey during 1918-1923, inclusive.

In the autumn of the year 1918, Turkey realized that she was a defeated nation and that it was hopeless to continue war operations. On October 8, 1918, Turkish emissaries were sent from Smyrna on a peace mission; on the 30th of that month, the Allies and the Turkish representatives signed the armistice which was to go

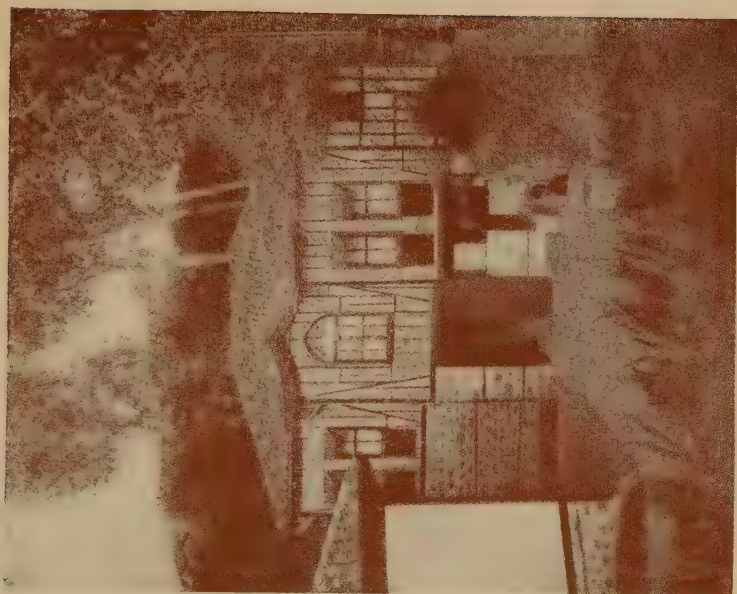
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into effect the next day. Under the terms of this Mudros Agreement (Select Document 14), the Turks were granted an armistice rather than an unconditional surrender. The terms, prepared by an Allied naval officer, may be criticised for inadequate handling of a conquered nation, a land rather than a sea power. Noteworthy was the failure to provide for any immediate surrender of equipment, arms, and ammunition. Article 7 gave the Allies "the right to occupy any strategic points in the event of any situation arising which threatens the security of the Allies." But the Armenian provinces must have been thought to have an outside status, for Article 23 provides, "In case of disorder in the six Armenian vilayets, the Allies reserve for themselves the right to occupy any part of them." What actually happened after the Mudros Armistice was the occupation by the Allies (British, French, and Italians) of Constantinople and the leading coast cities of the eastern Mediterranean. The British, in addition, had large forces which had been operating in the region south of the Taurus and the Anti-Taurus. The Armenian country was left to the mercies of the more or less disbanded Ottoman forces.

The Allied and Associated Powers believed that they had achieved their war aims in the Near East; namely, the wresting of European territory from the Turks and the liberation of the Armenians. The Turks knew that they were completely defeated and were not prepared to offer opposition to whatever terms might be imposed upon them. Absolutely dejected and fatalistic, they believed that their situation was the expressed will of Allah. They had suffered heavy casualties especially at the time of the Russian advance: their losses were 436,924 dead and as many wounded. The civilian population had suffered great hardships; and the former leaders, Enver Pasha, Talaat Pasha and Jemal (Djemal) Pasha had fled. The country was wholly disorganized.



Left—Turkish Soldiers Preparing for Their Greek Offensive. Right—The President's Mansion in the Angora Suburbs—A Contrast to the Sultans' Palaces.



Courtesy Asia

This paralyzed situation in the conquered country continued as late as the spring of 1919; but nothing seemed to happen. The Allies were in military occupation of Constantinople and certain other strategic points but they did little in the way of enforcing their will upon the Turks; moreover they failed to work together. Time after time, the separate desires of the British, French, and Italians in turn were balked by the other two. This division made the Turks more at home, but they could not believe that there was even a chance of making a successful recovery against the victors.

The blame for this delay can be traced clearly to Allied secret agreements made during wartime. The Paris Peace Conference had its first meeting on January 18, 1919, but nothing was done in regard to the Near Eastern situation with any definiteness until the Treaty of Sèvres, signed on August 10, 1920. Naturally the intensive consideration of the Turkish peace terms was postponed until the final treaties with the Central Powers were out of the way, but the various pacts, largely unpublished, were a hindrance to all postwar decisions. Mr. Ray Stannard Baker ("Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement") has stated that the secret Pact of London, which was the condition under which Italy entered the war, was the chief stumbling block and took up more time than anything else in the Paris Conference. Interesting was the testimony of a former member of the British foreign office, Lord Eustace Percy: "For weeks and months during the Paris Conference, we delayed making, I do not say a settlement, but in giving any consideration to the Turkish question. It was a question which had been discussed in some detail both in the Departments here and internationally with certain of our Allies before the Armistice. It had been made the subject of international agreements, of the merits of which I say nothing

here. There was the Sykes-Picot agreement, for instance. There had been more intensive work upon that than on any other single subject which was brought before the Paris Conference for settlement, but it was the one subject which the British delegation at Paris was forbidden so much as to mention during the whole of the first four, almost five months of the Conference. No meeting of the Near Eastern Commission of the Conference was allowed to be held." (*Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, vol. 152, page 1040.)

The outstanding wartime agreements, of which only the secret Treaty of London of April 26, 1915, was made officially public before November, 1918, are reproduced in part in the Select Documents. A knowledge of their contents is essential for understanding subsequent happenings. All the schemes for the partition of Asia Minor entered into by the Allies during wartime naturally were great obstacles when it came to the settlement of the Adriatic as well as the Eastern question. The Sykes-Picot Agreement between France, Great Britain, and Russia (Select Document 5), and the St. Jean de Maurienne Agreement between France, Great Britain, and Italy (Select Document 9) were especial sources of difficulty. A British delegate at the Paris Peace Conference, Professor Toynbee, in "The Western Question in Greece and Turkey," writes bluntly when he characterizes the underlying motives of the Allies as "covetousness," adding that "it resulted, likely, in nothing more substantial than the precarious honor among thieves who find their business threatened by a vigorous and talented competitor. Some of the thieves, at any rate, never got out of the habit of picking their temporary partner's pockets."

This was the situation at the Paris Conference on May 15, 1919, when the Greek forces landed in Smyrna and were the mainspring for the Nationalist Movement

correctly associated with the dramatic career of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, a man of action and of keen insight.

Mustafa Kemal comes from a Mohammedan family of Salonika and is reported to be of mixed Albanian, Jewish, and Turkish ancestry. He had had a distinguished record as a soldier. In 1908 he graduated from the Mekteb-i Harbi, the Turkish military school of Constantinople which has been one of the nursing grounds of Turkish intrigue, and he knew well the instigators of the revolt of 1908.

He was a commander at Gallipoli; but because of his talents as well as his independence, he incurred the hostility of General Liman von Sanders as well as of Enver Pasha and was sent as far as possible from Constantinople. He had several assignments in Asia Minor and Syria during the war and was the officer at Aleppo who made the strongest stand against General Allenby's sweeping advances. His knowledge of military tactics as well as his personal ability gave him a well-deserved reputation. His record has been one of real devotion to his country and has been free from all charges of using his various positions to fill his private purse.

In the late spring of 1918, just prior to the Smyrna landing, Kemal was detailed as inspector general in Anatolia in charge of the skeleton forces which General Milne, the Allied Commander in Chief, had sanctioned at Erzerum and Sivas for gendarmerie purposes. On the authority of Mr. Claire Price, it appears that Kemal spent three hours in revising the instructions of the Allied general staff so as to give him authority to act under any conceivable situation; the instructions thus changed were placed in a hurry before the Grand Vizier Damad Ferid Pasha (generally regarded as a "tool" of the Allies) and signed by him without being read; and that duplicate copies of the corrected original were sent by the Allied headquarters to subordinate officers in Asia

Minor. A later historian may discern the exact character of the relations between Damad Ferid and Mustafa Kemal, but this we do know, that the latter was the designated representative of both the Allies and the Ottoman Government, serving the latter as governor of Erzerum. The later so-called "break" with the Sublime Porte, as expressed in the Kemalist uprising, appears to the writer to be fact rather than myth.

The landing of Italian troops at Adalia on April 29, 1919, was primarily responsible for the subsequent landing of the Greeks at Smyrna. The Italians were anxious to have the Pact of London and the St. Jean de Maurienne Agreement translated into action, but were making little headway against the clever Greek statesman, Venizelos. The attitude of the Allied and Associated Powers on the Fiume question stirred up so much resentment in Italy that Signor Orlando left the Peace Conference. Fearing a repetition of the Fiume affair in southwestern Anatolia, the Powers acceded to the entreaties of M. Venizelos to forestall such a possibility by sending over Greek troops to Smyrna as a preliminary to a Greater Hellas. The announced reason was that the Turkish irregular troops and civilians were being unruly, and that the Greek and other minorities were in great danger.¹ It was on this

¹ The writer, who was in Smyrna during the week previous to the occupation, became familiar with the local situation. The universal testimony of local Americans, British, French and Italians, many of whom had lived in Asia Minor during most of their lifetime, was that the situation could probably be kept well in hand providing that there was no outside aggression. Well-informed, absolutely honest persons, whom the writer does not wish to quote, expressed the fear that Hellenic forces might be sent there. It was this fear more than anything else which was disturbing the local inhabitants. I arrived at Smyrna on an American destroyer and left Smyrna two days before the occurrence, on the flagship of Rear Admiral Bristol, in charge of the American fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean waters. Personally, I had no knowledge of what was to happen and as far as I could learn my ignorance was shared by most officials and private parties in the vicinity. It is noteworthy that Professor Toynbee reports that the British officers in charge of the Smyrna interior section had no

basis that Article 7 was invoked. It should not be wondered at if Messrs. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson, no one of whom had been in Turkey, had believed the exaggerated reports of disorders and had become convinced that the Greek forces would easily conquer, if need be, all of Asia Minor.

Whatever may have been the motives back of the Smyrna landings, its significance for us lies in its effect upon the young Nationalist Movement in Anatolia. Anyone with any knowledge of the geographical hazards or of the situation at the moment should have realized that the throwing in of Greek troops into this important part of Asia Minor would meet with probable disaster. It was unfair to both Greeks and Turks. Naturally it made a strong appeal to the Hellenes and also, though with less effect, to the Greeks living under Turkish rule. Sentiment over the revival of Greek influence in the *Ægean* was evoked and the traditions of the early Greek colonies were revived. To the Greek invaders, the occupation assumed the nature of a conquest; to the Turks, the ques-

prior knowledge whatever of the ominous occurrence. The writer can assert without fear of contradiction that it was an exceedingly well-kept secret.

The landing was accompanied by excesses on the part of the Greek military forces, in fact miscellaneous reports of damaging character were circulated so freely that the Peace Conference sent distinguished representatives to conduct an impartial inquiry. The findings, which appear in part as Select Document 17, have never been published officially. The withholding of the report was due to a desire of the former British Premier to protect M. Venizelos; in this respect, old-time diplomacy won the day. Despite the numerous attempts made by interested parties in various countries to learn the facts regarding the underlying cause and the carrying out of the Smyrna occupation, the facts have been consistently clouded. That all has not been outright misrepresentation is evident from the following humorous debate in the House of Commons, May 26, 1919, as officially printed:

Lieut.-Colonel Herbert asked if the Allies have landed at Smyrna in the cause of self-determination or for the sake of self-interest?

Mr. Harmsworth: "The landing at Smyrna was carried out by the direct orders of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference in accordance with the terms of Article 7 of the conditions of the Armistice with Turkey."

Lieut.-Colonel Herbert: "Arising out of that answer, may I ask if it is true that rabies have spread to Paris?"

tion became one of defending their country now or never. Patriotic Turks, though they all did not openly express their allegiance, rallied around Mustafa Kemal Pasha who, as inspector general of Turkish troops, was on the move travelling through Asia Minor. On July 27, 1919, the first organized congress of the new Nationalist Party took place at Erzerum, attended by a few Turkish patriots. This was a forerunner of the better known Congress of Sivas on September 13, which issued the famous declaration: "All methods and all means are taken with a view to safeguard the Sultanate, the supreme Khalifate and the integrity of the country in the case where the Turkish government under foreign pressure should be called upon to abandon no matter what part of our territory." (Select Document 16.) The best statement of the activities of this nationalist group at that time appears in the findings of the American Military Mission to Armenia, which investigated at first hand the actual situation and came into connection with the leaders at a time when the Kemalist Movement was little known, was under a cloud as far as the Allies were concerned, and was in announced disfavor with the Imperial Government at Constantinople.

The year 1920 was an important one in the growth of the Nationalist Movement. It marked the final break with the Constantinople Government, the beginning of a definite war with Greece, and the entering into international relations on the part of the new government. It was a year, moreover, in which the Allies were failing more and more to present a united front against the insurgents. On January 28, 1920, the Ottoman Parliament at Constantinople approved the terms of the National Pact (Select Document 18), the Declaration of Independence of the New Turkey. This Pact had been previously prepared by the Nationalist Government. The military excesses in Cilicia, aggravated by the French

enrollment of Armenian legions to fight against the Turks, carried with them reports, subsequently verified, of massacres and other disorders, which aroused the anti-Turk feeling among the peoples in Western countries. On March 10, 1920, in the House of Lords, Lord Curzon declared that "the Allies, acting in unison, cannot any longer acquiesce in a state of affairs in which they are flouted at Constantinople while persecutions and massacres occur everywhere." While it would have been natural to have sent battleships to the scenes of the disorders, Lord Curzon announced in later parliamentary debates that Allied officers in Turkey recommended that force be exhibited at Constantinople, which remained the nominal seat of government.

On March 16, 1920, the Allies effected a fresh occupation of Constantinople (Select Document 19). Allied control officers were withdrawn from the interior of Asia Minor. Most of the influential Turks who had given expression to their patriotic opinions were deported by British officers to Malta or escaped their clutches and fled to Asia Minor. Among the number who were kept for many months at the Mediterranean stronghold were Rauf Bey, the Turkish Admiral who was a signatory of the Mudros Armistice, and Rahmi Bey, the former governor of Smyrna who had been praised by British officials for his clemency during the World War.

Again the Allies blundered. The occupation which was carried out by British forces during the absence of General Franchet d'Esperey was a remarkably tame affair. The British squadron which had taken part in the Battle of Jutland added to the effectiveness of the display and also trained its guns on the Turkish quarters of the city. Every day British marines appeared on parade in various parts of the city. There was told to me the authentic story of two Turks who, in watching one of these processions, expressed to each other their

conviction that what they had heard must be true; namely, that during the World War the British army had been practically wiped out. They reasoned that the marines were all that was left of the British military or naval personnel; that the British were giving the local population one last look. The use of military and naval forces many hundreds of miles away from the theatre of disturbances, the levelling of "Christian" guns on Stamboul and in the direction of the Sultan's palace on the Bosphorus, and the deportation of Turkish notables became keen weapons to the Kemalist cause. Thereafter, even those Turks who had made at least a show of supporting the effete government at Constantinople placed their further hopes on the struggling patriots in the Turkish homeland. "If the Greek landing at Smyrna created the Turkish national movement," wrote Professor Toynbee, "the British support of the Sultan at Constantinople made its fortune."

The Sheikh-ul-Islam and the Grand Vizier publicly denounced the nationalists as "rebels." On April 23, the Nationalist Assembly, meeting at Angora, formed their temporary constitution known as the Law of Fundamental Organization, in which they declared that their government was the sole government of Turkey. The Greek advance into the interior of Asia Minor began in the month of June, 1920, with the entrance by the Greek army into the ancient Turkish city of Brusa. This advance was made with the permission of the Allies and was the beginning of prolonged conflict between the Turks and the Greeks which was to result, for the moment, in the successful advance of the Greeks into Turkish territory. This advance, however, was not to be a continuous one, for the Nationalist army, which in May, 1919, had numbered about 20,000, was being organized by Fevzi Bey and others into a successful fighting force.

The Nationalist Government in the year 1920 already

began to have its own international relations. There was a "military convention" between the Kemalists and Soviet Russia, followed by accords with the Caucasian Soviet Republics. These agreements were used as propaganda by the Allies to stir up renewed resistance to the Kemalist Movement. There were powerful reasons for fearing these agreements which were already reacting in India, Persia, and Afghanistan. These crafty arrangements with the masters of the former Tsarist Russian territory brought gold, military equipment, and moral power to the Kemalist cause. Without this assistance, the struggling patriots would probably not have achieved their goal (the terms of the National Pact), certainly not in 1922, since their only local aid was the result of very heavy taxation and thirty to fifty per cent requisitions. They did not resort to loans or to currency inflation. Thus the ability of Mustafa Kemal to capitalize the Allied boycott of Soviet Russia was a mighty ally to the cause, in which he was aided by a loyal group including Rauf Bey, Halideh Edib Hanum, Adnan Bey, Ismet Pasha, and Muheddin Pasha, characterized by Kemal as the soldier and man "who gave us all our ideals of liberty."

In the early part of 1920, the Allies worked out in the rough the treaty with Turkey. In January and February frequent conferences were held in London (Lord Curzon stated in the House of Commons that he presided over these meetings); the final details were worked out at San Remo (see Select Document 21 for certain interallied provisions); and on August tenth, at Sèvres, four treaties and one protocol were presented to the delegates from the Sublime Porte and signed by them. No one of the Allies regarded the Angora Government as possessed of political authority. By the Treaty of Sèvres, the Hellenes were to be given virtual control of Smyrna and its hinterland; Italy received only a "sphere

of influence" in southern Anatolia, including the port of Adalia; Great Britain and France were to receive essentially the same territorial privileges as were laid out in the Sykes-Picot Agreement; the capitulations were to be reestablished and extended. In a word, Turkey was to be developed thereafter entirely under foreign tutelage. (For significant economic terms, see Select Documents 22 and 23.) But the Treaty was never ratified by any nation except Greece. The Allies were helpless in enforcing its provisions on the vanquished nation. The Nationalists pledged themselves to resist to the end any attempt to enforce the Treaty of Sèvres.

Again Allah seemed to be on the side of the Kemalists when, after the death of King Alexander of Greece on October 25 caused by a monkey bite, popular elections in Greece held on December 5, 1920, resulted in a sweeping decision to recall Constantine as the King of the Hellenes. The result of this plebiscite greatly embittered France against Greece; and since Greece was regarded as a protégé of Great Britain, the French foreign office gave its backing to the Kemalists. In defense of this change in policy, the late M. Philippe Millet has stated that the French attitude was based on three considerations, (1) a strong Turkey, (2) a regard for the French Moslem colonies, and (3) the Straits. The main fault with French policy, he added, has been the one which Austria has been reproached for; namely, that of being invariably late in doing the right thing. The British foreign policy was to conserve and consolidate the military and diplomatic gains in the East (with little regard for Indian Mohammedans), and to work through the Hellenes in the Balkans and Asia Minor. Thus, France and Britain were sowing seeds of discord which immediately germinated in their European diplomatic relations.

During 1921 and 1922 the Nationalist Movement de-

veloped rapidly until it finally triumphed completely. The Constantinople Government became a mere figure-head; the Government at Angora assumed control of the country. On January 16, 1921, Izzet Pasha came from the Sublime Porte to Angora on a special mission. On January 30, Mustafa Kemal made the statement that since the Angora Government was now the only one in Turkey, he was sending a mission to the London Conference of the Allies concerning the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres. During the year 1921, further agreements were made by the Nationalist authorities with outside powers. In March, 1921, the French and Italians reached separate agreements with the Kemalist Government. During the same month, Soviet Russia and the Kemalist Government signed a very important treaty (Select Document 27), by which Russia restored the Turkish territory which she had secured in 1878 and also pledged Bolshevistic support to the Kemalist cause. Without the immediate knowledge of Great Britain, the French made another agreement (Select Document 29) which caused further ill-feeling between the two countries across the channel.

Finally on August 10, 1921, exactly one year after the abortive peace treaty was signed, the Supreme War Council to "save its face" in the Græco-Turkish War declared the neutrality of England, France, Italy, and Japan. This announcement was not only a blow to the Greek side, but also it had a strong moral effect on the Turkish army and nation. By the brilliant resistance at the battle of the Sakkaria, one of the decisive battles of the twentieth century, Turkey again demonstrated her unexcelled ability as a defensive military force. Unfortunately it is not possible to describe the various engagements of the years 1920-1922. In February, 1922, the Greeks admitted their inability to carry on the Asia Minor campaign much longer, but this matter was appar-

ently treated in a rather casual fashion by the British Government. At least so it would appear, since in parliament Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Birkenhead and other cabinet officers stated that they had no knowledge of the important letter from the Greek premier, M. Gounaris, conveying this information. (Because of the lack of Allied support Greek officials stated that they were "jettisoned"; and on November 28, 1922, the revolutionary government at Athens carried out the execution of leading political and military officials. In the House of Commons, on December 7, 1922, Mr. Lloyd George admitted that M. Gounaris' note was circulated in the British cabinet but that he was away at the time and that it did not come to his attention.)

The Greek situation was getting more hopeless every day. At home, the drachma was at a great discount, the political strifes were very pronounced, the people were impatient for a decision in Anatolia. The troops were ill-clothed and ill-fed, pay was in arrears, and they were on the verge of mutiny because of their incompetent officers—the result of King Constantine's action in changing practically the entire Greek staff in Asia Minor. In order to find out whether the Allies were willing to support them, the Greek army threatened to occupy Constantinople. The stern refusal of the Allied officers to back her in this move, and taking into account Great Britain's refusal to recognize Constantine, prompted the decision to retire from Asia Minor. The hangings of Greek war and political leaders for their share in the previous military catastrophe have already been mentioned.

While there is a great deal of evidence therefore to support the claim of the Greek military leaders that they planned an early withdrawal from Asia Minor, the fact remains that the Greek army was completely overcome. On September 9, the advanced Turkish troops entered Smyrna, followed a few days later by Mustafa Kemal

Pasha, the *Ghazi* (Conqueror). On September 14, there was the disastrous Smyrna fire in which the Armenian and Greek quarters suffered the most. Except for the Turkish quarter and the waterfront, little remains of that fascinating city.¹

Due to the great military successes of the Nationalists, the sudden change in Turkish affairs created an entirely new situation for the Allies. On September 16, Mr. Lloyd George made his famous appeal to the British dominions for military action against the Turks. He also called on the Little Entente for assistance. Major General Sir F. Maurice, who was in Constantinople at the time, wrote in the *Contemporary Review* (November, 1922): "Never has any government in such a situation made a more mischievous pronouncement." The British General stated that not only was the sanctity of the freedom of the Straits or an appeal based on the British graves at Gallipoli mere humbug, but in fact the "freedom of the Straits" had been admitted "never to have been the cause of war." Likewise, *The Near East* (October 26) commented that the facts were established that: (1) the freedom of the Straits was not in jeopardy from the

¹In spite of my endeavors to find out the original culprits, my results are negative. According to responsible British and French officials, the blame is to be placed either on the shoulders of the Armenians or the Greeks (it is not an unusual occurrence for distressed people to go to any extremity to secure outside sympathy). There is testimony on the part of other well informed persons that the Turks were responsible. Suffice to say, Mustafa Kemal Pasha's orders were for his troops to refrain from all excesses, a most difficult order to be carried out under such circumstances; and that there would seem to be more reason for the Turks' preference to have their reconquered city intact rather than otherwise. The files of *Current History* are most useful for evidence by various nationalities. The writer places great importance on a letter from Rev. Edward C. Moore, president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, that the testimony as to the guilty race is so absolutely conflicting as to make impossible any definite conclusion. The wearing of the fez, it should be added, is an indication of nationality rather than race; when the Turkish forces reached Smyrna, most natives had donned the fez. It is well known that when the Hellenic troops landed in Smyrna in May, 1919, they attacked in their ignorance all wearers of the fez, including many of their racial kinsmen.

Kemalists; (2) if it had been, war could not have secured the freedom; (3) the expression "the freedom of the Straits" has no fixed meaning; (4) at the time of the September 16 manifesto the only possible way of securing the freedom of the Straits (whatever view of Great Britain's interests be held) was by *agreement* with Turkey. On September 19, French Premier Poincaré announced that France was unwilling to join Great Britain in a display of military force and advised the British to withdraw from Chanaq, the strategic point on the Dardanelles. The British forces refused to withdraw and held the ground alone against the Kemalist troops, flushed with victory. This single-handed action of the British evoked universal admiration and on the part of no one more than the Turks.

The display of French weakness, after three years of inactive duty on the Straits, seriously interfered with the prestige of France which had been previously enhanced greatly by Mr. Lloyd George's pro-Greek speech of August 4, 1922 (Select Document 32). M. Franklin-Bouillon, the ranking member of the French Senate committee on foreign affairs, was sent as special Allied emissary to deal with the victorious leaders. Due to the advance of the Turkish forces, the situation along the Straits was very delicate. Ismet Pasha, the Turkish Chief of Staff and General Harington, the Commander in Chief of the Allied forces, conducted their negotiations along the best lines of diplomacy. The restraint manifested was a credit to both parties. General Maurice has referred to an "amazing blunder" which "almost plunged us into war," when on the morning of September 30, the officially inspired British wireless press published a statement that "Last night a very grave view of the situation was taken in official circles and it was decided to send through to General Harington to make a peremptory demand for the withdrawal of Turkish troops

from the neutral zone within a definite and short period." Only the calmness of the British General prevented the distinct likelihood of a new war, which might have involved most of the participants in the previous world struggle.

The Armistice of Mudania (a small port on the Sea of Marmara) was signed by the Greek and Turkish plenipotentiaries on October 11 (Select Document 34). By this armistice, the Smyrna district and Eastern Thrace remained definitely Turkish. One of the first acts of the Ghazi following the armistice was the assignment of Refet Pasha as governor of Eastern Thrace, where the previous postwar military efforts of Jaafar Pasha had been overcome by the Allies. There was some danger that the impatient Turkish troops might bring about concerted military movement throughout the Middle East with the aid of a tremendous amount of war material abandoned by the Greeks. Mustafa Kemal Pasha was in a position to make a threat towards the Caucasus, or southward in the direction of Syria and Palestine or through Iraq and Afghanistan with India as a prime objective. In these possible military adventures, he might have secured some support from the Soviet Republics and from the Moslem East. At no time in history has Turkey stood higher in the eyes of the whole Moslem world.

To the great credit of Mustafa Kemal and his followers, plans for peace engaged their nearly undivided attention. The Grand National Assembly at Angora exerted its power. The authorities at Angora were bitter against Mohammed VI, the nominal Turkish Sultan-Khalif, and accused him of treason. Then followed the remarkable procedure of the Sultan of the Turks fleeing from Constantinople on a Christian battleship, the British dreadnaught *Malaya*. A Turkish newspaper of Constantinople, the *Renin*, remarked: "The house of

Osman has given our country 36 sultans, great and little, good and bad, but hitherto there has been known none so pusillanimous as Vahideddin, who has now turned his back upon the sepulchres of his ancestors, and is about to start on who knows what adventures." The Assembly, taking religious matters into its own hands, elected as the new Khalif, Abdul Mejid Effendi, second son of the late Sultan Aziz, who was judged the most acceptable member of the family of Osman, a man of piety, and whose paintings have been exhibited at the Galata Serai. Interesting was the fact that at his induction into office, prayers were said in Turkish rather than in Arabic, another evidence of the nationalistic idea which was prevailing more and more strongly in the New Turkey. At the famous Jama Masjid Mosque at Delhi and at other Indian mosques, special Friday prayers were offered for the new Khalif and for the continued success of Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

The engineers of the nationalistic movement now entered the Peace Conference stage. In England, Premier Lloyd George, who was probably as responsible as any one man for winning the World War, was defeated in a general election, mainly because of his Near Eastern policy. He was the last of that group of great men,—Wilson, Orlando, Clemenceau and Venizelos,—who could stand the afterwar reaction as expressed through popular vote. The new British ministry, with Mr. Bonar Law as prime minister, retained as its secretary for foreign affairs Lord Curzon, who had been exceedingly influential in the determination of British foreign policy, although many acts which fell within his jurisdiction had been handled independently and unbeknown to him by Mr. Lloyd George and his secretariat. Lord Curzon, the chief British delegate to the first Lausanne Conference, was also the outstanding Allied figure during the deliberations between the now victorious Turks and the

Allies. For the first time since the armistice of 1918, there was a spectacle of a negotiated rather than a dictated peace. The problem of the conference was to settle differences arising from both the Great War and the Græco-Turkish struggle. To what extent the Greeks committed the Allies during their postwar operations in Asia Minor, contemporary history has failed to indicate.

The keynote of the first Lausanne Conference, which opened on November 20, 1922, was struck when on the first day Ismet Pasha took that occasion to reaffirm that the delegates from Angora were taking part on an absolutely equal footing with the other Powers, a position which was not questioned by any delegate. In a word, the whole sum and substance of the Turkish claim was to stand by the principles of the National Pact (Select Document 18), which the Turkish delegates in close communication with Angora did. The opposition was not too great because the Allies, unwilling to precipitate a new war, were placed in the rôle of trying to retain as many of their prewar privileges as possible. During the entire session of the conference, November 20, 1922 to February 4, 1923, inclusive, the forces of imperialism, commercialism, and nationalism were hard at work.

The chief Allied representative was thought to be somewhat handicapped because his knowledge of the East was derived largely from his intimate scholarly knowledge of former conditions (largely in the Middle East), and that he was unfamiliar with this modern type of Mohammedan. In the first few sessions he was likened to a schoolmaster laying down the law to naughty pupils. Ismet Pasha, a great general and a strong verbal strategist, which his small stature, deafness and rigid facial expressions belied, was by circumstances the real master of the Conference. He applied the tactics which had been so successful on the battlefield and did not budge from his primary objectives. Like General Grant, the objec-

tives were clear and he was absolutely unwilling to give up until they were achieved. The experienced British diplomat was unable to swerve Ismet Pasha even on February 4, 1923, when he delivered virtually an ultimatum to the Turkish delegation: "No Allied delegates would accept separate discussion. They had all reached a point where delay or waiting would produce no further change." In this respect the British were double-crossed by the French, who made plain to the Turks that, after all, the prepared terms were subject to modifications. The strategic position of the Turkish delegation, which had been greatly helped throughout the conference by the participation of the French and Italians in the Ruhr, was thereby tremendously enhanced. In commenting on this climax which turned into an anticlimax, the *Spectator* remarked that, in 1878, Disraeli kept the train waiting in Berlin and brought home "peace without honour," while Lord Curzon who kept the train waiting at Lausanne brought "honour without peace."

The Grand National Assembly refused to accept the prepared peace terms but that body authorized the resumption of negotiations, which actually took place on April 22, 1923.

The Turkish delegation in this resumed conference endeavored to secure American support through the granting of the Chester Concession (April 9) ¹ and at the same time drive a further wedge between France and Great Britain, and to exert further pressure on the French by the massing of troops on the Syrian frontier. The new

¹ To quote the *Tevhid-Efkar* of Constantinople:

"We accepted the Chester Concession very hastily, and we hoped by this concession to gain America on our side. Quite contrary to our expectation, America has displayed a very strange attitude toward our cause. As soon as we approved the Chester Concession, England and France put stubborn difficulties in the way of peace. If we had not given the Chester Concession before concluding the peace, we should have avoided ninety per cent of the difficulties at Lausanne."

negotiations had to do largely with economic and financial affairs, including primarily the capitulations. The Turks were allowed to reopen ninety-two of the one hundred and sixty articles of the main treaty, the original terms of which had been distinctly favorable to the Turks and unfavorable to the minorities as well as to the Allies. This second conference, in which M. Montagne, the Italian delegate, was the outstanding negotiator, resulted in further sweeping concessions to the Turks. Without taking up the various issues involved at the conference or the settlement of each, the outcome of the proceedings can be found in the leading provisions which are given in Select Document 36.

On July 24, 1923, at Lausanne peace terms and numerous protocols were signed, incorporating the terms agreed upon by the Greeks and Turks on January 30, and in addition the settlement of the Great War. On August 23, the Grand National Assembly ratified the Treaty of Peace; on December 31, none of the governments of the Allied signatories had taken action. The new status of Turkey was recognized in the negotiation of a Turko-American treaty of commercial amity signed at Lausanne on August 4, which provides for the resumption of diplomatic relations between the United States and Turkey after their severance on April 20, 1917. During 1923 this treaty did not come before the American Senate for ratification.

The Turkish Moslems were united in a common cause until after the successful conclusion of the Græco-Turkish conflict. With the cessation of military operations were inaugurated the inevitable political divisions among the supporters of the State. Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha was the moving spirit behind the organization of the "Defense of Rights Party of Anatolia and Rumaili" which met at Angora on April 8, 1923, and adopted a party platform based on the following fundamental prin-

ciples: (1) sovereignty belongs absolutely to the Nation, (2) the Grand National Assembly is the real representative of the people, (3) immediate steps must be taken to establish public order, (4) justice must be administered promptly in Turkish courts and the civil code reformed to the new national status in accordance with advice from trained jurists, (5) economic reforms should be undertaken (including the revision of the *dime*, or tenth, tax; agricultural aid through loans; increased facilities of the Agricultural Bank and tools imported on a large scale; building of railways; improved forestry and mining legislation, etc.), (6) length of military service to be reduced, (7) provision to be made for reserve officers and for pensions for widows and orphans, (8) additional share of municipalities in government affairs, (9) to place Turkey on a peace basis but with financial and economic independence safeguarded.

The "Defense of Rights" party remains the chief party in Turkey. It may be said to stand for the State policy. Its main planks relate to the abolition of the Sultan, diminished power for the Khalif, and the supremacy of the Grand National Assembly. Another political group is known by the name of the "Defenders of the Power of the Sultan" which is in sympathy with the nationalist idea and the broad policy of the Assembly, but is said to favor the sultanate in some modified form. This second party, which includes the *khojas* and other conservative elements, is the chief opposition group. There is a small labor party and also a group that professes bolshevist principles but neither is likely to be of much influence because of the peculiar conditions in the country. A fairly strong political group consists of the survivors of the Committee of Union and Progress, many of whose leaders are in Europe and whose standing is still at a rather low ebb on account of the activities and flight of their notorious former leaders. At the elec-



Courtesy Asia

President Mustafa Kemal and his Influential, Attractive Wife,
Latife Hanım.

tions in August, 1923, the Defense of Rights party won an overwhelming victory. Despite the many circumstances attending any "popular" election in an Eastern country where it is not always possible to vote according to one's innermost conviction, the returns indicated that Mustafa Kemal Pasha was still regarded as the great Turkish hero of modern times. He was elected president of the National Assembly by a vote of 196 to 1. When the National Assembly proclaimed a Republic on October 29, this remarkable leader was named as the first President. As his influence and power have increased so likewise have the feelings of admiration or enmity as expressed by his compatriots. Rauf Bey and other sincere builders and leaders within the party have already taken issue publicly on certain questions—a not unhealthy sign in a republican form of government, but unusual in a despotic land. It is too early to prophesy the outcome.

But the Kemalist Movement, which has made a New Turkey which bears no resemblance to the Ottoman Empire of 1914 and which differs greatly from the Nationalist Turkey of 1920-1922, has met with astounding civil, military, and diplomatic successes.

APPENDIX I

NOTES ON SPELLING

What system of English spelling is the best to adopt for Eastern proper and common names is a vexing question. Arabic, French, Greek, Latin, Persian, Russian, and Turkish words, in several alphabets, present unusual difficulties in the attempt to attain uniformity and scholarship. For example, what is the most desirable transliteration of the Anatolian city of "The Black Opium Castle," variously referred to as Afium Kara Hissar, Afium Karahissar, Afium-Kara-Hissar, or Afium Qarahisar? An even wider assortment, taken from the Oxford Dictionary, is given for the common word for a Turkish scribe, clerk, or schoolmaster:—khoja, hoiah, hodgee, -gia, hugie, hoggie, hogi, hoage, hogia, cojah, hoja (h), hodja, khodgea, khodja, -djo khoja; Turkish and Persian khojah, prop. khwajah. Obviously, one system should be followed throughout "Modern Turkey."

After a careful study by the author of the various Anglo-Saxon spelling guides, he has come to the conclusion that no one of them is consistent *per se*, and that no two of them agree on fundamentals. A testing out of the American Geographical Society publications unfortunately produces unsatisfactory results, thereupon this source was reluctantly discarded; and none of the other American professional societies or standard reference works offered anything better. "The Times Atlas and Gazetteer of the World (1922)" edited by Bartholomew has much to be said in its favor, but has too much non-uniformity as well as many omissions of former Ottoman place names. The author finally decided to commit himself to the pioneer, uncompleted pronouncements of the Royal Geographical Society which are appearing from time to time in short general lists for Europe, Asia, and the other continents. As a result of this choice, the reader is certain to find himself confronted with strange-appearing names, such as Chanaq (Chanak), Romania (Rumania), Al Madina (Medina), Husain (Hussein), Kuwait (Koweit), and Izmid (Ismid); but thereby he is schooling himself for officially-sanctioned changes of the near future.

The method followed is, in brief, to make the spelling correspond as closely as possible to the local pronunciation. This guiding principle, meritorious in its conception, has the practical difficulty, that unless a person is familiar with approved local usage, the exact transliteration is impossible of achievement; moreover, the lists compiled to date by the Royal Geographical Society are incomplete and at best cannot ever answer every query. An exception is made in the spelling of place names in countries using the Latin alphabet, in which instance the spelling in common use becomes the standard. There is, moreover, the consideration of "conventional usage," as in the case of Mecca (not

Mekka), and Scutari (not Skutari), which prompts a broad but not numerous class of exceptions. These are the faults; the merits more than outweigh them. Essential features are that (a) vowels are pronounced as in Italian and consonants as in English; (b) every letter is pronounced, and no redundant letters are used.

In this volume, the author has endeavored to apply "Rules for the Spelling of Geographical Names for British Official Use," published by the Royal Geographical Society, 1921, except for the adoption of the inverted comma and apostrophe. Changes, moreover, have not been made in the book titles which appear in the Bibliography. Secondary sources for proper names are "The Times Atlas and Gazetteer of the World," British Foreign Office "Handbooks," and the *Statesman's Yearbook*. For common names, the recently-completed "New English (Oxford) Dictionary" by Murray is the authority.

APPENDIX II

GENERAL ECONOMIC DATA

The following tabular survey of prewar conditions is based primarily upon the author's section of the "Report of the American Military Mission to Armenia," *United States Senate Document No. 266*, 1920.

GENERAL ECONOMIC DATA

Region	Existing Railways	Area in Thous. Area in Kilom. Sq. Km.	Forest Area in Sq. Km.	Culti- vated Land Sq. Km.	Popu- lation (thous.)	Popu- lation Density Per Square Kilo- meter	Industry	Commerce In—Out Million Fr.	Grain	Fruit	Legumes	Vineyard Products	Cotton	Tobacco
<i>Turkey in Europe</i>														
Between Eros-Midia line and Sea of Marmara	Yes	8.7	1,200	760	214	24	.....	.....	1 270	.....	1 15	1 16	.....	.....
Constantinople District	Yes	3.9	700	140	865	223	.....	246.29	1 120	.....	1 16	1 11	.....	220
Total .....	.....	12.6	1,900	.....	1,079	85.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	220
<i>Western Anatolia</i>														
Bicha sanjak	Yes	6.6	1,600	610	183	28	.....	.....	1 360	.....	2,900	1 30	10	30
Brusa vilayet (with Karassi Kutaya, Afum	Yes	65.8	16,300	5,060	1,503	24	.....	.....	32,600	.....	11,000	7,600	2,000	2,300
Izmid sanjak	Yes	8.1	2,400	710	242	30	.....	.....	4,200	.....	500	1,470	300	2,100
Aidin vilayet (with Men- techeh sanjak)	Yes	66.8	9,500	6,910	1,830	27	2 4,000	116.00	60,600	14,000	43,000	333,000	20,600	38,000
Angora vilayet	Yes	70.9	2,200	5,700	716	10	.....	.....	1 5,165	.....	1 83	1 464	230	60
Kastamuni vilayet (with Bolu sanjak) .....	.....	50.7	11,000	2,450	975	19	.....	.....	1 2,324	.....	1 63	1 63	20	260
Konia vilayet (with Adala- niçdeh sanjak)	Yes	102.1	5,000	6,330	1,076	10	3 4,000	4.99	1 3,300	.....	.....	1 400	290	370
İtohil sanjak .....	.....	14.8	1,000	1,830	105	7	.....	.....	1 560	.....	200	1 30	400	100
Janik sanjak .....	.....	10.7	1,300	1,200	392	87	.....	25.00	10 550	1,800	3,750	.....	.....	43,000
Kaisarieh sanjak .....	.....	6.0	(3)	1,410	244	41	(4)	.....	188,670	26,540	3,430	24,320	.....	100
Western Sivas vilayet .....	.....	25.2	1,000	3,500	467	19	.....	3.50	97,500	9,800	13,770	25,700	130	1,300
<i>Turkish Armenia</i>														
Eastern Sivas vilayet .....	.....	38.6	1,500	5,040	507	14	.....	2.00	540,970	35,520	9,110	23,310	40	4,850
Adana vilayet	Yes	25.1	3,200	3,680	320	13	42,000	4.06	340,310	10,080	3,240	15,410	34,660	160
Marash sanjak and Aintab district .....	.....	16.0	770	1,050	170	11	.....	.....	106,900	33,880	1,270	33,528	520	730
Kharput vilayet (northern Diarbekr vilayet .....	.....	32.9	.....	2,080	450	14	.....	1.44	685,520	40,770	6,400	25,670	1,270	3,080
half only) .....	.....	16.1	.....	4,050	296	18	.....	4.60	273,270	52,800	6,720	35,910	740	3,000
Bitlis vilayet (without Sairt district) .....	.....	19.7	.....	250	382	19	.....	1.44	14,970	830	.....	550	190	230
Van vilayet (without Hak- kiari district) .....	.....	21.0	.....	580	350	17	.....	3.26	60,980	5,150	240	2,940	.....	10
Erzerum vilayet .....	.....	49.7	.....	4,000	630	13	.....	31.06	495,640	900	3,340	.....	.....	.....
Trebizond vilayet .....	.....	32.5	5,000	2,240	1,000	31	.....	77.00	127,880	46,940	16,610	1,030	.....	490
Total .....	.....	249.3	.....	.....	4,105	16.4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

* Salt. * Cotton sks. per day. * Carpet, pounds. * Included in Angora. * Sq. kilometers. * Spindles.

APPENDIX III

AREA AND POPULATION

Of the ex-Sultans' domains, there is no record of any official or trustworthy territorial survey or population census. All figures are the result of guesswork. As far as my knowledge goes, those which have appeared in the annual *Statesman's Yearbook* are unprejudiced and fairly reliable. According to this source (1921 edition), the estimates for area and population for prewar Turkey (1914) are:—

<i>Vilayets</i>	<i>Area Sq. Mile</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Population Per Sq. Mile</i>
Europe:—			
Constantinople	1,505	1,203,000	799
Chatalja (Independent sanjak)	733	78,000	82
Adrianople	8,644	610,000	77
Total	10,882	1,891,000	187
Asia Minor (not including Armenia and Kurdistan):—			
Izmid (Independent sanjak) ..	3,130	222,700	71
Brusa	25,400	1,626,800	64
Bigha (Independent sanjak) ...	2,550	129,500	51
Smyrna, or Aidin	25,801	2,500,000	64
Kastamuni	19,570	961,200	49
Angora	27,370	932,800	34
Konia	39,410	1,069,000	27
Adana	15,400	422,400	27
Sivas	23,970	1,057,500	44
Trébizonde	16,671	1,265,000	76
Total	199,272	10,186,900	52
Armenia and Kurdistan:—			
Erzerum	19,180	645,700	34
Kharput	12,700	575,200	45
Diarbekr	14,480	471,500	32
Bitlis	10,460	398,700	38
Van	15,170	379,800	25
Total	71,990	2,470,900	34
Mesopotamia:—			
Mosul	35,130	500,000	10
Baghdad	54,540	900,000	11
Basra	53,580	600,000	8
Total	143,250	2,000,000	9

<i>Vilayets</i>	<i>Area Sq. Mile</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Population Per Sq. Mile</i>
Syria:—			
Aleppo	33,430	1,500,000	45
Zor (Independent sanjak)	30,110	100,000	3
Syria	37,020	1,000,000	27
Beirut	6,180	533,500	86
Jerusalem (Independent sanjak)	6,600	341,600	52
Lebanon	1,190	200,000	168
Total	114,530	3,675,100	33
Arabia:—			
Yemen	73,800	750,000	10
Grand total	613,724	20,973,900	34

For the detached regions, the *Statesman's Yearbook* (1923 edition) gives these figures:—

<i>Territory</i>	<i>Sq. Miles</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Authority</i>
Syria (French mandated section)	60,000	less than 3,000,000	Estimated only
Palestine (British mandate) .	9,000	757,182	{ Official census Oct. 23, 1922
Transjordan (Kerak)	?	{ 300,000 to 500,000 }	Estimated only
Iraq (British mandate)	143,250	2,849,282	Official census
Yemen	75,000	1,000,000	Estimated only

Transjordan, which includes the classic regions of Moab, Eden, and Gilead, is largely desert country, subject to the Council of the League of Nations, and included in the jurisdiction of Sir Herbert Samuel; but it is not strictly under the Palestine mandate as yet. The chosen ruler is Prince Abdullah, a member of the Sherifian family. Iraq (Mesopotamia) is interpreted to include the whole vilayet of Mosul. Yemen is "independent," although its chief port, Hodeidah, is not in the Imam's control.

The Turkish Republic (December, 1923) embraced territory which is roughly identical to the already cited parts of Europe, and to Asia Minor including Turkish Armenia and Kurdistan. On the prewar basis, this combined area amounts to 282,144 square miles and the combined population to 14,547,900, thus giving an average of 52 inhabitants to the square mile. Account must be taken, however, of the severe losses in population since 1914, as follows:—(a) practically all Greeks are out of Asia Minor (between a million and a quarter and two millions); (b) practically all the Armenians are gone (a million and a half to two millions); (c) 400,000 non-Moslems left Constantinople and its suburbs within the six months after October, 1922 (according

to the Turkish Minister of the Interior); (*d*) the Turkish Moslems had known deaths of 437,000, seriously wounded 100,000, otherwise wounded 300,000 in the Great War (personal letter from Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1923).

The compensating gains are (*a*) the possibility that part or all of the Mosul vilayet may be settled by Great Britain and Turkey in favor of Turkey, and (*b*) the Caucasian territory, including Kars and Ardahan, which, by an understanding with Soviet Armenia and Soviet Georgia, has been returned by Soviet Russia to Turkey. The American Consul General at Constantinople has announced (1923) that these deductions and additions give Turkey an area of 494,538 square miles and a population of probably 10,000,000, or 20 inhabitants to the square mile. Therefore, if we accept these provisional figures, the New Turkey may be considered to have an area one sixth that of the United States of America, and a population approximately one twelfth as large.

APPENDIX IV

SOVEREIGNS OF THE OSMAN DYNASTY

HOUSE OF OSMAN

Osman	1299
Orkhan	1326
Murad I.	1359
Bayezid I., "The Thunderbolt"	1389
<i>Interregnum</i>	1402
Mohammed I.	1413
Murad II.	1421
Mohammed II., Conqueror of Constantinople	1451
Bayezid II.	1481
Selim I.	1512
Suleiman I., "The Magnificent"	1520
Selim II.	1566
Murad III.	1574
Mohammed III.	1595
Ahmed I.	1603
Mustafa I.	1617
Osman II.	1618
Murad IV., "The Intrepid"	1623
Ibrahim	1640
Mohammed IV.	1648
Suleiman II.	1687
Ahmed II.	1691
Mustafa II.	1695
Ahmed III.	1703
Mahmud I.	1730
Osman III.	1754
Mustafa III.	1757
Abdul Hamid I.	1773
Selim III.	1789
Mustafa IV.	1807
Mahmud II.	1808
Abdul Mejid	1839
Abdul Aziz	1861
Murad V. (May 30)	1876
Abdul Hamid II. (Aug. 31)	1876
Mohammed V. (April 27)	1909
Mohammed VI. (July 3)	1918
Abdul Mejid. (Nov. 19, 1922, elected <i>Khalif</i> by the National Assembly at Angora, the Government of Turkey).	

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1908-1923, INCLUSIVE

Main Sources: *American Journal of International Law*, *Annual Register*, *Current History*, *New York Times*, *Times (London)*.

1908

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| March 13. | Reply by the Porte to the six ambassadors in response to their notes of February 8, informing them of the renewal of the mandates of the foreign agents in Macedonia until July 12, 1914 (<i>Cmd. 4076</i>). In a verbal note dated December 15, 1907, Turkey had proposed to take the foreign agents and the members of the financial commission into the Turkish service with their present duties but the Powers declined. |
| April 20. | The Turkish ambassador at Rome presented a note from the Government of Turkey settling differences between the two Governments. Italy may open Italian postoffices at Constantinople, Salonika, Valona, Smyrna, and Jerusalem. |
| May 22. | <i>Iradé</i> authorizing construction of four new sections of the Baghdad Railway signed at Constantinople. |
| June 24. | <i>Iradé</i> proclaimed the restoration of the Constitution of 1876. |
| July 3. | Revolution broke out in Macedonia. |
| July 24. | The "Committee of Union and Progress" known as the "Young Turks," effected a bloodless revolution at Constantinople. |
| September 1. | Opening ceremonies of the Hejaz railway at Al Madina. |
| September 23. | Turkish note presented to Bulgaria regarding occupation of the Oriental Railways in Bulgaria by Bulgarian troops. |
| October 5. | Prince Ferdinand proclaimed independence of Bulgaria and assumed title of king. |
| October 7. | Emperor of Austria-Hungary issued a proclamation to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina annexing those provinces. |
| October 7. | Proclamation declaring Article 27 of the Treaty of Berlin could no longer be binding on Montenegro. |
| December 10. | Opening of the Ottoman Parliament. |

1909

- March 6. Treaty of commerce between Montenegro and Turkey signed at Cetinje.
- April 13. Counter-revolutionists seize parliament building. Young Turks flee from Constantinople.
- April 19. Protocol between Bulgaria and Turkey signed at Constantinople disposing of all questions pending, and providing for recognition by Turkey of the new political status of Bulgaria.
- April 24. The third revolution, resulting in complete deposition of the "Old Turks."
- April 27. Abdul Hamid II removed. A *fetva* signed by the Sheikh ul Islam, deposing the Sultan on the ground of misgovernment and what may be termed treason to the Moslem faith, was presented to the Assembly and acted upon immediately by a unanimous vote. Succeeded by his brother who became Mohammed V. Massacres of Armenian Christians at Adana.
- June 20. Turkey invited Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy to discuss with the Porte proposals for solution of the Cretan question on lines to preclude annexation of the Island by Greece and to guarantee maintenance of Turkish sovereign rights. Memorandum from the four protecting Powers, July 13.
- September 13. The Macedonian Financial Commission held its last sitting at Salonika.

1910

- January 6. The Porte addressed an identical note to the four protecting Powers protesting against the Cretan Government's decision to require officials to take the oath to the King of the Hellenes and to have the courts recognize and apply the Greek code.
- May 19. Convention between Tunis and Turkey signed at Tripoli regarding the frontier between the two countries.
- July 8. The consuls of the four protecting Powers handed the Cretan Government an ultimatum as to the seating of the Moslem delegates without requirement to take the oath. On July 11, the Cretan Government officially announced its submission to the conditions laid down by the Powers.
- August 28. Montenegro proclaimed a Kingdom.
- October 23. Violent anti-British demonstration at Constantinople and in India. Telegram drafted to German Emperor to come forward as saviour of the Moslems.

- November 1. The French-Ottoman commissioners, under the terms of the convention signed in May, 1910, at Tripoli, made a change in the Tripoli-Tunis boundary.

1911

- May 21. Agreement announced that the Persian-Turkish boundary conference at Constantinople would submit to the Hague Tribunal any points which remain unsettled.
- September 25-October 5. On September 25 the Italian chargé at Constantinople delivered the protest of his Government. On September 28 Italy delivered an ultimatum. On September 29 Turkey replied by declaring war on Italy, and on September 30 appealed to the Powers. On October 5 Tripoli was captured by Italy.
- November 2. Provisional commercial agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey for one year from November 14 signed at Constantinople.
- November 25. Extension until June 25, 1914, of the German-Ottoman Treaty of Commerce and Navigation signed at Constantinople August 26, 1890. Original date of expiration was March 12 (February 28), 1912.

1912

- February 29-June 19. Secret treaty of alliance and secret annex between Bulgaria and Serbia signed at Sofia, February 29, 1912. The additional convention agreeing to submit differences to the arbitration of Russia, and a military convention as to the conduct of the first Balkan campaign. Bulgaria and Greece signed a treaty of alliance May 16, and a military convention on September 22, 1912. By the Treaty of London, 1913, which concluded this campaign, nearly the whole of Serbia's share of the spoils was made into the State of Albania. Bulgaria insisted upon a strict compliance with the terms of the secret treaty and upon Serbia's refusal the second Balkan campaign was instituted. The Treaty of Bucharest closed the second campaign, and gave to Serbia a greater share than the secret treaty of Sofia.
- March 5. The Persian-Turkish boundary commission began its meetings at Constantinople.
- April 18. Dardanelles closed, but reopened to traffic on May 18.

- June 19. Military convention between Bulgaria and Serbia signed in conformity with the treaty of defensive alliance (February 29).
- October 8-
December 3. Discontent with Ottoman rule in Macedonia culminated in declaration of war against Turkey by Montenegro. Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece join Montenegro as allies, and (October 18) declare war on Turkey. After severe defeats by the Bulgarians at Kirk Kilisse and Lule Burgas, Turkey appealed to the Powers, November 3, for intervention, and an armistice was signed December 3, ending one of the bloodiest wars in history. Russia and Austria address a joint note to Balkans.
- October 13. Identical note to Turkey and identical reply to Russo-Austrian note.
- October 15. Protocol of peace preliminary between Italy and Turkey signed at Ouchy.
- October 17. Turkey declares war against Bulgaria, and Serbia and Greece declare war against Turkey.
- October 18. Treaty of peace between Italy and Turkey signed at Lausanne. Tripoli ceded to Italy with the understanding that the Italian troops would be withdrawn from the Dodekanese Islands when Turkish troops evacuated Tripoli. Italy nevertheless continued to occupy Rhodes.
- October 28. The Hague Tribunal began its consideration of the Russian claim for interest on deferred indemnity payments. The sentence was rendered November 11. (This is the eleventh decision.)
- December 3. Armistice at Chatalja lines agreed to by all Balkan States except Greece.
- December 16. Peace conference opened at London.

1913

- January 30. Protocol signed at London stated the Romanian demands and the Bulgarian concessions.
- February 1. London peace conference broken up with no agreement between Turkey and Balkan League.
- April 1. Turkey accepted terms of peace proposed by the Powers after a long discussion on the part of the Balkan allies. Balkan Allies not satisfied.
- April 10. Formal declaration of the blockade of Montenegro's ports by the Great Powers of Europe.
- April 20. Armistice signed between Turkey and the Balkan Allies except Montenegro.
- April 30. Reply of Montenegro to the Powers in regard to the evacuation of Scutari on the Adriatic.

- May 20- June 10. Second peace conference met in London with no results.
- May 25. The Balkan Financial Commission met at Paris.
- May 25. Report that Turkey is to cede Cyprus to Great Britain.
- May 30. The Treaty of London was signed between Turkey and Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia. Bulgarian and Turkish delegates also signed a protocol providing for the immediate removal of their respective armies from the scene of operation. The delegates arranged to meet June 2 to consider the advisability of signing an eventual annexation protocol.
- June 30- July 20. Actual warfare begun between Bulgaria and Serbia and Greece. Serbia declared war on Bulgaria on July 1. Greece announced that a state of war existed but did not formally declare war. Romania declared war on July 10. On July 6 Montenegro and Greece withdrew their ministers from Sofia. This war arose from the quarrels of the Allies as to the division of the spoils from Turkey in the first Balkan War. On July 8, Serbia declared war against Bulgaria. Bulgaria withdrew her troops from the disputed territory, July 10, and on July 17 sued for peace with Romania, which had invaded her territory on the north and east. On July 20, the Turks took and reoccupied Adrianople, which they were permitted by the Powers to retain.
- July 5. France took the initiative in asking the Powers to make declarations in favor of a policy of non-intervention in the war between Bulgaria and Serbia and Greece.
- July 15. Agreement concluded on the question of the delimitation of the Turko-Persian frontier. It has been decided to appoint a commission consisting of delegates of Turkey, Great Britain, and Russia for the purpose of marking the boundaries.
- July 30. A peace conference met at Bucharest which declared a five days' truce.
- August 10. The Treaty of Bucharest was signed between Bulgaria and Serbia, Greece, Montenegro, and Romania. This treaty was ratified by the Powers on August 30.
- August 19. International Commission appointed by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to investigate atrocities of Balkan War.
- September 3. Definite draft between Greece and Turkey completed.

- September 17. Official announcement made of the settlement of the frontiers of Bulgaria and Turkey in Thrace. The frontier starts at the mouth of the Maritsa River and ends north of Midia on the Black Sea. Turkey retains Tirnovó, Mustafa Pasha and Orta Köi. An agreement in principle has been reached on the subject of nationalities. One clause of the protocol is to the effect that the provisions of the Treaty of London not modified by the present protocol shall remain binding on all parties. The Treaty gives Turkey about twice the territory awarded her under the Treaty of London.
- September 25. Serbia is reported to be remobilizing her troops and to have had a number of engagements with Albanian troops.
- September 29. Treaty relating to adjustment of frontiers signed at Constantinople.
- October 9. The Austro-Russian note sent to the Balkan allies on the subject of the Balkan War and the division of Turkey in Europe. Response of Bulgaria and Serbia.
- October 12. Collective note from Germany, Austria, Great Britain, France and Russia addressed to the Ottoman Government. Reply received.
- October 14. Accord signed for settlement of French claims against Turkey. Accord signed relating to Greece, concessions, etc.
- October 22. A commission was appointed, consisting of Turks and foreigners, to examine into the modifications necessary in the capitulations.
- October 25. Serbian troops were withdrawn from Albania to the frontier as laid down by the Treaty of London.
- October 27. The British and Russian legations at Teheran presented a joint note to the Persian Government relating to the Turko-Persian Demarcation Commission.
- October 27. Agreement between Russia and Turkey signed relating to the Government of Armenia and definite railway concessions. (*Times*, October 29.)
- November 4. The Treaty of Belgrade between Montenegro and Serbia.
- November 11-13. Treaty signed at Athens settling differences growing out of the Balkan War. This was one of the treaties agreed upon at the conference of London. Ratified by Turkey and ratifications exchanged at Athens, November 27.

- November 23. The Great Powers of Europe had given their consent to the assumption of the throne of Albania by Prince William of Wied.
- November. Arrival of German General Liman von Sanders. Turkey handed over executive command of Constantinople and the Dardanelles.
- December 10. Crete taken over by Greece. Recognition by Powers December 24.

1914

- January. Enver Bey appointed Ottoman Minister of War.
- January 8. German General Liman von Sanders appointed Commander of the first army corps. Enver Pasha (no longer Bey) appointed Chief of Staff with German aides.
- February 15. A secret accord between France and Germany whereby Germany was left free to carry on the Baghdad enterprise.
- April 28. Announcement of accord between Russia and Turkey relating to duties and admission of Russian delegates into the Ottoman Public Debt Council to go into effect when consented to by the Powers.
- May 2. The treaty of commerce between Germany and Turkey and additional conventions relating to customs extended one year.
- June 15. Agreement between Great Britain and Germany relating to Baghdad railway.
- June 28. Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria assassinated with his wife at Serajevo.
- July 10. The Governments of Greece and Turkey requested Switzerland to designate an arbitrator to settle differences among the members of the mixed Graeco-Turkish commission sitting in Smyrna for the purpose of arranging the immigration questions. The commission was appointed to value and exchange the property of Turkish and Greek refugees.
- August 11. Turkey announced that she had bought the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*.
- August 14. Entente Allies offer to respect Turkey's integrity if she remains neutral.
- August 27. Liman Pasha appointed Commander in Chief of the Turkish Army.
- September 9. Turkey announced the abolition of capitulations for all foreigners.
- October 28. 2000 Bedouins under Turkish leaders approach Suez Canal.

- October 28. Turkey began war on Russia by shelling Black Sea ports (*British parliamentary paper*, Cmd. 7628). France, Great Britain, and Italy severed relations with Turkey.
- November 3. Russia declared war against Turkey.
- November 4. Great Britain annexed formally the Island of Cyprus.
- November 5. France and Great Britain declared war on Turkey.
- November 6. Turkey severed relations with Belgium.
- November 9. British Prime Minister at Whitehall spoke of the Turkish Government as having "rung the death-knell of the Ottoman domination, not only in Europe, but in Asia."
- November 11. The Sublime Porte declared a *jihad* (holy war), against the Entente Allies.
- November 14. Turkey issued an official note in reply to the circular note sent by Sir Edward Grey to the powers. This note explained her entrance into the war. (See *Select Document 1*.)
- November 27. The United States Department of State announced that Turkey had made satisfactory explanation of the Smyrna incident of November 16, when a shot was fired into the launch of the *U. S. S. Tennessee*.
- December 18. British protectorate proclaimed in Egypt.

1915

- January 8. Serbia declared war against Turkey.
- February to end of year. Turkish forces under General Liman von Sanders and Mustafa Kemal Pasha held Dardanelles against Anglo-French attacks. Futile attacks on Suez. Failure in Caucasus.
- March. Allied agreement regarding Constantinople, the Straits, and Persia. (*Select Document 2*.)
- April 26. Pact of London. (*Select Document 3*.)
- May 4. Italy renounced the Triple Alliance.
- August 21. Italy declared war against Turkey.
- August 27. Declaration by the French of blockade of coasts of Asia Minor and Syria.
- September 16. Talaat Pasha, Minister of the Interior, ordered that "an end must be put to their (the Armenians') existence, however tragic the measures to be taken, and no regard must be paid to either age or sex, or to conscientious scruples." Terrible "deportations" followed.
- October 21. Great Britain offered Island of Cyprus to Greece in return for her support of the Allies, but offer rejected.
- October 24. British agreement with the Sherif of Mecca. (*Select Document 4*.)

November. Forces of General Townshend in danger at Kut al Amara.

1916

- February-August. Turks unable to defend Erzerum (February 16), Trebizond (April 18), Erzinjan (July 25) against Russian Grand Duke Nicholas. Captured British forces under Major General Townshend at Kut al Amara (April 29). Drove out Russians from Kermanshah (July 5), Hamadan (August 10).
- April 27. Halil Bey, Turkish Minister of War, formally announced the replacement of Italy by Turkey in the Triple Alliance "on equal terms."
- May 9-16. Sykes-Picot Agreement (*Select Document 5*).
- May 12. Statement made in Reichstag by Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Zimmerman that at the beginning of the war a defensive alliance was concluded between Germany and Turkey based upon terms of equality and framed to endure for a long period, as well as negotiations regarding consular representatives, legal status of cities, and residential rights (*New York Times*, May 13).
- June 9. Husain ibn Ali, Sherif of Mecca, declared himself independent of the Ottoman Government.
- June 23. Greece, France, Great Britain and Russia, under the protocol of London signed July 6, 1827, assumed the protection of the Kingdom of Greece.
- June 27. The Sherif of Mecca proclaimed the new state of Arabia.
- August 29. Turkey declared war against Romania.
- September 17. Spain proclaimed neutrality.
- September 27. M. Venizelos headed the revolution in Greece. Headquarters of provisional government established at Salonika (October 10).
- October 17. Allied troops landed at Athens. Greek warships seized by the Allies.
- November 11. Arabia asked recognition of the Powers as a Kingdom separate from Turkey.
- November 25. German ambassadors addressed a protest to the United States Department of State against the action of the Allied Powers in ordering the ministers of Germany, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria from Greece.
- December 1. British and French marines landed at the Piraeus.
- December 26. The Turkish Government replied to the note of President Wilson dated December 18 (*Select Document 6*).

1917

- January 1. The Turkish Government announced the abrogation of the Treaty of Paris signed March 10, 1856, and the Treaty of Berlin signed August 3, 1878.
- January 11. Greece accepted the demands of the Allies.
- February (early). Grand Vizier Said Halim was succeeded by Talaat Bey. Enver Pasha became Minister of War in the cabinet.
- March-December. British forces captured Baghdad (March 11, see *Select Document 8*), enter Jerusalem (December 11).
- March 6. Secret agreement disclosed regarding partition of Asiatic Turkey (*Select Document 7*).
- March 16. Grand Duke Michael abdicated the Russian throne: this terminated the Romanoff dynasty.
- April 4. The United States declared war on Germany.
- April 10. Kerensky Government in Russia repudiated imperialistic Tsarist policies.
- April 19-21. St. Jean de Maurienne secret agreement (*Select Document 9*).
- April 20. Turkey severed diplomatic relations with the United States. American Ambassador Elkus, who was ill, allowed to remain; he left Turkey June 1.
- May 10. Discussions in the Reichstag regarding capitulations in Turkey.
- June 11. British statement to the seven Syrians of Cairo.
- July 8. Greece (Government of King Alexander) severed relations with Turkey.
- July 24. Announced that Austro-German Economic Conference was being held in Vienna for the purpose of forming a "Middle Europe" alliance to offset the economic alliance of the Entente Allies.
- July 25-27. Conference of representatives of the Entente Allies held to declare aims, etc. in the Balkans.
- July 31. Germany notified Turkey and Bulgaria that she would assume all expenses incurred by those countries in the campaign of 1917-1918.
- August 4. King Alexander took the oath of office as King of the Hellenes.
- August 7. A continuation of the Paris Conference opened in London.
- September 12 (14). A Soviet Republic proclaimed in Russia.
- November 2. Balfour declaration regarding Palestine homeland (*Select Document 10*).
- November 7. Bolshevik party assumed control in Russia.
- November 22. Soviet Russia's invitation to a general peace.

1918

- January 5. British Premier defined war aims (*Select Document 11*).
- January 8. President Wilson's basis for world peace (Point 12, *Select Document 12*).
- February 8. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Neesimy Bey, expressed complete accord with the Czernin and von Hertling replies to President Wilson's address to Congress of January 8, 1918.
- February 9. Peace Treaty signed between Ukraina and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria (*New York Times*, February 12).
- March 3. Brest-Litovsk Treaty between Soviet Russia and Central Powers ratified by Soviet Russia on March 14 (*Select Document 13*).
- April 2. German and Turkish ambassadors presented their credentials to the Russian Soviet Republic.
- April 13. Armenia and Georgia refused to recognize the cession of territory under the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and fighting broke out in Batum, Kars, and Ardahan after the Turks began military occupation.
- April 26. Dispatch from Vienna stated that Bulgaria has agreed to cede Turkey the Karagatch railway station at Adrianople and the left bank of the River Maritsa as far as Kuleli-Burgas as compensation for Bulgaria's acquisition of the Dobruja.
- May 10. Caucasus peace negotiations with Turkey.
- May 10. Announced that an accord had been signed between France and Turkey relative to repatriation of civilians of the two countries.
- June 7. Announced that Bulgaria and Turkey had become parties to the Austro-German pact (*Times*, June 10).
- July 3. Death of Mohammed V, Sultan of Turkey. The following day Vahideddin proclaimed Sultan.
- July 13. Ratifications of Brest-Litovsk treaty exchanged in Berlin.
- July 26. Announced that the fifth national congress of Turkestan had proclaimed Turkestan a republic in alliance with Soviet Russia.
- July 28. By plebiscite, Kars, Batum, and Ardahan decided to unite with Turkey.
- July 31. Peace treaty ratified at Constantinople between Turkey and the Armenian independent republic of Ararat with its capital at Erivan.
- August 19. Commercial treaty signed between Turkey and Azerbaijan.

- August 22. Exchange of ratifications of Brest-Litovsk treaty between Turkey and the Ukraine.
- September 5. When Tabriz was occupied in June the American consulate was sacked and the American hospital seized. Turkey disclaimed any intention of affronting the United States and orders were given to remove troops from the American hospitals and to respect American interests there.
- September 19-30. General Allenby's forces victorious in Palestine; capture Damascus (September 30).
- September 24. Bulgaria initiated a proposal for securing armistice and peace.
- September 29. Bulgaria surrenders.
- October 4. Allied governments formally recognize the belligerent status of Arab forces fighting with Allies against Turks in Palestine and Syria.
- October 5. Russia abrogated the treaty of peace with Turkey.
- October 8. Turkish emissaries sent to Allies from Smyrna to ask for peace.
- October 12. Peace note from Turkey.
- October 14. Emir Feisal entered Damascus and raised Arab flag (replaced by French tricolor, October 24).
- October (middle of month). Talaat and Enver resigned.
- October 30. The United States notified Turkey that the request for armistice would be brought to the attention of nations at war with Turkey. Turkish armistice signed at Mudros to go into effect the next noon, local time, October 31 (*Select Document 14*).
- November 8. Anglo-French declaration with regard to Arab territories (*Select Document 15*).
- November 9. British forces occupy forts along the Dardanelles.
- November 13. Allied fleet anchored off Constantinople.

1919

- January 18. The Paris Peace Conference (first plenary session) opened at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. M. Georges Clemenceau, premier of France, was elected president on nomination by President Wilson.
- January 30. Secret treaty between Turkey and Germany discovered showing plan for dividing Russia (*New York Tribune*, January 31).
- April 1. Blockade against Turkey raised.
- April 22. The United States recognized British protectorate in Egypt.
- April 24. Signor Orlando left Paris for Rome returning to Paris on May 5.
- April 29. Italian troops landed at Adalia.

- May 9. Ecumenical Patriarch at the Phanar broke off relations with the Ottoman Government.
- May 15. Greek forces landed at Smyrna in accordance with mandate received from the Allied and Associated Powers.
- May 21. M. Sterghiades arrived at Smyrna in capacity of High Commissioner.
- June-July. American section of the International Commission on Mandates in Turkey (King-Crane Mission) studied conditions in Syria and Palestine (report contained in *Editor and Publisher*, New York, December 2, 1922).
- June 17-July 4. Turkish delegates to Peace Conference ask to be heard on June 17. Full text allied reply (*Times*, June 17). After exchange of notes the delegates were advised that nothing would be gained by a longer stay in Paris and on July 4, the mission left for Constantinople without a formal hearing.
- June 28. Treaty between Allied Powers and Germany signed.
- July. Enver Pasha, Djemal Pasha, and Talaat Pasha tried by court martial and condemned to death. They had fled from the country prior to November 1918.
- July 11. Mustafa Kemal Pasha outlawed by the Ottoman Government.
- July 23. Turkish Nationalist Congress at Erzerum.
- July 29. M. Venizelos and Signor Tittoni signed agreement respecting Greek and Italian interests in Rhodes, the Dodekanese and the Meander valley.
- August-October. American Military Mission to Armenia and Transcaucasia, under command of Major General James G. Harbord, organized under authority of the President, investigated conditions in European Turkey, Asia Minor, and the Transcaucasus. (See bibliography and *Select Document 20*.)
- August 8. Turks proclaimed *jihad* against Greeks landed at Panderma.
- August 9. Anglo-Persian agreement signed.
- August 24. First meeting of the Commission of Inquiry sent to Smyrna by the Governments of the principal Allied Powers and the United States.
- August 28. Rear Admiral Bristol, U. S. N., appointed American High Commissioner at Constantinople.
- September 9. Declaration of the Congress of Sivas (*Select Document 16*).
- September 9. General Allenby arrived in Paris.
- September 9. Statement by Colonel Lawrence regarding Syrian question.

- September 26. Announcement that an agreement had been reached between France and Great Britain relative to Syria.
- October 5. Damad Ferid Ministry replaced by an Ali Riza Ministry with a mandate from the Sultan to hold a general election.
- October 7. Mustafa Kemal Pasha telegraphed to the Ottoman Government the peace terms formulated at the Congresses of Erzerum and Sivas.
- October. Publication at Constantinople of summary report of the Allied Commission of Inquiry at Smyrna (*Select Document 17*).
- November-December. British forces replaced by French forces in Cilicia, and in Syria, as far south as the Palestine frontier.
- November 23. Agreement between Soviet Armenia and Azerbaijan to cease hostilities and to settle all controversies by peaceful agreements.
- November 27. Treaty between Allied Powers and Bulgaria at Neuilly.

1920

- January 11. Session of Ottoman Parliament begins at Constantinople.
- January 28. Signatures by members of the Ottoman Parliament to the Turkish Nationalist Pact (*Select Document 18*).
- February. Allied extradition list.
- February 9. French garrison evacuated Marash. Massacre of Armenian civilians.
- February 9. Secret memorandum of April, 1917 from Lord Balfour, British secretary for foreign affairs, to the French Government concerning final division of Asia Minor was made public (*Select Document 9*).
- February 20. British Premier, in important speech, announced that Allies had decided to have the Turks remain in Constantinople.
- March 2, 16, 22, 24. British Government refused to publish Report of the Allied Commission of Inquiry at Smyrna (*Select Document 17*).
- March 11. Emir Feisal proclaimed himself at Damascus, King of Syria; he had assumed the title previously.
- March 16. The Allied occupation of Constantinople (*Select Document 19*). Recall of Allied patrol officers from the interior of Anatolia. Prominent Turks arrested March 15-16 by the British and deported to Malta. Many Turks escaped to Asia Minor.
- March 22. Lebanon independence proclaimed at Baalbek.

- April 1-June 1. Armenian mandate offered to League of Nations by Supreme Council. Publicly discussed April 11. Council rejected mandate. Allied premiers decide to establish a free and independent republic. League of Nations Council in memorandum to Supreme Council insisted that that power should guard Armenia sharing financial risk. Senate rejected (June 1) President Wilson's recommendation to accept Armenian mandate, vote, 62 to 13.
- April 3. The Report of the American Military Mission to Armenia transmitted by President Wilson to the United States Senate (*Select Document 20*).
- April 6. A second Damad Ferid Ministry came into power.
- April 10. French garrison at Urfa massacred.
- April 11. Sheikh-ul-Islam promulgated *fatva* denouncing nationalists as "rebels"; Grand Vizier issued decree condemning Nationalistic movement. The following day the Ottoman Parliament dissolved by order of the Sultan.
- April 18-27. Conference of San Remo (Oil decision, *Select Document 21*). Appeal to the United States to take mandate for Armenia: failing that, President Wilson should be asked to arbitrate frontiers.
- April 23. Armenian Soviet Republic recognized as a *de facto* government by the United States. In January, recognition had been accorded by France, Great Britain, and Italy.
- April 23. National Assembly met at Angora. Formal break between Angora and Constantinople. Law of Fundamental Organization (See chapter on *Government*).
- April 26. Palestine mandate accorded to Great Britain.
- April 29. Cilician Christians, Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, Chaldeans, Assyrians, and Jacobites made collective protest to the Council of the League of Nations against return of their territory to Ottoman rule.
- April. Military Convention concluded by Soviet Russia and Kemalists.
- May 6. Peace delegation of the Porte arrived at Paris; given draft of peace treaty, May 11. Allowed one month for consideration; Sublime Porte envoys request delay until July 11.
- May 15. Mesopotamian mandate offered to Great Britain.
- June 1. Sir Herbert L. Samuel on his appointment as High Commissioner of Palestine announced the purpose of the British mandate.
- June 19-21. Hythe Conference.
- June 19-25. British naval forces occupy Mudania.

- June 21-22. Conference of Allied Powers at Boulogne; Greek Prime Minister Venizelos announced that this Conference had sanctioned military action in Anatolia by Greece.
- June. M. Venizelos, visiting England, is given permission to proceed against the Nationalist forces to the north of Smyrna in the direction of Brusa.
- June 22. Greek offensive against Turkish nationalist forces began.
- June 30. Publication of the Constantinople Government's proposals to the Allied Governments' draft of the peace treaty.
- June. Political understanding between Soviet Russia and Kemalists.
- July 2. British and Greek naval forces occupied Panderma. Arab uprising in Mesopotamia began.
- July 8. The Greek army entered Brusa.
- July 9. British garrison evacuated Batum.
- July 14-25. French commander in Syria sent an ultimatum to the Arab National Government of Damascus (July 14), and after fighting entered Damascus and overthrew the Arab National Government (July 25).
- July (late). Greeks occupied Thrace.
- August 10. Signature at Sèvres of four treaties and one protocol (*Select Documents 22, 23*).
- August 19. Draft agreement between Egypt and Great Britain signed at London recognizing independence and sovereign status of Egypt.
- September (middle). Italians evacuated the Dodekanese except Rhodes.
- September 17. Sir Percy Cox sent to Mesopotamia to create an Arab state; on October 20 the British War Office announced the completion of their main operations for the reestablishment of British military control in Mesopotamia.
- September. Turkish Nationalist forces invade Armenian Republic of Erivan.
- October 15. Turks capture Hajin, Cilicia. Many Armenians massacred.
- October 25-
December 19. King Alexander of Greece died (October 25). General elections in Greece strongly against M. Venizelos (November 14). Plebiscite recalled King Constantine (December 5) by almost a unanimous vote. King Constantine arrived at Athens (December 19).
- November 26. American official note of November 20 to Great Britain regarding mandate and oil in Mesopotamia made public.

- December 1. Offer of mediation to save Armenia made jointly by President Wilson, President Dato of Spain, and Foreign Minister Morquez of Brazil, placed before Council of League of Nations.
- December 3. Turko-Armenian peace treaty signed at Alexandropol, reducing Armenia to district of Erivan and Lake Gokcha (*New York Times*, December 10).
- December 4. A few days after an ultimatum from Soviet Russia to Turkish Nationalists forbidding them to advance further into Armenian territory, peace treaty was signed by the two governments.
- December 7. President Wilson asked Congress to authorize loan to Armenia.
- December 10. President Wilson's award concerning boundaries of Armenia delivered to French foreign office.
- December 12. French decree issued creating body of controlling councilors to administer mandate in Syria and Lebanon.
- December 22. Armenian Soviet Government repudiated all debts owed by any past Government.
- December 23. Franco-British Convention (*Select Document 24*).
- December. Unsuccessful negotiations between Nationalists at Angora and Government at Constantinople.

1921

- January 16. Mission under Izzet Pasha from Constantinople Government arrived in Angora and announced shortly decision to remain in Angora until the Allies consented to modify the Sèvres treaty.
- January 22. Porte agreement signed establishing interallied control of all disbursements and revenues.
- January 30. Chamber of Deputies voted to ratify Sèvres treaty on January 30; Senate on December 23, 1920 had agreed to ratify.
- January 30. Mustafa Kemal Pasha notified the Constantinople Government that the Angora Government was the only one in Turkey.
- February 3-4. British mandate drafts for Mesopotamia and Palestine made public.
- February 8. Angora decided to send a separate mission to the London Conference.
- February 18. Two Turkish delegations arrived in London.
- February 21. Conference of the Allied Powers at London attended by delegations from Athens, Constantinople, and Angora.
- March 1. Treaty signed at Moscow between Afghanistan and Kemalists establishing diplomatic and consular relations, and providing for mutual assistance in event of attack by a third power. (*Select Document 25*.)

- March 9. Secret Agreement of London between the French and the Kemalists regarding immediate cessation of hostilities, evacuation of Cilicia, exchange of prisoners, protection of Armenians, etc., not ratified.
- March 12. Secret Agreement of London between the Italians and the Kemalists signed at London regarding conditions of Italian zone of influence in Turkey and withdrawal of Italian troops from Ottoman territory. Not ratified. (*Select Document 26.*)
- March 16. Kemalst-Soviet Russia treaty signed at Moscow (*Select Document 27*).
- March 19. Franco-British convention on Asiatic mandates, signed December 23, 1920, made public. (*Select Document 24.*)
- March 31. Fighting broke out between French and Turks in Cilicia.
- April-September. Numerous military operations of which the most important was the notable counter attack of the Turks in September when they compelled the Greek army to recross the river Sakkaria.
- April 5. Correspondence between Great Britain and the United States in regard to economic rights in mandated territory made public. (*British parliamentary papers*, cmd. 1226.)
- April. Talaat Pasha assassinated at Berlin by an Armenian; latter exonerated by German court.
- May 13. Government at Angora ratified treaty of March 16, 1921 with Soviet Russia.
- May 18. Proclamation of neutrality and designation of a neutral zone by the three Allied High Commissioners at Constantinople.
- June (early). M. Franklin-Bouillon, president of the foreign relations committee of the French senate, proceeded to Angora.
- June 19. Allied Powers sent offer to Greece to attempt mediation between Greeks and Turks, but offer refused on June 25.
- July (early). Mustafa Kemal Pasha requested General Harington for a personal interview to which latter acceded. It did not take place, however.
- July 30. The Angora National Assembly ratified by 202 votes to 1 the Turko-Russian Treaty concluded in March.
- August 10. Supreme War Council declared that Greece and Turkish Nationalists were engaged in a private war, and proclaimed neutrality of England, France, Italy, and Japan. (*Current History*, September, 1921.)
- August 23. Emir Feisal ascended throne of Iraq.

- October 2. Soviet Russian-Turkish ratification of peace treaty of March 16, 1921, took place at Kars.
- October 4-9. Permanent mandates commission held first session at Geneva.
- October 13. Treaty of Kars between the Kemalist Government and the Caucasian Soviet Republics was signed. (*Select Document 28.*)
- October 20. Franco-Turkish Nationalist agreement (*Select Document 29*) ratified by Kemalists, October 22; by France, October 30. Franco-British correspondence regarding same (November 6-18).
- November 18. Council of the League of Nations notified of conclusion of treaty between Iraq and the British Government.
- December 30. Caucasus federation, consisting of a federation under Russian rule with political center at Baku, sponsored by the Russian Soviet Government.

1922

- January 2. Treaty of friendship between Ukrainia and the Kemalists. Ratified by the latter on January 10. (Text appears in *Current History*, February, 1923.)
- January 12. Cannes Conference between the British representatives (Premier Lloyd George and Earl Curzon) and the Greek representatives (Messrs. Gounaris and Baltazis).
- February 6. Yusuf Kemal Pasha left Anatolia on peace mission.
- February 15. Greek premier wrote Lord Curzon regarding desperate military situation in Asia Minor to which Lord Curzon replied that the Greek Government should await conclusions of the coming Allied conference. Letter from M. Gounaris circulated to the British Cabinet but not noted by the British Premier and other responsible officials. On November 28, executions at Athens took place.
- February 28. British protectorate in Egypt terminated (*Cmd. 592*).
- March. Fruitless mission of Yusuf Kemal to London. Mission from Constantinople Government in London simultaneously (assigned to the same hotel).
- March 9. Earl Montague of the Indian Office resigned following publication of Lord Reading's plea against depriving Turkey of Smyrna and European territory.
- March 31. Imperial Ottoman Government-Italian secret agreement (*Select Document 30*).

- March 22-April 15. Foreign ministers of England, France, and Italy met at Paris on March 22 to discuss Graeco-Turkish problems and demands of Turkish nationalists for the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres. On March 23 proposals for an armistice of three months was sent to Greek Government at Athens and to Turkish Governments at Angora and Constantinople. On March 25 the Greek Government accepted proposals with reservations. On March 26 the conference closed, with signing of terms for revision of Sèvres Treaty. On April 5 Angora accepted armistice proposals with reservation regarding Anatolia. On April 8 Constantinople accepted with reservation regarding Thrace. Acceptance was handed to Allied High Commissioners. On April 15 Allied High Commissioners sent reply to Angora refusing to evacuate Anatolia.
- April 23. Angora Government informed Allies it would agree to preliminary discussion of peace terms.
- April 24. Agreement concluded between Italy and Russia concerning concessions for railways, mines, and public works in Asia Minor (*Times*, May 5, 1922).
- May 9. Agreement between Great Britain and United States reached in regard to Palestine mandate to be embodied in a treaty (*New York Times*, May 10).
- May 9. At Geneva economic conference, King Feisal's representatives claimed independence for Syria and Lebanon, and decreed the organization of a powerful constitutional assembly at Baghdad.
- June 26. Kemalist Government recognized by Persia.
- July 12. Angora Assembly elected new commissars.
- July 24. Class A mandates, Syria to France and Palestine to Great Britain, approved by Council of League of Nations. On June 21, British House of Lords had voted against Palestine mandate, 60 to 29; on July 4, House of Commons approved mandate, 292 to 35 (*Select Document 31*).
- July 25. Djemal Pasha killed by two Armenians at Tiflis.
- July 27-29. Greek forces' threatened occupation of Constantinople (July 27), opposed by Allied Powers. Greeks acquiesced (July 29).
- July 30. M. Sterghiades proclaimed autonomy of Smyrna under Greek military protection.
- July (end). Allied attempt to call a conference in Venice for September prevented by renewed fighting.

- August 4. British Premier's speech in House of Commons (*Select Document 32*). Other statements by Mr. Lloyd George were given on September 21, 23, and October 14.
- August 23. Fethi Bey, Minister of the Interior, failed to secure an audience with any cabinet minister regarding peace terms and left London in disgust. Before departure he telegraphed Angora to "Attack."
- August 28. Kemalist military operations launched, resulting in speedy and complete rout of Greek forces involving very heavy losses in men and materials.
- September 8. M. Sterghiades at Smyrna resigned. The advance Turkish troops entered Smyrna September 9, followed by Mustafa Kemal Pasha two days later.
- September 14. Tremendous Smyrna conflagration. Wholesale disagreement regarding the original incendiary. Apparently equally authentic parties charge the Armenians, Greeks, and Turks.
- September 16. British Prime Minister made a military appeal against the Turks to the Dominions and the Balkan States. Premier Poincaré announced (September 19) that France was not prepared to use force and advised British withdrawal from Chanaq but the British refused (September 21).
- September 22. Ratifications exchanged for Turkish Nationalist-Soviet Russian treaty.
- September 23. France, Great Britain, and Italy requested an armistice. M. Franklin-Bouillon sent as special emissary.
- October 1. Turkish National Pact made widely public (*New York Times*, October 1, 1922).
- October 10. British-Iraq treaty announced (*Select Document 33*).
- October 3-11. Deliberations at Mudania; armistice signed October 11 (*Select Document 34*).
- October 19. Refet Pasha, appointed by Angora as governor of Eastern Thrace, arrived at Constantinople.
- October 26. Invitations issued to Conference at Lausanne.
- October (?). Enver Pasha killed fighting in Bokhara where he had raised a revolt against Soviet Russia in order to make himself dictator of Turkestan.
- November 1. Grand National Assembly made supreme in Turkey. (See chapter on *Government*.)
- November 2. Defensive alliance between Afghanistan and Turkey.
- November 5. Refet Pasha announced that Constantinople Government had ceased to exist. Archives of Sublime Porte transferred to Angora. Allied High Commissioners accept new conditions but refuse to evacuate the city.

- November 16. National Assembly accused Mohammed VI of treason and ordered him and his cabinet ministers to be placed on trial. The following day the former Sultan embarked for Malta on the British dreadnought *Malaya*. Britain stated that it had merely protected him from a personal danger and that Britain had been the traditional refuge of deposed sovereigns; and that even Napoleon had been removed to safety on a British ship.
- November 19. Abdul Mejid Effendi, second son of the late Sultan Aziz and cousin of Mohammed VI, was elected Supreme Khalif of the Moslems (*Select Document 35*). On November 24 the new Khalif was invested with the Sacred Mantle of the Prophet Mohammed in the Top Kapu Palace overlooking the Golden Horn. For the first time in history the prayers were said in Turkish instead of Arabic to symbolize Turkish national unity and to indicate that the Arabs no longer formed a part of the Turkish State. No foreign government was officially represented at the ceremonies although congratulations were extended on November 27. Premier Lloyd George resigns. Lord Curzon remains secretary for foreign affairs.
- November 20. First Lausanne Conference opens.
- November 25. French evacuated Adrianople.
- November 27. Reported that 250,000 non-Moslem inhabitants of northern Asia Minor were fleeing.
- December 1. Allies agree to exchange of populations.
- December 10. Sir Charles Harington, Commander in Chief of the Allied military forces at the Straits, after an interview with the new Khalif reported that the latter's authority had been recognized, therefore the British Government wished to establish formal relations with him.
- December (early) British High Commissioner in Iraq secured signature of Ibn Saud to treaty between Iraq and Nejd drawn up in the previous April.

1923

- January 30. Graeco-Turkish agreements signed at Lausanne, incorporated in the Treaty of Peace (July 24).
- February 5. First Lausanne Conference ends.
- February 17. Turkish Economic Congress at Smyrna (See text in the *General Introduction*).
- March 6. The Grand National Assembly rejected the treaty draft but authorized the government to continue negotiations.

- April 3. Protocol to British-Iraq treaty signed, published in Iraq on May 5.
- April 10. The Grand National Assembly approved the so-called Chester Concessions. Protests later from the French and British Governments. The American interests vested in the Ottoman-American Development Company signed the agreement in New York City (June 9).
- April 15. The ex-Sultan of Turkey issued a proclamation to the Islamic world to ignore the decision separating the Sultanate and the Khalifate. The following day the Grand National Assembly passed a law making an act of high treason all agitation in favor of restoring the former authority.
- April 20. Mrs. Hamilton Wright, American member of the Opium Commission of the League of Nations, announced that the Turkish Government was willing to restrict opium production to medical needs provided an assurance against loss of revenue was made.
- April 23. Second Lausanne Conference opened.
- May 2. Several Bolshevik agents arrested in Constantinople.
- May 3. Sir Percy Cox left Baghdad on the termination of his appointment as British High Commissioner.
- July 8. Accord reached at Lausanne between Ismet Paşa and the Allies. The following day at a special meeting of the Angora Cabinet, Mustafa Kemal presiding authorized Ismet to sign peace terms.
- July 10. The Greek Patriarch, Meletios Metaxakis, is forced to retire from Constantinople.
- July 24. Peace terms signed between Turks and Allies at Lausanne. Treaty of peace between the Turks and the Greeks signed (*Select Document 36*).
- July 25. The Aga Khan announced to Moslem world that the Khalifate movement was "out of date." Good relations should be cultivated with France and Great Britain, and Turkey should be assisted in every way possible.
- August 6. Supplementary treaties signed between representatives of the Turkish and American Governments.
- August 13. The recent elections gave sweeping victory for the Defense of Rights party, and on August 13, Mustafa Kemal Pasha was unanimously elected President of the Grand National Assembly.
- August 23. The Grand National Assembly ratified the Lausanne treaty by a vote of 215 to 20.
- October 6. Turkish troops occupy Constantinople.
- October 14. Angora is voted the Turkish capital by the Assembly.

SELECT DOCUMENTS

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- October 29. Declaration of the Turkish Republic (*Select Document 37*). Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha chosen the first President and General Ismet Pasha the first Premier.
- November 25. Syro-Palestine Congress petitions League of Nations to set aside mandates for Syria, the Lebanon, and Palestine.
- December 11. Following the publication in Constantinople journals of the declaration regarding the Khalifate by the Aga Khan and Ameer Ali, the Government established an "anti-revolutionary" court which held secret sessions at Constantinople during the rest of the month.
- December 13. The new Ecumenical Patriarch, Gregorius VII, is enthroned at the Phanar.
- December 18. The Turkish Minister of Public Works announced that the "Chester" concessions were annulled.

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N. B.—In only a few instances have the entire texts been reproduced.

No. 1. Official Statement by Sublime Porte Relative to Turkey's Entrance into the World War.¹

November 14, 1914.

REFERENCE.—*International Law Documents*, Naval War College, 1917, page 219. Translated from the *Corriere della Sera*, November 16, 1914.

England complains that Turkey, without any preliminary notice, bought two warships from Germany. It should be borne in mind, however, that before war was declared the English Government ordered the seizure of two dreadnoughts that were being built for Turkey in British yards, and that one of these dreadnoughts, the *Sultan Osman*, was seized half an hour before the appointed time when the Turkish flag was to have been raised over the ship; and that finally no indemnity was paid for these confiscations.

It is natural, therefore, that Turkey, finding itself deprived of the two warships that were considered indispensable for the defense of the Empire, hastened to remedy the loss by acquiring the two ships offered in a friendly spirit by the German Government.

England complains of the closing of the Dardanelles. But the responsibility for this act falls on the British Government, as will appear from the following reasons, which determined the Turkish Government to take the final decision: In spite of the neutrality of Turkey, England, under the pretext that German officers were serving on Turkish ships, declared officially that Turkish war vessels would be considered as hostile craft, and would be attacked by the British fleet anchored at the entrance of the Straits.

¹ "Amsterdam, Nov. 13, 1914. A telegram from Constantinople received here via Berlin states that the Porte has published an *iradé* containing Turkey's declaration of war against the allied powers—*Reuter*." (*Times*, Nov. 14, 1914.)

In view of this hostile declaration Turkey found itself compelled to close the Dardanelles in order to insure the safety of the capital. And as to the claims of England, it is evident that the presence of German officers on the Turkish warships was a question of internal politics and should not, therefore, have given rise to any protest on the part of a foreign power.

(The note goes on to say that England, though asked to intervene in behalf of Turkey during the Balkan war, did everything that was in its power to bring about the downfall of the Turkish Empire. And when Adrianople was recaptured by the Turkish Army, the British prime minister did not hesitate to threaten Turkey with collective punishment on the part of the Great Powers if the city were not evacuated by the Turkish forces. The note continues as follows:)

The designs of the British are not limited to the countries of Europe; they extend to the Gulf of Persia. England has carried out its plan of impairing the sovereign rights of Turkey and of opening up a way of access into Arabia, for a long time coveted by the English.

Faithful to its policy of hostility England has ever opposed the attempts at reforms in Turkey. It exerted all its influence to prevent the powers from furnishing expert technical help to the Turkish Government. The Kaiser alone, disregarding the intrigues of Great Britain, authorized S. E. Liman von Sanders, Pasha, to reorganize the Turkish Army, that army which is challenging the British forces.

(After having recalled the Franco-British convention of 1904, which "passed a sentence of death on Morocco and on Egypt," and the agreement with Russia in reference to Persia, the note concludes:)

England for more than a century has been striving to destroy the freedom of the Moslem so as to open up their countries to the greedy exploitation of the British merchants. The English Government, pursuing its program of hatred against the Moslem States, has succeeded in giving to its policy a religious color which insures to it the support and the adhesion of the English people, puritanic and fanatical.

Let us be grateful to God who has given us the opportunity of victoriously defending the welfare of Islam against its three ruthless enemies, England, Russia and France.

No. 2. Allied Agreement regarding Constantinople, the Straits and Persia.

March, 1915.

THIS arrangement between France, Great Britain and Russia remained a secret until disclosed by the Soviet Russian foreign office in November, 1917.

REFERENCE.—F. Seymour Cocks, "The Secret Treaties," London, 1918.

Document A. Confidential telegram from the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Russian Ambassador at Paris, dated March 5

(18), 1915, appearing in the *Manchester Guardian*, December 12, 1917, as follows:

On February 23 (March 8) the French Ambassador, on behalf of his Government, announced to me that France was prepared to take up a most favourable attitude in the matter of realization of our desires as set out in my telegram to you, No. 937, in respect of the Straits and Constantinople, for which I charged you to tender Delcassé my gratitude.

In his conversations with you, Delcassé had previously more than once given his assurance that we could rely on the sympathy of France, and only referred to the need of elucidating the question of the attitude of England, from whom he feared some objections, before he could give us a more definite assurance in the above sense. Now the British Government has given its complete consent in writing to the annexation by Russia of the Straits and Constantinople within the limits indicated by us, and only demanded security for its economic interests and a similar benevolent attitude on our part towards the political aspirations of England in other parts.

For me, personally, filled as I am with most complete confidence in Delcassé, the assurance received from him is quite sufficient, but the Imperial Government would desire a more definite pronouncement of France's assent to the complete satisfaction of our desires, similar to that made by the British Government.

(Signed)

SAZONOFF

Document B. Memorandum of the Russian Foreign Office appearing in the *Pravda*, a Bolshevik publication, translated in the *New Europe*, December 20, 1917, as follows:

On February 19 (March 4), 1915, the Minister of Foreign Affairs handed to the French and British Ambassadors a Memorandum which set forth the desire to add the following territories to Russia as the result of the present war:

The town of Constantinople, the western coast of the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmara, and the Dardanelles; Southern Thrace, as far as the Enos-Media line; the coast of Asia Minor between the Bosphorus and the River Sakkaria, and a point on the Gulf of Izmid to be defined later; the islands in the Sea of Marmara, and the Islands of Imbros and Tenedos. The special rights of France and England in the above territories were to remain inviolate.

Both the French and British Governments express their readiness to agree to our wishes, provided the war is won, and provided a number of claims made by France and England, both in the Ottoman Empire, and in other places, are satisfied.

As far as Turkey is concerned, these claims are as follows:

1. Constantinople is to be recognized as a free port for the transit of goods [not proceeding from or] (a*) to Russia, and a free passage is to be given through the Straits to merchant ships.

2. The rights of England and France in Asiatic Turkey to be defined by special agreement between France and England and Russia are recognized.

3. The sacred Mohammedan places are to be protected, and Arabia is to be under an independent Mohammedan [rule]. (b*.)

The neutral zone in Persia established by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 is to be included in the English sphere of influence.

While recognising these demands in general as satisfactory, the Russian Government made several reservations.

In view of the formulation of our wishes with regard to the sacred Mohammedan places it must now be made clear whether these localities are to remain under the sovereignty of Turkey with the Sultan keeping the title of Khalif, or whether it is proposed to create new independent States. In our opinion it would be [desirable] (c*) to separate the Khalifate from Turkey. In any case freedom of pilgrimage must be guaranteed.

While agreeing to the inclusion of the neutral zone of Persia within the sphere of English influence, the Russian Government considers it right to declare that the districts round the towns of Ispahan and Yezd [should be secured] (d*) by Russia, and also that part of the neutral zone which cuts a wedge between the Russian and Afghan frontiers and goes as far as the Russian frontier at Zulfagar [should be] (e*) included in the Russian sphere of influence.

The Russian Government considers it desirable that the question of the frontiers between Russia and Northern Afghanistan should simultaneously be solved according to the wishes expressed at the time of the negotiations of 1914.

After the entrance of Italy into the war, our wishes were communicated to the Italian Government also, and the latter expressed its agreement, provided the war ended in the successful realisation of Italian claims in general, and in the East, in particular, and in the recognition by us for Italy within the territories ceded to us of the same rights as those enjoyed by France and England.

Document C. Confidential telegram from the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Russian Ambassador at London, dated March 7 (20), 1915, appearing in the *Manchester Guardian*.

Referring to the Memorandum of the British Government (? Embassy) here of March 12, will you please express to Grey the profound gratitude of the Imperial Government for the complete and final assent of Great Britain to the solution of the question of the Straits and Constantinople, in accordance with Russia's desires. The Imperial Government fully appreciates the sentiments of the British Government and feels certain that a sincere recognition of mutual interests will secure forever the firm friendship between Russia and Great Britain.

Having already given its promise respecting the conditions of trade in the Straits and Constantinople, the Imperial Government sees no

* The words in brackets in the text are the correct translation, the mis-translation appearing originally as follows:

a *) [coming from Russia, and not going]; b *) [sovereign]; c *) [undesirable]; d *) [formerly were fortified]; e *) [was].

objection to confirming its assent to the establishment (1) of free transit through Constantinople for all goods not proceeding from or proceeding to Russia, and (2) free passage through the Straits for merchant vessels.

In order to facilitate the breaking through of the Dardanelles undertaken by the Allies, the Imperial Government is prepared to coöperate in inducing those States whose help is considered useful by Great Britain and France to join in the undertaking on reasonable terms.

The Imperial Government completely shares the view of the British Government that the holy Moslem places must also in future remain under an independent Moslem rule. It is desirable to elucidate at once whether it is contemplated to leave those places under the rule of Turkey, the Sultan retaining the title of Khalif, or to create new independent States, since the Imperial Government would only be able to formulate its desires in accordance with one or other of these assumptions. On its part the Imperial Government would regard the separation of the Khalifate from Turkey as very desirable. Of course, the freedom of pilgrimage must be completely secured.

The Imperial Government confirms its assent to the inclusion of the neutral zone of Persia in the British sphere of influence. At the same time, however, it regards it as just to stipulate that the districts adjoining the cities of Ispahan and Yezd, forming with them one inseparable whole, should be secured for Russia in view of the Russian interests which have arisen there. The neutral zone now forms a wedge between the Russian and Afghan frontiers, and comes up to the very frontier line of Russia at Zulfagar. Hence a portion of this wedge will have to be annexed to the Russian sphere of influence. Of essential importance to the Imperial Government is the question of railway construction in the neutral zone, which will require further amicable discussion.

The Imperial Government expects that in future its full liberty of action will be recognised in the sphere of influence allotted to it, coupled in particular with the right of preferentially developing in that sphere its financial and economic policies.

Lastly, the Imperial Government considers it desirable simultaneously to solve also the problems in Northern Afghanistan adjoining Russia in the sense of the wishes expressed on the subject by the Imperial Ministry in the course of the negotiations last year.

(Signed)

SAZONOFF

No. 3. Pact of London.

April 26, 1915.

AS a result of this pact between Italy, France, Great Britain and Russia, Italy entered the World War on the side of the Entente Allies.

REFERENCES—*Great Britain foreign office paper*, cmd. 671, (Misc. No. 7), 1920; F. Seymour Coeks, "The Secret Treaties"; *Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 18, 1918.

ARTICLE 8.

Italy shall receive entire sovereignty over the Dodekanese Islands which she is at present occupying.

ARTICLE 9.

Generally speaking, France, Great Britain, and Russia recognize that Italy is interested in the maintenance of the balance of power in the Mediterranean and that, in the event of the total or partial partition of Turkey in Asia, she ought to obtain a just share of the Mediterranean region adjacent to the province of Adalia, where Italy has already acquired rights and interests which formed the subject of an Italo-British convention. The zone which shall eventually be allotted to Italy shall be delimited at the proper time, due account being taken of the existing interests of France and Great Britain.

The interests of Italy shall also be taken into consideration in the event of the territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire being maintained and of alterations being made in the zones of interest of the Powers.

If France, Great Britain, and Russia occupy any territories in Turkey in Asia during the course of the war, the Mediterranean region bordering on the Province of Adalia within the limits indicated above shall be reserved to Italy, who shall be entitled to occupy it.

ARTICLE 10.

All rights and privileges in Libya at present belonging to the Sultan by virtue of the Treaty of Lausanne are transferred to Italy.

ARTICLE 11.

Italy shall receive a share of any eventual war indemnity corresponding to her efforts and her sacrifices.

ARTICLE 12.

Italy declares that she associates herself in the declaration made by France, Great Britain and Russia to the effect that Arabia and the Moslem Holy Places in Arabia shall be left under the authority of an independent Moslem Power.

No. 4. British Agreement with the Sherif of Mecca.

October 24, 1915.

THE result of this arrangement was to enroll the Sherifian family on the side of the Allies. It was negotiated by Sir Henry McMahon on behalf of the British Government. The exact text has never been made public.

REFERENCES.—Col. T. E. Lawrence, subsequently attached to the Middle East section, Colonial Office, letter to the *London Times*, Sept. 11, 1919. (First paragraph and note); Hon. Winston Churchill, Secretary of State for the Colonies, *Parliamentary debates*, House of Commons, vol. 156, (July 11, 1922), p. 1033 (remainder of statements).

Document A. Letter to the *London Times* by Col. Thomas E. Lawrence, Sept. 8, 1919. (First paragraph and note.)

The British promise to King Husain, dated October 24, 1915. It undertakes, conditional on an Arab revolt, to recognize the "independence of the Arabs" south of latitude 37 deg., except in the provinces of Baghdad and Basra, where British interests require special measures

of administrative control, and except where Great Britain is not "free to act without detriment to the interest of France."

(N. B.—Husain asked for no personal position, and for no particular government or governments.)

Document B. Paragraph from a speech of the Hon. Winston Churchill, Secretary of State for the Colonies, *Parliamentary debates*, House of Commons, vol. 156, page 1033, (July 11, 1922):

No pledges were made to the Palestine Arabs in 1915. An undertaking was given to the Sherif of Mecca that His Majesty's Government would recognize and support the independence of the Arabs within certain territorial limits, which specifically excluded the districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and the portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo. It was stipulated that the undertaking applied only to those portions of the territories concerned in which Great Britain was free to act without detriment to the interests of her Allies. His Majesty's Government have always regarded and continue to regard Palestine as excluded by these provisos from the scope of their undertaking.

No. 5. Sykes-Picot Agreement.

May 9-16, 1916.

A most important secret document drawn up between Sir Mark Sykes, the British representative, and M. Picot, representing the French Government. M. Paul Cambon wrote to Lord Edward Grey on May 9, and Lord Grey replied on May 16, 1916, each incorporating in his own language the complete text.

REFERENCES.—*Le Temps*, May 22, 1919; *Current History*, March, 1920; *Manchester Guardian*, January 8, 1920.

The French and British Governments having acquired from information at their disposal the conviction that the Arab populations of the Arab peninsula as well as of the provinces in the Ottoman Empire, are strongly opposed to Turkish domination and that it would be actually possible to establish an Arab State or federation, both opposed to the Turkish Government and favorable to the Entente Powers, have opened negotiations and have examined the question in common. As a result of these decisions, they have agreed upon the following principles:

1. France and Great Britain are prepared to accord recognition and protection to an independent Arab State or a Confederation of Arab States in the zones "A" and "B" marked on the annexed map, under the suzerainty of an Arab chief. In the zone "A" France, and in the zone "B" Great Britain, shall have a right of priority in regard to enterprises and local loans. In the zone "A" France, and in the zone "B" Great Britain shall have the exclusive right to provide advisers or foreign officials at the request of the Arab State or Confederation of Arab States.

2. In the blue zone France, and in the red zone Great Britain, shall be authorized to establish such administration, direct or indirect, or such control, as they desire or as they shall judge convenient to

establish after agreement with the State or Confederation of Arab States.

3. There shall be established in the brown zone an international administration of which the form shall be determined after consultation with Russia, and later in agreement with the other Allies and with representatives of the Sherif of Mecca.

4. There shall be accorded to Great Britain: (1) the ports of Haifa and Acre; (2) the guarantee of a definite quantity of water from the Tigris and Euphrates in the zone "A" for zone "B." His Majesty's Government, on its part, undertakes never to enter into negotiations with a view to the cession of Cyprus to a third Power without the previous consent of the French Government.

5. Alexandretta shall be a free port in so far as concerns the commerce of the British Empire, and there shall be no differential treatment in port dues, and no special advantages shall be refused to British ships or merchandise; there, shall be free transit for British merchandise via Alexandretta, and on the railways traversing the blue zone whether such merchandise be destined for or originate from the red zone, zone "B" or zone "A"; and no differential treatment, direct or indirect, shall be established against British merchandise on any railway, or against British merchandise or ships in any port serving the above-mentioned zones.

Haifa shall be a free port as regards the commerce of France, her colonies, and her protectorates, and there shall be no differential treatment or advantage in port dues refused to French ships and merchandise. There shall be free transit for French merchandise via Haifa and the British railway across the brown zone, whether such merchandise originate from or is destined for the blue zone, zone "A", or zone "B"; and there shall be no differential treatment, direct or indirect, against French merchandise on any railway or against French merchandise or ships in any port serving the above-mentioned zones.

6. In the zone "A" the Baghdad Railway shall not be prolonged southwards beyond Mosul, and in zone "B" northwards beyond Samarra until a railway joining Baghdad and Aleppo by the valley of the Euphrates has been completed, and that only with the coöperation of the two Governments.¹

7. Great Britain shall have the right to construct, administer, and be the sole proprietor of a railway joining Haifa to zone "B". Further, she shall have a right in perpetuity to transport troops at any time along the railway. It is understood by the two Governments that this railway is to facilitate the junction of Baghdad and Haifa, and it is further understood that if technical difficulties or the cost of maintaining this line of junction in the brown zone render its con-

¹ The draft submitted to Russia added a note to ARTICLE 6: "this ARTICLE has been included to prevent the completion and the organization of the German railroad to Baghdad." The projected British line up the Euphrates Valley was completed as far northward as Baghdad on January 15, 1920, when the first train from Basra arrived there.

struction impracticable, the French Government will agree to consider that the line may traverse the polygon Barries-Keis-Maril-Silbrad-Tel-Hotsda-Mesuire before reaching zone "B".

8. For a period of twenty years the Turkish Customs tariffs shall remain in force throughout the blue and red zones as well as in zones "A" and "B", and no increase in rates or alteration of ad valorem into specific duties shall be made except with the consent of the two Powers.

There shall be no internal Customs between any of the above-mentioned zones. Customs duties leviable shall be levied at the ports of entry and shall be transmitted to the administration of the zone for which the goods are destined.

9. It is understood that the French Government will never enter upon any negotiations for the cession of its rights and will never cede its rights in the blue zone to any third Power other than the State or Confederation of Arab States, without the previous consent of His Majesty's Government, which on its part shall give a similar assurance with regard to the red zone.

10. The British and French Governments, as protectors of the Arab State, agree not to acquire, and will not consent to a third Power acquiring, territorial possessions in the Arabian peninsula, nor to construct a naval base in the islands off the east coast of the Red Sea; but this shall not prevent such rectification of the frontier of Aden as may be considered necessary in view of the recent aggression of the Turks.

11. The negotiations with the Arabs in regard to the frontiers of the Arab State or Confederation of States shall proceed in the same way as before in the name of the two Powers.

12. It is further understood that measures for controlling the importation of arms into Arab territory shall be considered by the two Governments.

No. 6. Turkey's Acceptance of President Wilson's Suggestion for Peace Negotiations.

December 26, 1916.

REFERENCE.—*American Journal of International Law*, Special Supplement, Volume 11, 1917.

Ambassador Elkus to the Secretary of State.
(Telegram.)

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Constantinople, Dec. 26, 1916.

In reply to the President's message communicated to the Sublime Porte on the 23d instant, Minister for Foreign Affairs handed me to-day a note of which the following is a translation:

MR. AMBASSADOR:

In reply to the note which Your Excellency was pleased to deliver to me under date of the twenty-third instant, number 2107, containing certain suggestions of the President of the United States, I have the honor to communicate to Your Excellency the following:

The generous initiative of the President, tending to create bases for the reestablishment of peace, has been received and taken into consideration by the Imperial Ottoman Government in the same friendly obliging (?) which manifests itself in the President's communication. The President indicates the object which he has at heart and leaves open the choice of that path leading to this object. The Imperial Government considers a direct exchange of ideas as the most efficacious means of attaining the desired result.

In conformity with its declaration of the twelfth of this month, in which it stretched forth its hand for peace negotiations, the Imperial Government has the honor of proposing the immediate meeting, in a neutral country, of delegates of the belligerent powers.

The Imperial Government is likewise of opinion that the great work of preventing future wars can only be commenced after the end of the present struggle between the nations. When this moment shall have arrived the Imperial Government will be pleased to collaborate with the United States of America and with the other neutral powers in this sublime task.

(Signed)

Halil.
Elkus.

No. 7. Partition of Asiatic Turkey.

1916 (Spring).

THIS secret agreement between France, Great Britain and Russia apparently took definite form early in 1916. This agreement was disclosed by the Soviet Russian foreign office, 1917.

REFERENCES.—*Izvestia*, November, 24, 1917; J. Seymour Cocks, "Secret Treaties," *op. cit.*; *Manchester Guardian*, January 19, 1918.

As a result of negotiations which took place in London and Petrograd in the Spring of 1916, the Allied British, French and Russian Governments came to an agreement as regards the future delimitation of their respective zones of influence and territorial acquisitions in Asiatic Turkey, as well as the formation in Arabia of an independent Arab State, or a federation of Arab States. The general principles of the agreement are as follows:

Russia obtains the provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis, as well as territory in the southern part of Kurdistan, along the line Mush-Sert-Ibn-Omar-Amajie-Persian frontier. The limit of Russian acquisitions on the Black Sea coast will be fixed later on at a point lying west of Trebizond.

France obtains the coastal strip of Syria, the vilayet of Adana, and the territory bounded on the south by a line Aintab-Mardin to the future Russian frontier, and on the north by a line Ala Dagh-Zara-Egin-Kharput.

Great Britain obtains the southern part of Mesopotamia with Baghdad, and stipulates for herself in Syria the ports of Haifa and Acre.

By agreement between France and England, the zone between the French and the British territories forms a confederation of Arab

States, or one independent Arab State, the zones of influence in which are determined at the same time.

Alexandretta is proclaimed a free port.

With a view to securing the religious interests of the Entente Powers, Palestine, with the Holy Places, is separated from Turkish territory and subjected to a special régime to be determined by agreement between Russia, France and England.

As a general rule the contracting Powers undertake mutually to recognise the concessions and privileges existing in the territories now acquired by them which have existed before the war.

They agree to assume such portions of the Ottoman debt as corresponds to their respective acquisitions.

No. 8. General Maude's Proclamation at Baghdad.

March 11, 1917.

FOLLOWING the triumphant entry of the British forces into this famous city, the Commander in Chief was directed to announce Allied policy, which was mainly British.

General Maude was instructed to issue a proclamation to the people of Baghdad announcing that our armies came into the country not as conquerors but as liberators, and pointing out that a long commercial connection had existed between Baghdad and Great Britain, that the British Government could not remain indifferent to what took place in Mesopotamia and was determined not to permit again that which had been done in Baghdad by the Turks and Germans.

REFERENCE.—*Review of the civil administration of Mesopotamia*, Parliamentary paper, cmd. 1061, 1920.

"But you, the people of Baghdad," the proclamation continued, "whose commercial professions and whose safety from oppression and invasion must ever be a matter of the closest concern to the British Government, are not to understand that it is the wish of the British Government to impose upon you alien institutions. It is the hope of the British Government that the aspirations of your philosophers and writers shall be realised once again. The people of Baghdad shall flourish and enjoy their wealth and substance under institutions which are in consonance with their sacred laws and their racial ideal. In the Hejaz the Arabs have expelled the Turks and Germans who oppressed them and have proclaimed Sherif Husain as Their King, and His Lordship rules in independence and freedom and is the ally of the nations who are fighting against the power of Turkey and Germany. So, indeed, are the noble Arabs, the Lords of Nejd, Kuwait and Asir. Many noble Arabs have perished in the cause of freedom at the hands of those alien rulers, the Turks, who oppressed them. It is the determination of the Government of Great Britain and the Great Powers allied to Great Britain that these noble Arabs shall not have suffered in vain. It is the desire and hope of the British people and the nations in alliance with them that the Arab race may rise once more to greatness and renown amongst the peoples of the earth and that it shall bind itself to this end in unity and concord. O, people

of Baghdad! remember that for 26 generations you have suffered under strange tyrants who have ever endeavoured to set one Arab house against another in order that they might profit by your dissensions. Therefore, I am commanded to invite you, through your nobles and elders and representatives, to participate in the management of your civil affairs, in collaboration with the political representatives of Great Britain who accompany the British Army, so that you may unite with your kinsmen in the north, east, south and west in realising the aspirations of your race."

No. 9. St. Jean de Maurienne Agreement.

April 19-21, 1917.

ANOTHER secret agreement, this time between France, Great Britain and Italy, had its terms agreed upon in April 19-21, 1917, a few days after the United States declared war against Germany. The negotiators included M. Ribot (France), Mr. Lloyd George (Great Britain), and M. Sonnino (Italy). The scene was a train at the station of St. Jean de Maurienne, on the French side of the Mt. Cenis tunnel. This understanding was responsible in a large measure for Italy's hopes for control of Western Asia Minor, including Smyrna, and as such was largely responsible for the landing of Greek forces at Smyrna on May 15, 1919.

REFERENCES.—*New York Globe*, February 9, 1920; *Chicago Daily News*, February 9, 1920; *Current History*, March, 1920; *Manchester Guardian*, January 9, 1920. (Certain well-informed persons are skeptical regarding the authenticity of any public versions.)

Subject to the consent of the Russian Government:

1. The Italian Government gives its assent to the provisions contained in ARTICLES 1 and 2 of the Franco-British agreements of May 9 and 16, 1916. On their part the French and British Governments recognize Italy's rights—on an identical basis as to conditions of administration and interest—to the green and the "C" zones indicated in the map attached hereto.

2. Italy undertakes to make of Smyrna a free port in so far as the trade of France, her colonies and her protectorates, as well as that of the British Empire and its dependencies, is concerned. Italy will enjoy the rights and privileges which France and Great Britain have reciprocally guaranteed each other in the ports of Alexandretta, Haifa and of Saint Jean d'Acre (Akka) by Articles 5 of the agreements mentioned heretofore. Mersina shall be a free port with regard to the trade of Italy, her colonies and her protectorates, and there shall be no difference of treatment nor any advantages in port duties which may be refused to Italian ships or goods. Italian goods destined to or coming from the Italian zone shall obtain free transit through Mersina and on the railway crossing the vilayet of Adana. There shall be no difference of treatment, direct or indirect, as against Italian goods on any railway line nor in any port along the Cilician coast and serving the Italian zone at the expense of Italian ships or merchandise.

3. The form of the international administration in the brown zone, which forms the object of ARTICLE 3 of the said arrangements of May 9 and 16, 1916, shall be decided in agreement with Italy.

4. On her part Italy adheres to the provisions concerning the ports of Haifa and Akka contained in ARTICLE 4 of the same agreements.

5. Italy adheres, in so far as the green and (C) zones are concerned, to the two paragraphs of ARTICLE 8 of the Anglo-French agreements referring to the customs system to be maintained in the blue and red zones, as well as in the zones "A" and "B."

6. It is understood that the interests possessed by each power in the zones falling to the lot of the other powers shall be scrupulously respected, but that the powers concerned in such interests shall not make use of them for political action.

7. The provisions contained in ARTICLES 10, 11 and 12 of the Anglo-French agreements concerning the Arabian Peninsula and the Red Sea are considered as equally applicable to Italy as if that power were named in those articles together with France and Great Britain and as of the contracting parties.

8. It is understood that, in case it should not be possible at the conclusion of the war to secure to one or more of the said powers the whole of the advantages contemplated in the agreements concluded by the Allied Powers concerning the allotment to each of them of a portion of the Ottoman Empire, the maintenance of the Mediterranean equilibrium shall be fairly taken into consideration, in conformity with ARTICLE 9 of the Pact of London of April 26, 1915, in any change or arrangement affecting the provinces of the Ottoman Empire as a consequence of the war.

9. It is understood that the present memorandum shall be communicated to the Russian Government in order to enable it to express its opinion.

No. 10. Balfour Declaration.

November 2, 1917.

HON. A. J. BALFOUR wrote to Lord Rothschild a statement of the British official position with regard to Palestine. This declaration of Lord Balfour was later subscribed to by France and Italy and indorsed by President Wilson in a letter to the head of the British Zionist organization. In the House of Lords (June 21, 1922), Lord Sydenham quoted the "Guide to Palestine," published in America: "The wording of it came from the British Foreign Office, but the text had been revised in the Zionist offices in America as well as in England. The British Declaration was made in the form in which the Zionists desired it." It was incorporated in the San Remo Agreement of April 24th, 1920.

There has been much discussion of the meaning of the words "National Home." In the House of Commons, Hon. Winston Churchill quoted Sir Herbert Samuel as follows: "These words mean that the Jews, who are a people scattered throughout the world, but whose hearts are always turning to Palestine, should be enabled to found there their home, and that some amongst them, within the limits fixed

by numbers and the interests of the present population, should come to Palestine in order to help by their resources and efforts to develop the country to the advantage of all its inhabitants." (*Parliamentary debates*, House of Commons, vol. 143, 1921, pp. 285-6.)

REFERENCE.—*Current History*, July, 1920.

"His Majesty's government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

No. 11. British Premier Defines War Aims.

January 5, 1918.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE, the Prime Minister, "in fulfillment of a promise recently made to address the delegates of the trade unions now discussing the question of man-power at the Central Hall, Westminster, with the Minister of National Service, on the subject of the war aims, made today the . . . statement on behalf of the Government." (*Manchester Guardian*, January 7.) This declaration, together with the Balfour Declaration, have been the two most quoted propaganda with reference to the proposed dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The contents of *Select Document 11* produced a profound impression in India. On February 26, 1920, the British Premier made the explanation in the House of Commons that "That declaration was specific. It was unqualified and it was deliberate. It was made with the consent of all parties in the country." During the same debate, Lord Robert Cecil stated that this declaration was thought advisable in order to conciliate labor opinion and that it was "not a binding settlement," but it was an offer of peace to Germany and Austria who were weakening in the struggle.

REFERENCE.—*Manchester Guardian*, January 7, 1918.

Nor are we fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race.

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While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race, with its capital at Constantinople, the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalised and neutralised, Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine are, in our judgment, entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions.

What the exact form of that recognition in each particular case should be need not here be discussed beyond stating that it would be impossible to restore to their former sovereignty the territories to which I have already referred.

Much has been said about the arrangements we have entered into with our allies on this and on other subjects. I can only say that as

new circumstances, like the Russian collapse and the separate Russian negotiations, have changed the conditions under which those arrangements were made, we are and always have been perfectly ready to discuss them with our allies.

No. 12. President Wilson's Twelfth Point.

January 8, 1918.

WHILE all of the Fourteen Points have reference to Turkey, the twelfth was of exclusive application.

REFERENCE.—*New York Times*, January 9, 1918.

Point XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guaranties.

No. 13. Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

March 3, 1918.

THE following extracts are taken from supplements to the Treaty of Peace between Soviet Russia and the Central Powers, signed at Brest-Litovsk, which restored the boundaries between Russia and Turkey as they existed prior to the Treaty of Berlin (1878). Ratifications were exchanged at Berlin, July 12, 1918. Compare similar terms in the *Kemalist-Soviet Russia Treaty* (Select Document 27).

REFERENCE.—“Texts of the Russian ‘Peace,’” Government Printing Office, Washington, 1918.

Document A. Appendix V to the Treaty of Peace between Russia and the Central Powers, signed at Brest-Litovsk, 3 March, 1918. (Text as transmitted to the Department of State by the American Consul at Moscow.)

With regard to the economic relations between Turkey and Russia, the following agreement is established:

ARTICLE 1.

The contracting parties pledge themselves to begin negotiations with regard to the conclusion of a new commercial treaty as soon as possible after general peace between Turkey on the one hand, and the countries which are at present in a state of war with her on the other hand, has been signed.

ARTICLE 2.

Until the appointed time, and in any case until 31 December, 1919, each of the contracting parties gives to the citizens of the other party the same rights with regard to trade and navigation as it gives to the

citizens of the most favored nation. These regulations extend more especially:

(a) To the import and export, the return of exports and the carriage of merchandise, to the customs duties and customs formalities, to the interior taxes, to the taxes on consumption and similar taxes, and to the prohibition of transportation;

(b) To the actions of the administration of government monopolies or monopolies under government control of one of the contracting parties, with regard to the purchasers or the suppliers of the other party as far as fixing the prices and other business matters are concerned.

ARTICLE 3.

During the entire period during which the principle of the most favored nation is effective, neither party will establish to the loss of the other party higher import and export duties on one frontier than on any other.

ARTICLE 4.

Neither of the parties will lay any claim to the privileges which one of the parties affords, or may in the future afford, to any other State based on existing or future customs union, or which she allows in case of limited transactions via her frontier.

ARTICLE 5.

The contracting parties agree that after 30 June, 1919, each of them may refuse to acknowledge the agreement upon the condition of warning the other party six months in advance.

Document B. Russia-Turkey.

Legal-Political treaty supplementary to the Treaty of Peace between Russia and the Central Powers. Signed at Brest-Litovsk, 3 March, 1918.

(Ratifications exchanged at Berlin, 12 July, 1918.) (*Neue Freie Press*, 13 July, 1918. Evening Edition.)

(English text from the State Department *weekly reports*, Central Powers, No. 44, 6 May, 1918.)

ARTICLE I.

The following provisions have been made to regulate the details of execution and the delivery of occupied territory dealt with in Paragraph 2 of ARTICLE 4 of the joint treaty of peace.

1. To that end the Russian republic undertakes to withdraw to the other side of the boundary line as it was before the war all its forces now in the said provinces as well as all its officers, both civil and military, in a period of from six to eight weeks from the signature of the present treaty.

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4. The Russian republic will use one division to guard the frontier along a distance of about 500 kilometers or more, will demobilize all the remainder of the army and carry it to the interior of the country.

5. The Russian republic undertakes to demobilize and dissolve the

Armenian bands, whether of Russian or Turkish nationality now in the Russian and Ottoman occupied provinces and entirely to disband them.

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ARTICLE II.

Within three months after the ratification of the present treaty, two Turkish-Russian joint commissioners shall be appointed by the contracting parties; one of these will be charged with the duty of re-establishing the dividing line between Turkish and Russian territory from the point where the three boundaries, Turkish, Russian, and Persian, meet to the point where the line strikes the boundary of the three sanjaks of Kars, Ardahan, and Batum. Along that stretch the boundary line as it was before the war will be followed; the monuments that may have been destroyed in the course of the war operations shall be rebuilt and repaired in accordance with the maps and protocols of the boundary commission of 1880.

The second commission will mark the boundary between Russia and the three sanjaks to be evacuated in accordance with Paragraphs 3 of Article IV of the joint treaty of peace. The frontier shall be restored there as it existed before the Turkish-Russian war of 1877 and 1878.

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ARTICLE VIII.

In pursuance of the principle laid down in ARTICLE VII of the joint treaty of peace, the two contracting parties declare that they consider to be null and void all previous international instruments intended to create spheres of influence and exclusive interests in Persia. The two governments will withdraw their troops from the Persian territory. To that end they shall communicate with the government of that country about the details of the evacuation and the measures apt also to insure for the political independence and territorial integrity of that country the respect of the several states.

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ARTICLE XI.

Russian subjects of the Moslem faith will be allowed to emigrate to Turkey after disposing of their property and to carry their patrimony with them.

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No. 14. The Mudros Armistice.

October 30, 1918.

FOLLOWING the surrender of Bulgaria, Turkey withdrew from the war several days before the capitulation of Germany. The armistice prepared by a Vice Admiral of the British Navy was signed on board the battleship *Agamemnon* stationed off Mudros, island of Lemnos, October 30, 1918.

REFERENCE.—*International Law Documents*, Naval War College, 1918.

Conditions of an armistice agreed to and concluded between Vice Admiral the Honorable Sir Somerset Arthur Gough-Calthorpe, British Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean station, acting under authority from the British Government, in agreement with their Allies, and His Excellency Rauf Bey, Ottoman minister of marine; His Excellency Richad Hikmet Bey, Ottoman under secretary for foreign affairs; Lieutenant-Colonel Saadullah Bey, Ottoman general staff, acting under authority from the Ottoman government.

1. Opening of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus; access to the Black Sea; allied occupation of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus forts.

2. The positions of all mine fields, torpedo tubes, and other obstructions in Turkish waters are to be indicated, and assistance is to be given to sweep and remove them as required.

3. All available information about mines in the Black Sea is to be communicated.

4. All allied prisoners of war as well as Armenian interned persons and prisoners are to be collected at Constantinople and handed over unconditionally to the Allies.

5. Immediate demobilization of the Turkish army except troops required for the surveillance of the frontiers and maintenance of internal order, the number of effectives and their disposition to be determined later by the Allies, after consultation with the Turkish Government.

6. Surrender of all war vessels in Turkish waters or in waters occupied by Turkey, these ships to be interned in such Turkish ports as directed, except small vessels required for policy and similar purposes in Turkish territorial waters.

7. The Allies have the right to occupy any strategic points in the event of any situation arising which threatens the security of the Allies.

8. Free use of the Allied ships of all ports and anchorage now under Turkish occupation and denial of their use to the enemy; similar conditions to apply to Turkish mercantile shipping in Turkish waters for purposes of trade and demobilization of the army.

9. Use by the Allies of all ship repair facilities at all Turkish ports and arsenals.

10. Allied occupation of the Taurus tunnel system.

11. Immediate withdrawal of the Turkish forces in northwestern Persia behind the prewar frontier, already ordered, and part of Transcaucasus to be evacuated by Turkish troops, as already ordered; the remainder to be evacuated if required by the Allies after they have studied the situation.

12. All wireless, telegraph, and cable stations to be controlled by the Allies, Turkish Government messages excepted.

13. Prohibition against destruction by the Turks of any naval, military, or commercial material.

14. Facilities are to be given for the purchase of coal, oil, fuel, and naval material from Turkish sources after the requirements of the country have been met, and none of the above to be exported.

15. Allied control officers to be placed on all railways, including portions of the Transcaucasian railways under Turkish control, which must be placed at the free and complete disposal of the Allied authorities, due consideration being given to the needs of the population. This clause to include Allied occupation of Batum, and Turkey is to raise no objection to the occupation of Baku by the Allies.

16. Surrender of all garrisons in Hejaz, Assiriyemen, Syria, and Mesopotamia to the nearest Allied commander. Withdrawal of the Turkish troops from Cilicia, except those necessary to maintain order to be determined under clause 5.

17. Surrender of all Turkish officers in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica to the nearest Italian garrison, Turkey to guarantee to stop supplies to and communications with these officers if they do not obey the order to surrender.

18. Surrender of all ports occupied in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, including Misurata, to the nearest Allied garrison.

19. All Germans and Austrians, naval, military and civilians, to be evacuated within one month from the Turkish dominions, those in the remote districts as soon after as possible.

20. Compliance with such orders as will be conveyed, regarding the disposal of the equipment, arms and ammunition, including the transport of the portion of the Turkish army to be demobilized under clause 5.

21. An Allied representative attached to the Turkish ministry of supplies to safeguard Allied interests. This representative is to be furnished with all that is necessary for this purpose.

22. Turkish prisoners to be kept at the disposal of the Allied powers, the release of Turkish civilian prisoners and prisoners over the military age to be considered.

23. In case of disorder in the six Armenian vilayets, the Allies reserve for themselves the right to occupy any part of them.

24. Obligation on the part of Turkey to cease all relations with the Central Powers.

25. Hostilities between the Allies and Turkey to cease from noon, local time, Thursday, the 31st day of October.

No. 15. The Anglo-French Declaration.

November 8, 1918.

EVENTS moved rapidly in Iraq. The joint declaration gave the Arabs an immediate self-consciousness, especially coming as it did in conjunction with the text of Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points, which appeared in the Iraq newspapers for the first time on November 11, 1918.

REFERENCE.—*The Morning Post* (London), November 8, 1918.

The object aimed at by France and Great Britain in prosecuting in the East the war let loose by the ambition of Germany is the complete and definitive emancipation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks, and the establishment of governments and national administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations.

In order to carry out these intentions France and Great Britain are at one in encouraging and assisting the establishment of indigenous Governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia, now liberated by the Allies, and in the territories the liberation of which they are engaged in securing, and in recognising these as soon as they are actually established. Far from wishing to impose on the populations of these regions any particular institutions, they are only concerned to ensure by their support and by adequate assistance the regular working of governments and administrations freely chosen by themselves. To secure impartial and equal justice for all, to facilitate the economic development of the country by inspiring and encouraging local initiative, to favour the diffusion of education, to put an end to dissensions that have been too long taken advantage of by Turkish policy, such is the policy which the two Allied Governments uphold in the liberated territories.

No. 16. Declaration of the Congress of Sivas.

September 9, 1919.

WITH this Congress, which followed that of Erzerum, we have the first formal declaration of the Kemalists, who were also known as the Nationalists in contradistinction to the Imperial Ottoman Government at Constantinople. This document was the predecessor of the Turkish National Pact (*Select Document 18*).

REFERENCE.—*Report of the American Military Mission to Armenia*, by Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord, Government Printing Office (1920), Washington.

In view of the exterior and interior perils which threaten our country, the national conscience has become awakened and gave birth to our congress, which has reached the following decision:

I. All of the Turkish territory within the frontier outlined 30 October, 1334 (1918), between the Ottoman Government and the Allies, and inhabited by a preponderate majority of Turk population, will form an undivided and inseparable whole. All the Mussulman elements living in said territories are filled with mutual sentiments of respect and devotion for the social conditions of the country and form a veritable fraternity.

II. In order to assure the integrity of our country and our national independence, as well as to assure the conservation of the Sultanate and supreme Khalifate, it is indispensable to place in action the national forces and the absolute will of the people.

III. Against all intermeddling or occupation of no matter what part of the Ottoman territory, and in particular against every movement tending toward the formation, at the expense of the mother country, of an independent Armenia and of an independent Greece on the Aidin, Magnesia, and Balikhisar fronts, we are absolutely resolved to resist and to defend our rights.

IV. It is inadmissible that privileges be accorded all non-Mussulman elements who, for ages, have lived from the breast of the same country and who enjoy the same rights of equality; such privileges would tend to trouble our political government and break the social equilibrium.

V. All methods and all means are taken with a view to safeguard the Sultanate, the supreme Khalifate, and the integrity of the country in the case where the Turkish Government, under foreign pressure, should be called upon to abandon no matter what part of our territory.

VI. We await a decision which will conform with right and with such justice as will annul the initiatives that are contrary to our historic, ethnic, and religious rights; a decision relative to the annulling of the project of the separation of our territory situated within the line of demarcation traced by the armistice treaty, 30 October, 1334, and inhabited by a preponderate majority of Mussulman population having an intellectual preponderance and economic superiority and forming an absolutely indivisible brotherhood which is inseparable of race and religion.

VII. Our people honor and respect humanitarian and contemporary purposes and take in consideration our scientific, industrial, and economic needs; in consequence whereof, on condition that the interior and exterior independence of our people and of our State, and on condition that the territorial integrity of our country shall be conserved intact, we will accept with pleasure the scientific, industrial, and economic assistance of every State which will not set forth imperialistic tendencies with respect to our country and which will respect the principles of nationality within the limits indicated under Article VI. We await in the name of the preservation of humanity and universal peace the urgent signature of a peace based on the aforementioned equitable and humanitarian conditions which we consider to be our great national objective.

VIII. In the course of historic events which fix the destinies of nations, it is indispensable that our central Government shall submit itself to the national will, for the arbitrary decision, emanating from a government which treats lightly of the supreme will of the people not only causes that government not to be respected but, again, it could not be taken into consideration; the history of our past is proof. In consequence, it is absolutely urgent that before taking the means to remedy the anguish which exists within the very breast of the nation, our central Government shall proceed without delaying further to convoke the Nationalist Assembly and submit all the decisions to be taken with a view to safeguarding the interests of the nation.

IX. The sufferings and the calamities of the nations have given birth to a federal assembly called "the assembly to defend the rights and the interests of the provinces of Anatolia and of Rumaili." That assembly abstracts all the tendencies of the political parties so that all our Mussulman compatriots as such can be considered as legitimate members of that assembly.

X. The congress of that assembly, named "the assembly to defend the rights and the interests of the provinces of Anatolia and of Rumaili," which met at Sivas 4 September, 1335 (1919), has chosen a representative corps charged to push on the proposed sacred cause and to direct such similar organizations as well in the smaller communities as in the larger centers of the vilayets.

The Congress.

No. 17. Report of the Allied Commission of Inquiry at Smyrna.

Summer, 1919. (Report published, October, 1919.)

THE actions of the Greek military forces, following their landing at Smyrna on May 15, 1919, were such as to call forth an investigating commission, who took evidence for several weeks at Smyrna. No official findings are available. The members of the commission were Admiral Bristol (America), General Bunoust (France), General Hare (Great Britain), and General Dall'olio (Italy)—the officers of the Allied and Associated Powers. The secretary-general of the Conference was M. Luigi Villari.

REFERENCE.—E. N. Bennett, *English Review*, vol. 30 (1920), pp. 359-362. This author stated that the report was published in Constantinople in October, 1919, in Paris, 1920, and in the *Muslim Outlook*.

Among the conclusions presented by the Commission are the following:

1. The situation created at Smyrna and in the vilayet of Aidin by the Greek occupation is a false one, because the occupation which in theory aimed only at the maintenance of order presents in reality all the forms of annexation.

2. Such an annexation would be contrary to the principle which proclaims respect for nationalities, because in the occupied region, with the exception of the town of Smyrna itself and Aivali, the predominance of the Turkish element over the Greek element is indisputable. It is the duty of the Committee of Inquiry to state that the Turkish national sentiment, which has already manifested its resistance, will not accept this annexation. It will yield only to force, that is to say, in face of a military expedition which Greece alone could not conduct with any chance of success.

3. Under these conditions the Committee proposes that as soon as possible all or part of the Greek troops should be replaced by a much less numerous body of Allied troops.

No. 18. Turkish National Pact.

January 28, 1920.

The "Declaration of Independence" of the New Turkey was ratified by the lower house of the Ottoman Parliament on January 28, 1920. Its principles were implicitly followed by the Turkish delegates at the Lausanne Conferences. Mustafa Kemal Pasha is reported to have stated early in 1922: "The pact represented our program when we were weak and now that we are strong, it still represents our program. We shall not stop fighting until we have given effect to every syllable of it, and we shall put up our swords as soon as we have realized the pact. We stand or fall on the National Pact."

REFERENCES.—*Current History*, November, 1922; *New York Times*, October 1, 1922; Toynbee, A. J., "The Western Question in Greece and Turkey" (1922).

(Close translation from the Turkish, made independently of the French version, of the text of the National Pact as printed in the *Proceedings* of the Turkish Chamber of Deputies of February 17th, 1920.)

The members of the Ottoman chamber of deputies recognize and affirm that the independence of the State and the future of the Nation can be assured by complete respect for the following principles, which represent the maximum of sacrifice which can be undertaken in order to achieve a just and lasting peace, and that the continued existence of a stable Ottoman sultanate and society is impossible outside of the said principles:

FIRST ARTICLE.—Inasmuch as it is necessary that the destinies of the portions of the Turkish Empire which are populated exclusively by an Arab majority, and which on the conclusion of the armistice of the 30th October, 1918, were in the occupation of enemy forces, should be determined in accordance with the votes which shall be freely given by the inhabitants, the whole of those parts whether within or outside the said armistice line which are inhabited by an Ottoman Moslem majority, united in religion, in race and in aim, imbued with sentiments of mutual respect for each other and of sacrifice, and wholly respectful of each other's racial and social rights and surrounding conditions, form a whole which does not admit of division for any reason in truth or in ordinance.

SECOND ARTICLE.—We accept that, in the case of the three sanjaks which united themselves by a general vote to the mother country when they first were free, recourse should again be had, if necessary, to a free popular vote.

THIRD ARTICLE.—The determination of the juridical status of Western Thrace also, which has been made dependent on the Turkish peace, must be effected in accordance with the votes which shall be given by the inhabitants in complete freedom.

FOURTH ARTICLE.—The security of the city of Constantinople, which is the seat of the Khalifate of Islam, the capital of the Sultanate, and the headquarters of the Ottoman Government, and of the Sea of Marmara must be protected from every danger. Provided this principle is maintained, whatever decision may be arrived at jointly by us and all other Governments concerned, regarding the opening of the Bosphorus to the commerce and traffic of the world, is valid.

FIFTH ARTICLE.—The rights of minorities as defined in the treaties concluded between the Entente Powers and their enemies and certain of their associates shall be confirmed and assured by us—in reliance on the belief that the Moslem minorities in neighboring countries also will have the benefit of the same rights.

SIXTH ARTICLE.—It is a fundamental condition of our life and continued existence that we, like every country, should enjoy complete independence and liberty in the matter of assuring the means of our development, in order that our national and economic development should be rendered possible and that it should be possible to conduct affairs in the form of a more up-to-date regular administration.

For this reason we are opposed to restrictions inimical to our development in political, judicial, financial, and other matters.

The conditions of settlement of our proved debts shall likewise not be contrary to these principles.

No. 19. The Allied Occupation of Constantinople.

March 16, 1920.

THE Allies were disturbed by the strength of the Kemalist Movement at this time and deported influential Turks to Malta. The following *communiqué* was issued by the British, French and Italian High Commissioners.

REFERENCES.—*Orient News* (British semi-official daily), Constantinople, March 17, 1920: *Current History*, April, 1920.

This measure is now in process of execution, and it is brought to the knowledge of the public that:

1. The occupation is provisional.
2. The Entente Powers have no intention of destroying the authority of the Sultanate. They desire on the contrary to reinforce it in all places which shall remain in submission to the Ottoman administration.
3. The Entente Powers continue in their intention not to deprive the Turks of Constantinople, but if—which God forbid—any general troubles or massacres occur, this decision will probably be modified.
4. At this critical hour it is the duty of everyone to pursue his own affairs and thus to assist the maintenance of the general security without letting himself be deceived by those whose madness tends to destroy the last hope of building on the ruins of the Old Empire a New Turkey. In a word, it is the duty of everyone to obey the orders of the Sultanate.
5. Certain persons implicated in the intrigues of which more will be told later have been arrested at Constantinople. They will naturally have to answer for their acts and for any future consequences which those acts may produce.

No. 20. Report of the American Military Mission to Armenia.

September-October, 1919.

A VERY brief digest of the report of the American Military Mission to Armenia, which was organized under the authority of the President, was published in the *New York Times*, October 18, 1919. The contents were known to members of the Senate committee on foreign relations several weeks prior to its transmission by President Wilson to the United States Senate on April 3, 1920. This commission made a study at first hand of the requirements necessary, should the United States assume a mandate for Armenia or for all of Turkey and Transcaucasia. The view expressed that American troops would be needed at the outset virtually killed the prospect of America assuming these foreign responsibilities. The main conclusions appear below.

REFERENCE.—*Report of the American Military Mission to Armenia*, by Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord, Government Printing Office (1920), Washington.

This mission has had constantly in mind the moral effect to be exercised by its inquiry in the region visited. Very alarming reports had been received from Transcaucasia for several months before its departure from France, particularly as to organized attacks by the Turkish Army impending along the old international border between Turkey and Russia. The itinerary of the mission through Turkey was planned with those reports before it and with the intention of observing as to their truth and if possible to exert a restraining influence. We practically covered the frontier of Turkey from the Black Sea to Persia, and found nothing to justify the reports. The Turkish Army is not massed along the border; their organizations are reduced to skeletons and the country shows an appalling lack of people, either military or civilian. At every principal town through which we passed the chief of the mission held a conference with the Turkish officials. Inquiry was made as to the Christian Community, some were always interviewed; the interest of America in its own missionaries and in the native Christians was invariably emphasized; the Armenian deportations, the massacres, and the return of the survivors were discussed on each occasion, as well as other matters intended to convince Turkish officials that their country is on trial before the world. The visit of the mission has had a considerable moral effect in securing the safety of Christian lives and property pending action by the peace conference.

We would again point out that if America accepts a mandate for the region visited by this mission, it will undoubtedly do so from a strong sense of international duty, and at the unanimous desire—so expressed at least—of its colleagues in the League of Nations. Accepting this difficult task without previously securing the assurance of conditions would be fatal to success. The United States should make its own conditions as a preliminary to consideration of the subject—certainly before and not after acceptance, for there are a multitude of interests that will conflict with what any American would consider a proper administration of the country. Every possible precaution against international complications should be taken in advance. In our opinion there should be specific pledges in terms of formal agreements with France and England and definite approval from Germany and Russia of the dispositions made of Turkey and Transcaucasia, and a pledge to respect them.

Of particular importance are the following:
Absolute control of the foreign relations of the Turkish Empire, no ambassador, envoy, minister, or diplomatic agent to be accredited to Turkey, and the latter to send none such abroad.

Concessions involving exclusive privileges to be subject to review if shown to be contrary to the best interests of the State.

Concessions undesirable from the standpoint of the mandatory upon which work has not been started to be canceled. Compensation to be allowed to holders when necessary.

The system by which specified revenues are assigned for particular purposes to be discarded. All revenues to be controlled by the treasury, and all creditors to look only to the treasury as the source of payment.

Foreign control over Turkey's financial machinery to cease, meaning the dissolution of the council of administration of the Ottoman public

debt, reserving the right to retain some individual members of the council as advisers because of their familiarity with Ottoman finances.

All foreign obligations of the Empire to be unified and refunded.

Those countries receiving territory of the Turkish Empire, *e.g.* Syria and Mesopotamia, to assume their reasonable share of the paper currency, of the foreign obligations, and of obligation for possible reparation payments.

Abrogation, on due notice, of existing commercial treaties with Turkey.

All foreign Governments and troops to vacate territorial limits of mandate at dates to be fixed by the mandatory power.

Consent to many of these measures would not easily be obtained. Many nations now have some sort of financial control within the Ottoman Empire, and they would not see this control taken away without protest.

It needs no argument, however, to show that the United States could not submit to having her financial policies controlled from foreign capitals. The refunding of the debt, possibly with a reduction of the capital amount, would raise a storm of protest, but it should be insisted upon. Otherwise an American administration would be embarrassed and run the risk of being discredited.

No. 21. San Remo Agreement.

April 24, 1920.

AT the San Remo conference the Allied powers drew up the tentative terms for the Treaty of Sèvres. For the first time since the armistice, the subject of petroleum in prewar Turkey was given public attention in diplomatic channels. Certain extracts from the oil agreement are given.

REFERENCE.—*International Conciliation*, September, 1921.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT between M. Philippe Berthelot, Directeur des Affaires politiques et commerciales au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, and Professor Sir John Cadman, K. C. M. G., Director in Charge of His Majesty's Petroleum Department.

BY order of the two Governments of France and Great Britain, the undersigned representatives have resumed, by mutual consent, the consideration of an agreement regarding petroleum.

2. This agreement is based on the principles of cordial coöperation and reciprocity in those countries where the oil interests of the two nations can be usefully united. This memorandum relates to the following States or countries:—Romania, Asia Minor, territories of the old Russian Empire, Galicia, French Colonies and British Crown Colonies.

3. The agreement may be extended to other countries by mutual consent.

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7. Mesopotamia.—The British Government undertake to grant to the French Government or its nominee 25 per cent. of the net output of crude oil at current market rates which His Majesty's Government may secure from the Mesopotamian oil fields, in the event of their

being developed by Government action; or in the event of a private petroleum company being used to develop the Mesopotamian oil fields, the British Government will place at the disposal of the French Government a share of 25 per cent. in such company. The price to be paid for such participation to be no more than that paid by any of the other participants to the said petroleum company. It is also understood that the said petroleum company shall be under permanent British control.

8. It is agreed that, should the private petroleum company be constituted as aforesaid, the native Government or other native interests shall be allowed if they so desire, to participate up to a maximum of 20 per cent. of the share capital of the said company. The French shall contribute one-half of the first 10 per cent. of such native participation and the additional participation shall be provided by each participant in proportion to his holdings.

9. The British Government agree to support arrangements by which the French Government may procure from the Anglo-Persian Company supplies of oil, which may be piped from Persia to the Mediterranean through any pipe-line which may have been constructed within the French mandated territory and in regard to which France has given special facilities, up to the extent of 25 per cent. of the oil so piped, on such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed between the French Government and the Anglo-Persian Company.

10. In consideration of the above-mentioned arrangements, the French Government shall agree, if it is desired and as soon as application is made, to the construction of two separate pipe-lines and railways necessary for their construction and maintenance and for the transport of oil from Mesopotamia and Persia through French spheres of influence to a port or ports on the eastern Mediterranean. The port or ports shall be chosen in agreement between the two Governments.

11. Should such pipe-line and railways cross territory within a French sphere of influence, France undertakes to give every facility for the rights of crossing without any royalty or wayleaves on the oil transported. Nevertheless, compensation shall be payable to the landowners for the surface occupied.

12. In the same way France will give facilities at the terminal port for the acquisition of the land necessary for the erection of depots, railways, refineries, loading wharfs, etc. Oil thus exported shall be exempt from export and transit dues. The material necessary for the construction of the pipe-lines, railways, refineries and other equipment shall also be free from import duties and wayleaves.

13. Should the said petroleum company desire to lay a pipe-line and a railway to the Persian Gulf, the British Government will use its good offices to secure similar facilities for that purpose.

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No. 22. The Treaty of Sèvres.

August 10, 1920.

THE dictated Turkish treaty was signed at Sèvres by representatives of the Constantinople Government but not by the revolutionary Kemalist



Government at Angora. This abortive treaty is an excellent example of imperialism. A second agreement, dated March 27, 1922, revised certain of the terms; significant economic clauses of the original treaty are cited.

REFERENCE.—*Great Britain foreign office*, cmd. 964 (Treaty Series No. 11), 1920.

The provisions are grouped under thirteen divisions as follows: covenant of the League of Nations; frontiers of Turkey; political clauses; protection of minorities; military, naval and air clauses; prisoners of war and graves; penalties; financial clauses; economic clauses; aerial navigation; ports, waterways and railways; labour; miscellaneous provisions.

ARTICLE 231—Turkey recognizes that by joining in the war of aggression which Germany and Austria-Hungary waged against the allied powers she has caused to the latter losses and sacrifices of all kinds for which she ought to make complete reparation.

On the other hand, the allied powers recognize that the resources of Turkey are not sufficient to enable her to make complete reparation.

In these circumstances, and inasmuch as the territorial rearrangements resulting from the present treaty will leave to Turkey only a portion of the revenues of the former Turkish Empire, all claims against the Turkish Government for reparation are waived by the allied powers, subject only to the provisions of this part and of Part IX (Economic Clauses) of the present treaty.

The allied powers, desiring to afford some measure of relief and assistance to Turkey, agree with the Turkish Government that a Financial Commission shall be appointed consisting of one representative of each of the following allied powers, who are specially interested—France, the British Empire and Italy—with whom there shall be associated a Turkish Commissioner in a consultative capacity. The powers and duties of this commission are set forth in the following articles:

ARTICLE 232—The Financial Commission shall take such steps as in its judgment are best adapted to conserve and increase the resources of Turkey.

The budget to be presented annually by the minister of finance to the Turkish Parliament shall be submitted, in the first instance, to the Financial Commission, and shall be presented to Parliament in the form approved by that commission. No modification introduced by Parliament shall be operative without the approval of the Financial Commission.

The Financial Commission shall supervise the execution of the budget and the financial laws and regulations of Turkey. This supervision shall be exercised through the medium of the Turkish inspectorate of finance, which shall be placed under the direct orders of the Financial Commission, and whose members will only be appointed with the approval of the commission.

The Turkish Government undertakes to furnish to this inspectorate all facilities necessary for the fulfillment of its task and to take such action against unsuitable officials in the financial departments of the Government as the Financial Commission may suggest.

ARTICLE 233—The Financial Commission shall, in addition, in agree-

ment with the council of the Ottoman Public Debt and the Imperial Ottoman Bank, undertake by such means as may be recognized to be opportune and equitable the regulation and improvement of the Turkish currency.

ARTICLE 234—The Turkish Government undertakes not to contract any internal or external loan without the consent of the Financial Commission.

ARTICLE 236—All the resources of Turkey, except revenues conceded or hypothecated to the service of the Ottoman public debt, shall be placed at the disposal of the Financial Commission.

ARTICLE 237—Any hypothecation of Turkish revenues effected during the war in respect of obligations (including the internal debt) contracted by the Turkish Government during the war is hereby annulled.

ARTICLE 238—Turkey recognizes the transfer to the allied powers of any claims to payment or repayment which Germany, Austria, Bulgaria or Hungary may have against her, in accordance with ARTICLE 261 of the Treaty of Peace concluded at Versailles on June 28, 1919, with Germany, and the corresponding articles of the treaties of peace with Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary. The allied powers agree not to require from Turkey any payment in respect of claims so transferred.

ARTICLE 239—No new concession shall be granted by the Turkish Government either to a Turkish subject or otherwise without the consent of the Financial Commission.

ARTICLE 240—States in whose favor territory is detached from Turkey shall acquire without payment all property and possessions situated therein registered in the name of the Turkish Empire or of the civil list.

ARTICLE 246—The Turkish Government transfers to the Financial Commission all its rights under the provisions of the decree of Muharrem and subsequent decrees.

The Council of the Ottoman Public Debt shall consist of the British, French and Italian delegates and of the representative of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, and shall continue to operate as heretofore. It shall administer and levy all revenues conceded to it under the decree of Muharrem and all other revenues the management of which has been entrusted to it in accordance with any other loan contracts previous to Nov. 1, 1914.

The allied powers authorize the council to give administrative assistance to the Turkish Ministry of Finance, under such conditions as may be determined by the Financial Commission with the object of realizing as far as possible the following program:

The system of direct levy of certain revenues by the existing Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt shall, within limits to be prescribed by the Financial Commission, be extended as widely as possible and applied throughout the provinces remaining Turkish. On each new creation of revenue or of indirect taxes approved by the Financial Commission, the commission shall consider the possibility of entrusting the administration thereof to the Council of the Debt for the account of the Turkish Government.

The administration of the customs shall be under a Director General appointed by and revocable by the Financial Commission and answer-

able to it. No change in the schedule of the customs charges shall be made except with the approval of the Financial Commission.

The Governments of France, Great Britain and Italy will decide, by a majority and after consulting the bondholders, whether the council should be maintained or replaced by the Financial Commission on the expiry of the present term of the council. The decision of the Governments shall be taken at least six months before the date corresponding to the expiry of this period.

ARTICLE 260—The legislative measures required in order to give effect to the provisions of this part will be enacted by the Turkish Government and by the powers concerned within a period which must not exceed six months from the signature of the present treaty.

No. 23. The Tripartite Agreement.

August 10, 1920.

SIGNED at Sèvres at the same time as the Turkish Peace Treaty (*Select Document 22*) and cannot be considered separately from it.

REFERENCE.—*Great Britain foreign office*, cmd. 963 (Treaty Series No. 12), 1920.

The British, French and Italian Governments, respectively represented by the undersigned Plenipotentiaries,

Being anxious to help Turkey, to develop her resources, and to avoid the international rivalries which have obstructed these objects in the past,

Being desirous to meet the request of the Turkish Government that it should receive the necessary assistance in the reorganization of the administration of justice, the finances, the gendarmerie and the police, in the protection of religious, racial and linguistic minorities and in the economic development of the country,

Considering that the autonomy or eventual independence of Kurdistan has been recognised by them, and that it is desirable, with a view to facilitating the development of that country and the provision of any assistance which may be required in its administration, to avoid international rivalries in such matters,

Recognising the respective special interests of Italy in Southern Anatolia and of France in Cilicia and the western part of Kurdistan bordering on Syria, up to Jezireh-ibn-Omar, as these areas are hereafter defined,

Have agreed upon the following provisions:

ARTICLE 1.

There shall be perfect equality in Turkey between the Contracting Powers in the composition of all international Commissions, whether existing or to be established (including the different services dependent thereon) charged with the reorganisation and supervision in a manner consistent with the independence of the country of the different public services (judicial and financial administrations, gendarmerie and police) and of insuring the protection of racial, religious and linguistic minorities.

However, in the event of the Turkish Government, or the Government of Kurdistan, being desirous of obtaining external assistance in the local administration or police of the areas in which the special interests of France and Italy are respectively recognised, the Contracting Powers undertake not to dispute the preferential claim of the Power whose special interests in such areas are recognised to supply such assistance. This assistance shall be specially directed towards enhancing the protection afforded to racial, religious or linguistic minorities in the said areas.

ARTICLE 2.

In accordance with the provisions of the treaty of peace with Turkey, the nationals of the Contracting Powers, their ships and aircraft, and products and manufactured articles coming from or going to the territories, Dominions, Colonies or Protectorates of the said Powers, shall enjoy in the said areas perfect equality in all matters relating to commerce and navigation, and particularly as regards transit, Customs and similar matters.

Nevertheless, the Contracting Powers undertake not to apply, nor to make, or support applications on behalf of their nationals, for industrial or commercial concessions in an area in which the special interests of one of the said Powers are recognised, except in cases where such Power declines or is unable to take advantage of its special position.

ARTICLE 3.

The Contracting Powers undertake to render diplomatic support to each other in maintaining their respective positions in the areas in which their special interests are recognised.

ARTICLE 4.

The Anatolian railway, the Mersina-Tarsus-Adana railway and that part of the Baghdad railway which lies in Turkish territory as defined by the Treaty of Peace with Turkey shall be worked by a company whose capital will be subscribed by British, French and Italian financial groups. Part of the capital will be allotted to British, French and Italian groups in return for the interests that such groups may respectively have held in the Baghdad line as a whole on August 1, 1914; the rest of the capital will be divided equally between the British, French and Italian groups.

Nevertheless, in exchange for the whole or part of the interests owned by French nationals on August 1, 1914, in the Baghdad railway line, the French Government reserves the right to have conceded to it and to work the whole or part of the railway lines (including the Mersina-Tarsus-Adana line) which lie in the area in which its interests are specially recognised. In such event the share of French nationals in the company provided for in the preceding paragraph, will be reduced by a proportion corresponding to the value of the lines which are thus conceded to the French Government. This right of the French Government must be exercised within twelve months from the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey.

In the operations of the company constituted as provided by the first paragraph of this Article account will be taken of the particular rights and interests of the respective Governments which are recognised in the areas defined by the present Agreement, but in such a way as not to injure the good working of the railways.

The Contracting Powers agree to support the unification in the near future of the entire railway system in the territory which remains Turkish by the establishment of a joint company for working the lines. The division of the capital of this new company will be settled by agreement between the groups concerned.

The company constituted as provided by the first paragraph of this Article, as well as any company which may be formed for the purpose indicated in the fourth paragraph, will alike be found to comply with the provisions of Part XI (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, and in particular to accord absolute equality of treatment in respect of railways rates and facilities to goods and passengers of whatever nationality, destination or origin. The French Government undertakes, in the event of its exercising the right provided for in the second paragraph of this Article, to comply with the same provisions in respect of any railway line so conceded to it.

ARTICLE 5.

For the purpose of the present agreement:

1. The area in which the special interests of France are recognised is comprised within the following boundaries:

On the south: From the mouth of the Lama Su on the Gulf of Alexandretta to a point where the northern frontier of Syria as described in the Turkish Peace Treaty meets the sea: the Mediterranean Sea; thence eastwards to the southwestern extremity of the bend in the Tigris about 6 kilometres north of Azekh (27 kilometres west of Jezireh-Ibn-Omar), the northern frontier of Syria as described in the Treaty of Peace with Turkey.

On the east: thence northwards to the confluence of the Hazo Su with the Tigris, the course of the Tigris upstream; thence northwards to a point on the Hazo Su due south of Meleto Dagh, the course of the Hazo Su upstream; thence due north to Meleto Dagh, a straight line;

On the north: thence northwestwards to the point where the boundary between the vilayets of Diarbekr and Bitlis crosses the Murad Su, a line following the line of heights Meleto Dagh, Antogh Dagh, Siri-I-Siri Dagh, Chevtela Dagh; thence westwards to its confluence with the Kara Su (Euphrates), the course of the Murad Su downstream; thence northwards to Pingon on the Kara Su (Euphrates), the course of the Kara Su (Euphrates) upstream; thence northwestwards to Habash Dagh, a straight line; thence westwards to Batmantash, a line following the line of heights Habash Dagh, Terfellu Dagh, Domanli Dagh.

On the west: thence southwards to Yenikhan, a straight line; thence southwestwards to Ak Dagh, on the boundary between the vilayets of Sivas and Angora, a line reaching and then following the crest line of Ak Dagh; thence southwards to a point due west of Seresek, the boundary between the vilayets of Sivas and Angora; thence south-

westwards to Erjias Dagħ (the point where the boundary of the Italian zone as defined below joins the western boundary of the French zone), a straight line; thence southwestwards to Omarli: a line following the line of heights Erjias Dagħ, Devli Dagħ and Ala Dagħ; thence southwards to the confluence of the Tarbaz Chai and the river descending from Kara Geul, a straight line; thence in a southwesterly direction to the bend about 5 kilometres southwest of its mouth, the course of the river flowing from Kara Geul upstream; thence southwestwards to Perchin Bel, a line following the crest of the Bulgar Dagħ; thence southeastwards to the source of the Lama Su, a straight line; thence to its mouth on the Gulf of Alexandretta, the course of the Lama Su downstream.

2. The area in which the special interests of Italy are recognized is comprised within the following boundaries:—

On the east: from the mouth of the Lama Su on the Gulf of Alexandretta to Erjias Dagħ, the western boundary of the area in which the special interests of France are recognised, as described above;

On the north: thence westwards to Akshehr railway station, a straight line, modified however to leave the railway from Akshehr to Konia within the area; thence northwestwards to Kutaya, a line following the railway line from Akshehr to Kutaya (the railway remaining without the area); thence northwestwards to Keshish Dagħ, a straight line; thence westwards to the most easterly point of contact of the southern boundary of the Straits Zone with Abulliont Geul, a straight line;

On the west: thence in a southerly direction to the mouth of the river which flows into the Ægean Sea about 5 kilometres north of Scala Nuova, the southern boundary of the Straits Zone, the northern, eastern and southern boundaries of Smyrna, as they are described in the Treaty of Peace with Turkey;

On the south: thence to the mouth of the Lama Su on the Gulf of Alexandretta, the Ægean Sea and the Mediterranean Sea.

ARTICLE 6.

In relation to the territories detached from the former Turkish Empire and placed under mandate by the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, the Mandatory Power will enjoy vis-à-vis of the other Contracting Powers the same rights and privileges as the Powers whose special interests are respectively recognized in the areas defined in Article 5 enjoy in the said areas.

ARTICLE 7.

All concessions for exploiting the coal basin of Heraclea, as well as the means of transport and loading connected with these concessions, are reserved for the Italian Government, without prejudice to all rights of the same nature (concessions granted or applied for) acquired by Allied or neutral nationals up to October 30, 1918. As regards rights of exploitation belonging to Turkish subjects, their indemnification will take place in agreement with the Turkish Government, but at the cost of the Italian Government.

Nevertheless, on the date on which the Italian Government or the

Italian companies shall have brought their annual production of coal up to an amount equal to that produced as on January 1, 1930, by companies belonging on October 30, 1918, to Allied or neutral nationals, the Italian Government agrees in a spirit of equity to reserve for the Société ottomane d'Eraclée, constituted with French capital (in the event of the latter not having previously expressed the wish to be bought out or to abandon the renewal of its concession), a quarter share in the interest which may be formed, once Italy or the Italian companies shall have reached a production of coal equal in amount to that of the said Allied and neutral nationals as on January 1, 1930.

The two Governments will give each other mutual diplomatic support with a view to securing from the Turkish Government the issue of fresh ordinances, ensuring the exploitation of the mining rights conceded, the establishment of means of transport, such as mining railways and every facility for loading, as well as the eventual employment of other than Turkish labour, and corresponding to the demands of modern methods of exploitation. It is hereby agreed that all concessions, whether granted after or before the issue of the above ordinances, will be equally entitled to all benefits and advantages resulting from their coming into force.

ARTICLE 8.

The French and Italian Governments will withdraw their troops from the respective areas where their special interests are recognised when the Contracting Powers are agreed in considering that the said Treaty of Peace is being executed and that the measures accepted by Turkey for the protection of Christian minorities have been put into force and their execution effectively guaranteed.

ARTICLE 9.

Each of the Contracting Powers whose special interests are recognised in any area in Turkish territory shall accept therewith the responsibility for supervising the execution of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey with regard to the protection of minorities in such area.

ARTICLE 10.

Nothing in this agreement shall prejudice the right of nationals of third States to free access for commercial and economic purposes to any of the areas defined in Article 5, subject to the reservations which are contained in the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, or which have been voluntarily accepted for themselves in the present agreement by the Contracting Powers.

ARTICLE 11.

The present agreement, which will be ratified, will be communicated to the Turkish Government. It will be published and come into force at the same time as the Treaty of Peace with Turkey comes into force between the three Contracting Powers.

DONE at Sèvres, the tenth day of August, one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

GEORGE GRAHAME.
A. MILLERAND.
BONIN.

No. 24. Franco-British Convention.

December 23, 1920.

SIGNIFICANT agreement between the British and French Governments with reference to mandated areas.

REFERENCES.—*British White Paper*, Cmd. 1195; *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 16 (Supplement); *International Conciliation*, September, 1921.

The British and French Governments, respectively represented by the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, wishing to settle completely the problems raised by the attribution to Great Britain of the mandates for Palestine and Mesopotamia and by the attribution to France of the mandate over Syria and the Lebanon, all three conferred by the Supreme Council at San Remo, have agreed on the following provisions:—

ARTICLE 1.

The boundaries between the territories under the French mandate of Syria and the Lebanon on the one hand and the British mandates of Mesopotamia and Palestine on the other are determined.

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ARTICLE 3.

The British and French Governments shall come to an agreement regarding the nomination of a commission, whose duty it will be to make a preliminary examination of any plan of irrigation formed by the Government of the French mandatory territory, the execution of which would be of a nature to diminish in any considerable degree the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates at the point where they enter the area of the British mandate in Mesopotamia.

ARTICLE 4.

In virtue of the geographic and strategic position of the island of Cyprus, off the Gulf of Alexandretta, the British Government agrees not to open any negotiations for the cession or alienation of the said island of Cyprus without the previous consent of the French Government.

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ARTICLE 5.

2. The British Government may carry a pipe line along the existing railway track and shall have in perpetuity and at any moment the right to transport troops by the railway.

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ARTICLE 6.

It is expressly stipulated that the facilities accorded to the British Government by the preceding articles imply the maintenance for the benefit of France of the provisions of the Franco-British Agreement of San Remo regarding oil.

ARTICLE 9.

Subject to the provisions of Articles 15 and 16 of the mandate for Palestine, of Articles 8 and 10 of the mandate for Mesopotamia, and of Article 8 of the mandate for Syria and the Lebanon, and subject also to the general right of control in relation to education and public instruction, of the local Administrations concerned, the British and French Governments agree to allow the schools which French and British nationals possess and direct at the present moment in their respective mandatory areas to continue their work freely; the teaching of French and English will be freely permitted in these schools.

The present article does not in any way imply the right of nationals of either of the two parties to open new schools in the mandatory area of the other.

The present convention has been drawn up in English and French, each of the two texts having equal force.

No. 25. The Afghan-Kemalist Treaty.

March 1, 1921.

THE first of a series of Kemalist understandings with Moslem countries opposed to the domination of Western Powers.

REFERENCE.—*Current History*, February, 1923.

ARTICLE 1—Turkey, which, by the grace of God, lives an independent life, considers it a sacred obligation to recognize the great State of Afghanistan, to which she is attached by the sincerest and most loyal ties, as independent in the most real and complete sense of the word.

ARTICLE 2—The contracting parties recognize the emancipation of all Eastern nations; acknowledge their absolute freedom, their right to independence, and certify that each and all of these nations are free to govern themselves in any way they desire; and recognize specifically the independence of Khiva and Bukhara.

ARTICLE 3—The great State of Afghanistan on this occasion declares and certifies that Turkey, which for centuries has been the guide of Islam and, while performing valuable duties, has held the banner of the Khalifate, has set the example in this respect.

ARTICLE 4—Each of the contracting parties agrees to consider as an offense against itself, any action against the other State by an imperialistic State which follows the policy of invading or exploiting the East, and agrees to remove any such offense with all its existing and possible means.

ARTICLE 5—Each of the contracting parties promises not to conclude a treaty or State contract in favor of a State between which and the other party there is a disagreement. Each of the contracting

parties promises to inform the other before concluding any treaty with any State.

ARTICLE 6—The contracting parties will later conclude the necessary contracts to arrange their commercial, economic and consular relations, and will now send ambassadors to each other's capitals.

ARTICLE 7—The two contracting parties will have regular and special mail service between the two countries and will, by the quickest means, inform each other of their mutual, political, educational and commercial situations and of all their needs.

ARTICLE 8—Turkey promises to help Afghanistan in cultivation and to send teachers and officers, and to keep these teachers and officers in Afghanistan at least five years. If, at the end of this period, Afghanistan desires it, Turkey promises to send new teachers and officers.

ARTICLE 9—This treaty will be ratified as soon as possible and will be in force as soon as ratified.

ARTICLE 10—This treaty is drawn up in two copies and is concluded, signed and exchanged in Moscow between the delegates of the parties concerned.

No. 26. Turkish Nationalist-Italian Agreement.

March 12, 1921.

THIS agreement, whose terms were similar to the agreement made three days previously between the French and the Kemalists, gave further indication of Allied disunity in dealing with Turkey, and particularly with the Kemalists.

REFERENCE.—*New York Times*, April 13, 1921.

(1) The two Governments at Angora and Rome have in view Italian-Turkish economic collaboration with the right of priority for concessions of an economic character to be accorded in the sanjaks of Adalia, Meugia, Buldur and Sparta and in part of the sanjaks of Afium Qarahisar and Kutaya, which will be determined when the accord becomes definite, as well as in the coal basin of Heraclea, so far as the above-mentioned should not be directly given by the Ottoman Government to Ottoman subjects with Ottoman capital.

(2) When the concessions contain privileges or monopoly they shall be exploited by societies formed according to Ottoman law.

(3) Ottoman capital shall be assisted as largely as possible with Italian capital. Ottoman participation may reach 50 per cent of the total.

(4) The Royal Government of Italy pledges itself to support effectively in relations to its allies all demands of the Turkish delegation relative to the peace treaty, and especially restitution to Turkey of Smyrna and Thrace.

(5) This part of the agreement involves the withdrawal of Italian troops which still remain in Ottoman territory.

(6) The foregoing disposition will come into effect as a result of a convention to be concluded between the two contracting parties imme-

diately after the conclusion of peace assuring Turkey a free and independent existence.

No. 27. Turkish Nationalist-Soviet Russia Treaty.

March 16, 1921.

OF both moral and material help to the Kemalist cause. Note especially that the Bolshevik Government agrees to restore to Turkey the provinces which the latter lost in 1878.

REFERENCE.—*Current History*, November, 1922.

Sharing the principle of the brotherhood of nations and of the rights of the peoples to self-determination, and confirming the solidarity which unites them in the struggle against imperialism, as well as the fact that any difficulties raised before one of the two peoples are liable to complicate the situation of the other, the Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, on the one hand, and the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, on the other, animated by the desire to establish lasting and cordial relations, and by a continuous and sincere friendship based on their mutual interests, have decided to conclude with one another a treaty of friendship and brotherhood, and have appointed with this object as their plenipotentiaries:

The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. (Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic): GEORGE VASSILIEVITCH TCHITCHERIN, People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs and Member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and DJELAL-EDDIN KORK-MASSOFF, Member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee; and the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey: YUSUF KEMAL BEY, People's Commissary for National Economy of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and Deputy from Kastamuni to the aforesaid Assembly; DR. RIZA NUR BEY, People's Commissary for Education of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and Deputy from Sinope to the aforesaid Assembly; ALI FUAD PASHA, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and Deputy from Angora to the aforesaid Assembly.

These plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their respective credentials, which were found to be in due and legal form, have come to the following agreement:

ARTICLE 1—Neither contracting party will recognize treaties or international acts which are imposed by force on the other party. The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. agrees to recognize no such international acts concerning Turkey that have not been recognized by the Nationalist Turkish Government as represented by the Grand National Assembly.

The frontiers of Turkey are understood in this treaty to include all the territories enumerated in the National Turkish Pact which were agreed to and proclaimed by the Chamber of Deputies on Jan. 28, 1920 (1336 Turkish calendar), in Constantinople. The text of this pact was communicated to the press as well as to all the powers.

The northeastern boundary line of Turkey is specified as follows: This line starts from the village of Sarp on the Black Sea coast, crosses the mountain Khedis-Mta, and follows the watershed line of the mountains Shavshet (Chevchet in the Turkish text) and Kanni Dagħ. Thence it follows the northern administrative frontier of the sanjaks of Ardahan and Kars, and the bed of the rivers, Arpa Chai and Arax, thus reaching the mouth of the Lower Kara Su (Appendix I, A and B).

ARTICLE 2—Turkey agrees to cede to Georgia the suzerainty over the City and the Port of Batum, as well as over the territories north of the frontier, which are specified in Article 1 of the present treaty and which form part of the Batum district, on condition that

1. The population of the territories defined in this article shall enjoy a broad administrative autonomy which will secure to every community the respect of its religious and cultural rights; the population shall be granted the possibility of enacting such agrarian laws as it may wish to enjoy.

2. Turkey shall be permitted full use of the Port of Batum for the transit of all imported and exported merchandise, free of custom dues or any levies. This right of Turkey shall be hampered by no regulations, and no special taxes shall be exacted from her for the use of this port.

ARTICLE 3—The two contracting parties agree that the district of Nakhichevan, the frontiers of which are specified in Appendix I (C) of the present treaty, shall form an autonomous territory under the protectorate of Azerbaijan, provided Azerbaijan shall cede this protectorate to no other country.

The triangular territory of Nakhichevan is formed by the line which follows the bed of the river Arax, and passes by the mountains Dachna (3829), Veli Dagħ (4121), Bagarzik (6587), Kemurlu Dagħ (6930), and Serai-Bulak (8071). Thence it reaches the station Ararat, and rejoins Arax at the crossing with Kara Su. A commission of delegates from Turkey, Azerbaijan and Armenia will fix this line laid down above.

ARTICLE 4—Recognizing that the national movements in the Orient are similar to and in harmony with the struggle of the Russian workingmen for the new social order, the two contracting parties assert solemnly the rights of these peoples to freedom, independence and free choice of such forms of government as they themselves desire to have.

ARTICLE 5—With a view to guaranteeing the freedom of the Straits and their free passage for commercial purposes to all countries, both parties agree to entrust to a special conference, composed of delegates from all the riverain States, the drafting of the definitive and international status of the Black Sea and of the Straits, on condition that its decisions shall not prejudice the absolute sovereignty and the safety of Turkey and of her capital, Constantinople.

ARTICLE 6—Both parties recognize that all the treaties theretofore concluded between them do not correspond to their reciprocal interests. Therefore, they agree to consider the aforesaid treaties void and abrogated. The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. declares, in particular, that it considers Turkey free from any financial or other obliga-

tions based on international treaties concluded between Turkey and the Government of the Tsar.

ARTICLE 7—The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. considers the capitulatory régime to be incompatible with the free national development, and with the sovereignty of any country, and it regards all the rights and acts relating in any way to this régime as annulled and abrogated.¹

ARTICLE 8—Both contracting parties undertake not to allow on their respective territories the formation and the sojourn of groups that would lay claim to the rôle of Government in the country of the other party, or in a part of it, as well as of groups that intend to struggle against the other party. Russia and Turkey assume analogous obligations based on the principle of reciprocity with regard to the Transcaucasian Soviet Republics. It is agreed that Turkish territory, as defined in this article, is understood to include only that part of the country which is under the direct military and civil administration of the Government of the Grand National Assembly.

ARTICLE 9—With the object of facilitating intercourse between their respective countries, both parties agree to take in concert with each other all measures necessary to maintain and develop within the shortest possible time railway, telegraphic and other ways of communication. [Measures will also be taken to secure the free and unhampered traffic of passengers and commodities between the two countries. It is understood, however, that the passenger traffic, as well as the export and import of commodities, will be subject in every country to the regulations existing to that effect.]²

ARTICLE 10—Citizens of each of the contracting parties living on the territory of the other contracting party will share all the rights and obligations based on the laws of the country in which they sojourn, with the exception of the obligations relating to the national defense, of which they shall be free. Questions relating to family law and to the law of inheritance, as well as to the juridical competency of the citizens of both countries, shall also make an exception to the stipulations of this article, and shall be regulated by a special convention.

ARTICLE 11—Both parties agree to accord the most-favored treatment to the citizens of each party residing on the territory of the other party. The stipulations of the present article apply neither to the citizens of the Soviet Republics allied to Russia, nor to the citizens of the Moslem countries allied to Turkey.

ARTICLE 12—Every resident of the territories which prior to 1918 formed part of Russia, and which by virtue of the present treaty are recognized by the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. as passing under the sovereignty of Turkey, shall be free to leave Turkey, taking with him his belongings and property, or an equivalent sum of money.

¹The Turkish text refers specially to Turkey, *viz.*, "The . . . Soviet Republic, recognizing that the régime of the capitulations is incompatible with the national development of Turkey, as well as with the full exercise of its sovereign rights, considers null and void the exercise in Turkey of all functions and of all rights under the capitulatory régime.

²The bracketed clauses are omitted in the Turkish version.

The same right is granted to the residents of Batum, suzerainty over which by virtue of the present treaty is ceded by Turkey to Georgia.

ARTICLE 13—Russia undertakes to convey, at her own expense, all Turkish military and civil prisoners now in her territory to the Northwestern Turkish frontier. In the Caucasus and in European Russia this shall be carried out within three months from the day of the signature of this treaty, while in Asiatic Russia the time is extended to six months. The details of this repatriation shall be the subject of a special convention to be drawn up immediately after the signature of this treaty.¹

ARTICLE 14—Both contracting parties agree to conclude in the nearest future a Consular agreement, as well as such treaties regulating economic, financial and other questions, as are necessary for the establishment of the reciprocal friendly relations outlined in the introduction of this treaty.

ARTICLE 15—Russia undertakes to take all steps necessary to secure the recognition by the Transcaucasian Republics, in special treaties which they are to conclude with Turkey, of such stipulations of the present treaty as relate directly to them.

ARTICLE 16—The present treaty is subject to ratification. The ratifications shall be exchanged at Kars in the shortest possible time. With the exception of Article 13, the present treaty will become valid from the moment of exchange of ratifications.

No. 28. The Treaty of Kars.

October 13, 1921.

SIGNED by the Kemalist Government and the Transcaucasian governments of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Compare *Select Document 27*.

REFERENCE.—*Current History*, February, 1923.

ARTICLE 1—The Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and the Governments of the Socialist Soviet Republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, regard as null and void all treaties concluded by Governments previously exercising sovereignty over territory now held by the above-mentioned Governments, as well as the treaties concluded with some third States and the Transcaucasian Republics. It is understood that the Turko-Russian Treaty signed at Moscow on March 16, 1921 (1337) is an exception to this provision.

ARTICLE 2—The contracting parties agree not to recognize any peace treaty or any other international act, save those imposed upon them by themselves. In virtue of this agreement, the Governments of the Socialist Soviet Republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia will not recognize any international act concerning Turkey which is not recognized by the National Government of Turkey, represented by the Grand National Assembly. [By the term "Turkey" is understood

* The Turkish version, representing obviously a later edition makes the agreement mutual, viz. "Turkey enters into a similar agreement respecting Russian prisoners of war and civil prisoners who are still in Turkey."

that area included in the National Pact of Jan. 28, 1920 (1336), drawn up and proclaimed by the Chamber of Ottoman Deputies at Constantinople and sent to the press and to all States.] On its side the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey agrees not to recognize any international act concerning Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, which is not recognized by the Government of these countries respectively, as represented by the Soviets of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

ARTICLE 3—The Governments of the Socialist Soviet Republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, recognizing that the régime of the capitulations is incompatible with the free development of any country and the full exercise of its sovereign rights, consider as null and void the practice in Turkey of any function resulting from this régime.

ARTICLE 4—The north-east frontier of Turkey follows a line which, starting from the village of Sarp on the Black Sea, crosses the mountain Khedis-Mta and follows the watershed line of the Mountains Chevchet and Kanni Dag, thence along the northern administrative frontiers of the sanjaks of Ardahan and Kars and the Rivers Arpa Chai and Araz to the mouth of the Lower Kara Su. A mixed commission composed of an equal number of members from each of the contracting parties with a representative of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Russia in addition, is appointed to establish the frontier line and fix the frontier posts.

ARTICLE 5—The Turkish Government and the Governments of the Socialist Soviet Republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan are agreed that the region of Nakhichevan, as defined in Annex 3 or the present treaty, constitutes an autonomous territory under the protection of Azerbaijan.

ARTICLE 6—Turkey consents to cede to Georgia the suzerainty of the town and port of Batum, together with the area to the north of the frontier indicated in Article 4 of the present treaty, on condition that: (a) the population of the area is given administrative autonomy and that the fight to develop its own culture, its own religion and its own agrarian régime is guaranteed to each community of the population; (b) Turkey is assured of her right to free transit of goods through the port of Batum, without customs or other charges. To apply this article, a commission shall be formed of representatives of the Governments interested, immediately upon the signature of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 7—The Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and the Government of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia agree to allow the population along the frontiers to cross the frontier subject to the observation of customs, health and police regulations to be determined upon by a mixed commission.

ARTICLE 8—The Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia agree to permit the rural population along the frontier to use their customary pastures across the frontier, permitting them to pass the frontier with their flocks in accordance with frontier regulations to be determined upon by a mixed commission.

ARTICLE 9—In order to assure the freedom of the Straits to the commerce of the world, Turkey and Georgia agree to entrust the

elaboration of an international statute of the Black Sea and the Straits to a conference to be composed of delegates from the neighboring States, providing that their decisions do not threaten the absolute sovereignty of Turkey and the security of Constantinople, its capital.

ARTICLE 10—The contracting parties agree not to permit on their territories the formation or the sojourn of any organizations or groups from any other country which assume the rôle of government or have as their purpose, a war against some other country. It is understood that the Turkish territory contemplated in the present article is the territory under the direct civil and military administration of the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

ARTICLE 11—Nationals of each of the contracting parties residing in the territory of another of the contracting parties, will be governed by the laws of the country of their residence, except laws respecting the national defense from which they will be exempt. Questions of inheritance and legal representation will also constitute an exception to be dealt with later in a special agreement.

ARTICLE 12—The contracting parties agree to apply most-favored-nation treatment to the nationals of the other contracting parties residing on their territory.

ARTICLE 13—Dwellers in that territory which formed part of Russia before the year 1918 and now forms part of Turkey, shall have the option of leaving with all their personal goods and effects. Likewise, dwellers in the territory which Turkey herewith cedes to Georgia shall have a similar option. Those who desire to leave shall give notice of their intention a month in advance.

ARTICLE 14—Within six months of the signature of the present treaty, the contracting parties agree to make a special arrangement relative to the war refugees of the years 1918 to 1920.

ARTICLE 15—Each of the contracting parties agrees to declare a complete amnesty for nationals of the other contracting parties, respecting war crimes on the Caucasian front, immediately after the signature of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 17—In order to assure non-interruption of communication between their countries, the contracting parties agree to take all measures necessary for the maintenance and development of railway, telegraphic and other communications, as well as to assure transit of persons and goods without charge.

ARTICLE 18—In order to organize commercial communications and arrange economic and financial questions among the contracting parties, a commission of their representatives shall be convened at Tiflis immediately upon the signature of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 19—The contracting parties agree to conclude consular arrangements within three months after the signature of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 20—The present treaty concluded between the Governments of Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, shall be submitted for ratification. The exchange of ratifications shall take place at Erivan with the briefest possible delay. The present treaty shall come into force from the moment of ratification, with the exception of Articles

6, 14, 15, 16, 18 and 19, which shall come into force immediately upon the signature of the treaty.

No. 29. Franco-Turkish Nationalist Agreement.

October 20, 1921.

THIS was a separate agreement, signed at Angora between the representative of the French Government, H. Franklin-Bouillon, and the Kemalists, which broke decisively any semblance of Allied unity in the Turkish occupation and was the subject of considerable published correspondence between the British and French foreign offices.

REFERENCE.—*Current History*, January, 1922.

ARTICLE 1—The high contracting parties declare that from the date of the signature of the present agreement the state of war will cease between them, and that the armies, the civil authorities and the inhabitants shall be so informed.

ARTICLE 2—From the date of the signature of the present agreement, the respective prisoners of war, as well as all French or Turkish nationals detained or imprisoned, shall be set at liberty, and shall be brought, at the expense of the power that holds them, to the nearest town designated to this effect. The scope of this article extends to all persons detained or imprisoned by either party, whatever may be the date or the place of detention, imprisonment or capture.

ARTICLE 3—Within a maximum period of two months following the signature of this agreement, the Turkish troops will withdraw to the north, and the French troops to the south of the line laid down in ARTICLE 8.

ARTICLE 4—The respective withdrawal and taking over, within the time limit laid down by ARTICLE 3, shall be effected in accordance with provisions to be agreed upon by a mixed commission named by the military commanders of the two parties.

ARTICLE 5—Full amnesty shall be granted by the two contracting parties in the regions evacuated as soon as they shall have been taken over.

ARTICLE 6—The Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey declares that the minority rights solemnly recognized in the national treaty shall be confirmed by it on the same basis as that established by the agreements in this regard reached between the Entente Powers, their adversaries and certain of their allies.

ARTICLE 7—A special administrative régime shall be established for the Alexandretta region. The Turkish inhabitants of this region shall enjoy every facility for the development of their cultural needs. Turkish shall be made the official language.

ARTICLE 8—The boundary line mentioned in ARTICLE 3 is fixed and specified as follows: The frontier line will start from a point to be chosen on the Gulf of Alexandretta, immediately to the south of the region of Payas, and will be clearly oriented toward Meiden-Ekbes (the railway station and the region remaining to Syria). Thence it will turn southeast, leaving to Syria the region of Karnaba, and also the town of Killis; thence it will join the railway at the station of

Choban Bey. From there it will follow the Baghdad Railway, whose roadbed shall remain on Turkish territory as far as Nisibin; thence it will follow the old road between Nisibin and Jasireh-ibn-Omar, where it will rejoin the Tigris. The region of Nisibin and Jasireh-ibn-Omar, as well as the road, will remain to Turkey; but both countries will have the right to use this road. The stations and branch stations of the section between Choban Bey and Nisibin shall belong to Turkey as a part of the railway line.

A commission composed of delegates from both parties shall be formed within one month from the signature of this agreement to fix the line laid down above. This commission shall begin to function within the same period.

ARTICLE 9—The tomb of Suleiman Shah, the grandfather of the Sultan Osman, founder of the Ottoman dynasty (the tomb is known under the name of Turq-Mezari), situated at Jaber-Kalessi, and its appurtenances shall remain in the possession of Turkey; whose right it shall be to establish attendants there and to fly over the tomb the Turkish flag.

ARTICLE 10—The Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey accepts the transfer of the concession of the section of the Baghdad Railway between Bozanti and Nisibin, as well as of divers branches situated in the vilayet of Adana, to a French group designated by the French Government, with all rights, privileges and advantages attached to concessions, particularly as concerns exploitation and traffic.

Turkey will have the right to send its military transports by railway from Meiden-Ekbes to Choban Bey, in the Syrian region, and Syria will have the right to send its military transports by railway from Choban Bey as far as Nisibin, in Turkish territory. Over this section and its branches no preferential tariff shall be established in principle. Each Government, however, reserves the right to study in concert with the other any exception to this rule which may become necessary. In case agreement proves impossible, each party will be free to act as he thinks best.

ARTICLE 11—A mixed commission shall be organized after the ratification of the present agreement; its object shall be to conclude a customs convention between Turkey and Syria. Both the conditions and the duration of this convention shall be determined by the commission. Both countries shall be free to act as they think best until this convention is concluded.

ARTICLE 12—The waters of Kouveik shall be divided between the town of Aleppo and the northern region which has remained Turkish in such wise as to be equitable and satisfactory to the two parties. Aleppo shall also be authorized to construct works to draw water, at its own expense, from the Euphrates on Turkish territory, in order to meet the needs of the region.

ARTICLE 13—Settlers or semi-nomads possessing rights of pasturage or owning land on either side of the line fixed by ARTICLE 8 will remain in possession of these rights. To meet their cultivation needs they shall be permitted freely, and without paying any customs or pasturage dues, to transport from one side of this line to the other their cattle, inclusive of birth increments, their instruments, tools, seeds and other

agricultural products, it being clearly understood that they shall be bound to pay all taxes and duties relative thereto in the region where they are domiciled.

No. 30. Italian-Imperial Ottoman Government Agreement.

March 31, 1922.

INTERESTING historically because the Italians had made similar friendly arrangements with the Kemalists during the spring and fall of the previous year. Actually of little consequence since the Constantinople Government was impotent.

REFERENCE.—*Christian Science Monitor*, June 5, 1922.

Agreement B signed and exchanged at Constantinople at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ottoman Empire on March 31, 1338 (1922), by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ottoman Empire, Izzet Pasha, on the one hand and Marquess Garroni, High Commissioner of the Italian Government to the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand.

ARTICLE 1: As agreed by the two contracting parties in Agreement A, which constitutes a preamble of the present agreement, the latter will not be published unless the two contracting parties shall previously have reached an understanding on the subject, consequent upon a change of views.

ARTICLE 2: The Italian Government consents and undertakes to employ, in conformity with the subjoined stipulations, all the effective diplomatic means at its disposal with a view to reestablishing the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire without any conditions or reservations whatsoever over the territories actually in possession of that Empire, or which it represents from the standpoint of Turkish nationality, with a view also to maintaining intact the independence of the Ottoman Empire. The conditions in question include the following fundamental points: A—Evacuation by Greece, without any conditions or reservations whatsoever, of Anatolia, now in a state of war. Extension of the hinterland of the capital of the Ottoman Empire in such a manner as to include Adrianople. B—The Ottoman Empire will enjoy, without any conditions or reservations whatsoever, the same rights as are enjoyed by all independent states as regards their military, economic, and judicial organizations. C—The Imperial Ottoman Government, as from this date, consents and undertakes to apply, on the basis of the most-favored-nation clause, to Italian subjects and to such firms as the Italian Government may designate, all economic or judicial conventions already in existence, or which may be concluded hereafter with any other state.

ARTICLE 3: The Imperial Ottoman Government undertakes to facilitate the development of the economic policy now being followed and applied by the Italian Government in the Balkan States and eastern Mediterranean. The Italian Government, on the other hand, undertakes to accept stipulations which the Imperial Ottoman Government may propose in its administrative acts and ordinances concerning such enterprises as may be undertaken by the institution of Italian industrial firms and companies for the execution of public works and by the setting

up of a mercantile marine by virtue of the engagement specified in ARTICLE 4 of Agreement A.

ARTICLE 4: As regards the setting up of undertakings pertaining to public works to be carried out by special agents of the two contracting parties after the restoration of normal conditions at Constantinople and within the territories to be included within the boundaries of Anatolia, preference will be granted to Italian firms immediately after home firms. This undertaking must, however, in no wise impair the full working of the law of Jan. 14, 1337 (1921), which lays down the conditions regulating the introduction of foreign capital into Anatolia.

ARTICLE 5: The Imperial Ottoman Government undertakes to employ, in favor of the Italian Government, the moral authority it enjoys within the colonies and zones of influence of the Italian Government which are inhabited by a Moslem majority, subject to the reservation that this undertaking will be conditioned by religious and communal freedom and welfare granted to the Moslem inhabitants of such areas by the Italian Government.

ARTICLE 6: In view of the negotiations which the Imperial Ottoman Government is at present pursuing for the conclusion of an alliance between Turkey, Bulgaria, and Albania, an alliance designed to counter the movement which aims at the conclusion of an alliance between the other Balkan states, the Imperial Ottoman Government undertakes to secure acceptance by the proposed allied group of such conditions as the Italian Government may propose for safeguarding its own interests; subject, however, to the reservation that the Imperial Ottoman Government shall be kept fully informed of relevant proposals and conditions, and that the latter shall not prejudicially affect Ottoman interests.

ARTICLE 7: In particular, the Imperial Ottoman Government undertakes to prevent all agitation throughout Italy's African possessions.

ARTICLE 8: The Italian Government undertakes to make over to the Imperial Ottoman Government eight batteries of various calibers, together with the necessary munitions, 10,000 rifles, and medical stores. The calibers and character of the aforesaid war material shall be settled by experts belonging to the two parties, and delivery will be effected at places designated by the Imperial Ottoman Government, the Italian Government assuming the obligation to fulfill this undertaking, at the very latest, within a month from the date of exchange of the present agreement.

ARTICLE 9: The Italian Government, which has undertaken to proceed with the evacuation of all territories in Asia Minor still under Italian military occupation on condition that Italian claims to economic priority within the region of Adalia—Konia, including the district of Konia itself—shall be extended for such a period and in such a manner as may be agreed to by the Imperial Ottoman Government, reserves for itself the right to initiate on this question a special exchange of views, both oral and written, after the signature and exchange of the present agreement.

ARTICLE 10: The Imperial Ottoman Government definitely undertakes to secure from the Government of Angora the execution and observation of the clauses of Agreement A, which constitutes the

preamble of the present agreement. In the event of the clauses of the present agreement not being confirmed in writing by the representative of the Angora Government at Constantinople and Rome within a period of 27 days from the date of its signature, this agreement must be regarded as null and void.

ARTICLE 11: The present agreement shall be ratified and put in operation on condition that Agreement A, which constitutes its preamble, shall have been definitely applied. The invalidation of any single clause in either of these agreements shall entail the invalidation of both.

ARTICLE 12: The present agreement was signed and exchanged by the two contracting parties on March 31, 1338 (1922), at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the seat of the Imperial Ottoman Government.

No. 31. British Policy in Palestine.

July 24, 1922.

GENERAL terms of the mandate.

REFERENCE.—*The Near East*, July 6, 1922.

British white paper, cmd. 1700 covers correspondence between His Majesty's Government and Palestine Arab Delegation and Zionist Organisation from 21st February to 23rd June, 1922. This correspondence includes the official statement of British policy in Palestine of which a summary follows:

(1) His Majesty's Government reaffirm Declaration of November, 1917, which is not susceptible of change.

(2). A Jewish National Home will be founded in Palestine. The Jewish people will be in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. But His Majesty's Government have no such aim in view as that Palestine should become Jewish as England is English.

(3). Nor do His Majesty's Government contemplate disappearance or subordination of Arab population, language, or culture.

(4). Status of all citizens of Palestine will be Palestinian. No section of population will have any other status in the eyes of the law.

(5). His Majesty's Government intend to foster establishment of full measure of self-government in Palestine, and as the next step a Legislative Council with a majority of elected members will be set up immediately.

(6). Special position of Zionist Executive does not entitle it to share in any degree in government of country.

(7). Immigration will not exceed economic capacity of country at the time to absorb new arrivals.

(8). Committee of elected members of Legislative Council will confer with administration upon matters relating to regulation of immigration. Any difference of opinion will be referred to His Majesty's Government.

(9). Any religious community or considerable section of population claiming that terms of mandate are not being fulfilled will have right of appeal to League of Nations.

No. 32. The Premier's Speech in the House of Commons.

August 4, 1922.

IN reply to "heckling" by Lieutenant Colonel Kenworthy, Mr. Lloyd George made a fervid pro-Greek speech which was read as orders of the day to the discontented Greek troops in Asia Minor and was regarded as an even stronger stimulant to Kemalist morale.

REFERENCE.—*British parliamentary papers*, House of Commons, vol. 157, pp. 2003-2006.

I forget who it was who said that we were not fair as between the parties. I am not sure that we are. What has happened? Here is a war between Greece and Turkey. We are defending the capital of one of the parties against the other. We must not overlook that fact, and it is a very important fact. If we were not there, there is absolutely no doubt that the Greeks would occupy that capital in a very few hours, and that would produce a decision. There is only one way now in which the Greeks can have a decision, and that is by marching through almost impenetrable defiles for hundreds of miles into the country. I do not know of any army that would have gone so far as the Greeks have. It was a very daring and a very dangerous military enterprise. They established a military superiority in every pitched battle. They were barred by the conformation of the country, and the fact that they had to maintain lines of communication that no other Army in Europe would ever have dreamed of risking.

But there was one way in which they could have established a decision. If we were simply holding the ring between them and said, "There you are, fight it out," they would have marched to the capital, and taken it, I will not say tomorrow, but in a week. Who is preventing that? British troops, French troops, Italian troops, and the British, French and Italian navies. It is quite right that we should do so, but do not let us say that we are unduly favouring the Greeks, that we are giving them some sort of preferential treatment.

There are even suggestions, not altogether, perhaps, without foundation, that the Kemalist forces are being reequipped from Europe. The Greeks, under other conditions, would have been entitled to blockade the coast of Asia Minor. Had it been any other belligerent, they would have been entitled to search ships, and to prevent arms from going to the Kemalists. They are not allowed to do that. That is what the hon. and gallant Gentleman calls "preference for the Greeks." On the contrary, one of the unfairnesses of the situation is that we are driven, by the position we occupy there, into not giving a fair field and no favour to fight the issue out. Peace the Kemalists will not accept, because they say we will not give them satisfactory armistice terms; but we are not allowing the Greeks to wage the war with their full strength.

We cannot allow that sort of thing to go on indefinitely in the hope that the Kemalists entertain, that they will at last exhaust this little country, whose men have been in arms for 10 or 12 years, with one war after another, and which has not indefinite resources. That is the position. We only want to see a just peace established. Facts

which have occurred during the last few months make it clear that, whatever happens, there must be adequate efficient protection of the minorities in this part of Asia Minor, as an essential part of any settlement which Great Britain can accept. By these guarantees I do not mean the word of Angora. That was given in Armenia. What has it been worth? It has not saved the life of a single Armenian or Greek. The protection must be an adequate one, which will take form and effect in the very constitution of the government of this particular province.

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No. 33. British Treaty with Iraq.

October 10, 1922.

THE treaty was signed at Baghdad on October 10, 1922, between Great Britain and Iraq (Mesopotamia). The pact, which in official British quarters was regarded as the first important step towards securing ultimate full self-government for Iraq, is to remain in force for 20 years, when the situation will be examined.

A protocol to the British-Iraq Treaty limiting the operation of the treaty to the date of the admission of Iraq to the League of Nations or to four years from the ratification of peace with Turkey whichever proved the shorter, was signed on April 3, 1923, and published through Iraq on May 5, 1923.

REFERENCES.—*Current History*, December, 1922; *New York Times*, October 12, 1922; *Manchester Guardian*, October 13, 1922.

Chief among the articles of the treaty of October 10, 1922, are those by which the British Government undertakes:

- (i). To use its good offices to secure the admission of Iraq to membership of the League of Nations.
- (ii). To provide such support and assistance to the armed forces of the King of Iraq as may from time to time be agreed by the contracting parties.
- (iii). To transfer to the Government of Iraq such works of public utility as may be agreed upon, and to render such financial assistance as may be considered necessary for Iraq.
- (iv). To refrain from placing obstacles in the way of a Customs or other association with neighboring Arab States.
- (v). To guide, advise, and assist the State of Iraq in international and fiscal questions during the period of the treaty.

The King of Iraq on the other hand, undertakes:

1. To grant freedom of worship to all.
2. Not to cede or lease any territory in Iraq to a foreign Power.
3. To safeguard the interest of foreigners.
4. Not to discriminate against the nationals of any State, member of the League of Nations, or of any State which Britain places on the same footing as a member of the League.
5. Not to interfere with normal missionary work.

A separate agreement is to regulate the financial relations of the two parties, and separate agreements will also secure the execution of any treaties, agreements, or undertakings in respect to Iraq.

No. 34. The Mudania Armistice.

October 11, 1922.

FOLLOWING the military defeat of the Greek forces, Ismet Pasha, commander in chief of the Turkish army, and Allied military officers drew up and signed these terms.

REFERENCE.—*Times*, October 14, 1922.

The War Office issued last night the text of the Military Convention signed at Mudania on October 11. It is as follows:

In accordance with the terms of the Note addressed to the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey by the Allied Powers on September 23, 1922, and of the Note sent to the Allied Powers by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on September 29, 1922, meetings between the Allied Generals, Lieutenant-General Sir C. H. Harrington, K.C.B., D.S.C., for Great Britain; Lieutenant-General E. Mombelli, K.C.M.G., for Italy; Major-General C. H. Charpy, C.B., for France; and General Ismet Pasha for the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey; and General Mazarakis for Greece, were held at Mudania on October 3, 1922, and subsequent days.

The Allied Governments having decided to hand over Eastern Thrace and Adrianople to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the object of this Conference was:

(i). To define a line beyond which the Greek troops shall be invited to withdraw in Eastern Thrace.

(ii). To draw up the measures for the evacuation of the Greek troops and civil administration and for the installation of the officials and gendarmerie of the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in that area.

(iii). To ensure the control of that area during the transitory period in order to secure the maintenance of law, order, and public security, the Delegates have agreed upon the following terms:

1.—Hostilities between Turkish and Greek forces will cease from the date of the entry into force of the present convention.

2.—The line behind which the Greek forces in Thrace shall be invited to withdraw as soon as the present convention enters into force, is the left bank of the Maritsa from its outlet into the Ægean Sea to the point where it crosses the frontier of Thrace with Bulgaria.

3.—In order to avoid any possible complications until the establishment of peace, the right bank of the Maritsa, including Karagach will be occupied by Allies contingents, which will be stationed at points to be selected by the Allies.

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8.—The various operations of the withdrawal of the Greek troops and of the transfer of the civil administration shall be carried out under the direction of Inter-Allied missions located in the principal centers. The duty of these missions is to intervene in order to facilitate such evacuation and transfer. They will do their utmost to prevent excesses of all sorts.

9.—In addition to these missions, Allied contingents shall occupy Eastern Thrace. These contingents, amounting to about 7 battalions, will ensure the maintenance of law and order, and act in support of the Inter-Allied missions.

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13.—The Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey undertake not to transport troops nor raise or maintain an army in Eastern Thrace until the ratification of a peace treaty.

14.—The present convention will come into force three days after its signature, that is to say, at midnight on October 14-15, 1922.

Done at Mudania in 4 pages in French this 11th day of October, 1922.

No. 35. *Fetva* Approving the Deposition of the Sultan.

November 19, 1922.

ON November 17, the news of the flight of the Sultan from Constantinople was received in Angora. On the 18th, the Assembly held three secret sittings of which we have no details. On the next day, however, the Assembly held a public sitting in which a *fetva* approving of the deposition of the Sultan was read and accepted; and the new Khalif was elected.

REFERENCE.—*The Near East*, December 7, 1922.

"If Zeid, the chief of the Moslems, accepts without necessity, enemy terms of a nature to bring destruction upon all Moslems and manifests his impotence to defend Moslem rights; if he actively undertakes in agreement with the enemy against Moslems, fighting a sacred war in defense of Moslem rights and independence; if he persists in such rights and taking refuge in foreign protection, flees and deserts the seat of the Khalifate, is he not deserving of deposition in accordance with the Koranic law?" Answer in the affirmative.

"Hence, does it not become necessary in order that Moslem rights and interests may be protected to administer the oath of fidelity to a capable individual worthy of the Khalifate?" Answer in the affirmative.

No. 36. The Treaty of Lausanne.

July 24, 1923.

FOR the first time since the World War, a conquered nation engaged in a negotiated peace conference. The Treaty of Sèvres (*Select Document 22*), signed by the representatives of the effete Imperial Ottoman Government at Constantinople, was scrapped. The success-

ful outcome of the Græco-Turkish War and the unwillingness of the Entente Allies to stage another military struggle gave the Turkish delegates at Lausanne a position of equal advantage with her former conquerors. In the first Lausanne Conference, which began on November 20, 1923, they had the strategic advantage of Allied dissension over the Ruhr occupation. In the second Lausanne Conference, virtually a continuation of the first, they were aided by continued disagreement between France, Italy and Great Britain over the conduct of European affairs, and the diplomatic manœuvres of these three powers with regard to the grant of the so-called Chester concession by the Grand National Assembly. The Turkish Assembly approved the Treaty on August 23. During 1923, the governments of no other signatories took similar action.

Over two score conventions, agreements, declarations, protocols, and declarations were exchanged at Lausanne. The following especially significant extracts are taken from the Treaty of Peace with Turkey.

REFERENCE.—*British Treaty Series No. 16 (1923)*. Cmd. 1929.

ARTICLE 16. Turkey hereby renounces all rights and title whatsoever over or respecting the territories situated outside the frontiers laid down in the present Treaty and the islands other than those over which her sovereignty is recognised by the said Treaty, the future of these territories and islands being settled or to be settled by the parties concerned.

The provisions of the present Article do not prejudice any special arrangements arising from neighbourly relations, which have been or may be concluded between Turkey and any limitrophe countries.

ARTICLE 20. Turkey hereby recognises the annexation of Cyprus proclaimed by the British Government on the 5th November, 1914.

ARTICLE 23. The High Contracting Parties are agreed to recognise and declare the principle of freedom of transit and of navigation, by sea and by air, in time of peace as in time of war, in the strait of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara and the Bosphorus, as prescribed in the separate Convention signed this day, regarding the régime of the Straits. This Convention will have the same force and effect in so far as the present High Contracting Parties are concerned as if it formed part of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 25. Turkey undertakes to recognise the full force of the Treaties of Peace and additional Conventions concluded by the other Contracting Powers with the Powers who fought on the side of Turkey, and to recognise whatever dispositions have been or may be made concerning the territories of the former German Empire, of Austria, of Hungary and of Bulgaria, and to recognise the new States within their frontiers as there laid down.

ARTICLE 27. No power or jurisdiction in political, legislative or administrative matters shall be exercised outside Turkish territory by the Turkish Government or authorities, for any reason whatsoever, over the nationals of a territory placed under the sovereignty or protectorate of the other Powers signatory of the present Treaty, or over the nationals of a territory detached from Turkey.

It is understood that the spiritual attributions of the Moslem religious authorities are in no way infringed.

ARTICLE 28. Each of the High Contracting Parties hereby accepts, in so far as it is concerned, the complete abolition of the Capitulations in Turkey in every respect.

ARTICLE 38. The Turkish Government undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to free exercise, whether in public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, the observance of which shall not be incompatible with public order and good morals.

Non-Moslem minorities will enjoy full freedom of movement and of emigration, subject to the measures applied, on the whole or on part of the territory, to all Turkish nationals, and which may be taken by the Turkish Government for national defence, or for the maintenance of public order.

ARTICLE 39. Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslems.

All the inhabitants of Turkey, without distinction of religion shall be equal before the law.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restrictions shall be imposed on the free use by any Turkish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding the existence of the official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Turkish nationals of non-Turkish speech for the oral use of their own language before the Courts.

ARTICLE 40. Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 46. The Ottoman Public Debt, as defined in the Table annexed to the present Section, shall be distributed under the conditions laid down in the present Section between Turkey, the States in favour of which territory has been detached from the Ottoman Empire after the Balkan wars of 1912-13, the States to which the islands referred to in ARTICLES 12 and 15 of the present Treaty and the territory referred to in the last paragraph of the present Article have been attributed, and the States newly created in territories in Asia which are detached from the Ottoman Empire under the present Treaty. All the above States, shall also participate, under the conditions laid down in the present Section, in the annual charges for the service of the Ottoman Public Debt from the dates referred to in ARTICLE 53.

From the dates laid down in ARTICLE 53, Turkey shall not be held in any way whatsoever responsible for the shares of the Debt for which other States are liable.

For the purpose of the distribution of the Ottoman Public Debt,

that portion of the territory of Thrace which was under Turkish sovereignty on the 1st August, 1914, and lies outside the boundaries of Turkey as laid down by ARTICLE 2 of the present Treaty, shall be deemed to be detached from the Ottoman Empire under the said Treaty.

ARTICLE 56. The Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt shall no longer include delegates of the German, Austrian and Hungarian bondholders.

ARTICLE 58. Turkey on the one hand, and the other Contracting Powers (except Greece) on the other hand, reciprocally renounce all pecuniary claims for the loss and damage suffered respectively by Turkey and the said Powers and by their nationals (including juridical persons) between the 1st August, 1914, and the coming into force of the present Treaty, as the result of acts of war, or measures of requisition, sequestration, disposal or confiscation.

Nevertheless, the above provisions are without prejudice to the provisions of Part III (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Turkey renounces in favour of the other Contracting Parties (except Greece) any right in the sums in gold transferred by Germany and Austria under ARTICLE 259 (1) of the Treaty of Peace of the 28th June, 1919, with Germany, and under ARTICLE 210 (1) of the Treaty of Peace of the 10th September, 1919, with Austria.

The Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt is freed from all liability to make the payments which it was required to make by the Agreement of the 20th June, 1331, (3rd July, 1915) relating to the first issue of Turkish currency notes or by the words inscribed on the back of such notes.

Turkey also agrees not to claim from the British Government or its nationals the repayment of the sums paid for the warships ordered in England by the Ottoman Government which were requisitioned by the British Government in 1914, and renounces all claims in the matter.

ARTICLE 59. Greece recognises her obligation to make reparation for the damage caused in Anatolia by the acts of the Greek army or administration which were contrary to the laws of war.

On the other hand, Turkey, in consideration of the financial situation of Greece resulting from the prolongation of the war and from its consequences, finally renounces all claims for reparation against the Greek Government.

ARTICLE 60. The States in favour of which territory was or is detached from the Ottoman Empire after the Balkan wars or by the present Treaty shall acquire, without payment, all the property and possessions of the Ottoman Empire situated therein.

It is understood that the property and possessions of which the transfer from the Civil List to the State was laid down by the *Irâdés* of the 26th August, 1324 (8th September, 1908) and the 20th April, 1325 (2nd May, 1909), and also those which, on the 30th October, 1918, were administered by the Civil List for the benefit of a public service, are included among the property and possessions referred to in the preceding paragraph, the aforesaid States being subrogated to the Ottoman Empire in regard to the property and possessions in question. The Wakfs [Vakufs] created on such property shall be maintained.

The dispute which has arisen between the Greek and Turkish Govern-

ments relating to property and possessions which have passed from the Civil List to the State and are situated in territories of the former Ottoman Empire transferred to Greece either after the Balkan wars, or subsequently, shall be referred to an arbitral tribunal at The Hague, in accordance with the special protocol No. 2 annexed to the Treaty of Athens of the 1st-14th November, 1913. The terms of reference shall be settled between the two Governments.

The provisions of this Article will not modify the juridical nature of the property and possessions registered in the name of the Civil List or administered by it, which are not referred to in the second and third paragraphs above.

ARTICLE 62. Turkey recognizes the transfer of any claims to payment or repayment which Germany, Austria, Bulgaria or Hungary may have against her, in accordance with Article 261 of the Treaty of Peace concluded at Versailles on the 28th June, 1919, with Germany, and the corresponding articles of the Treaties of Peace of the 10th September, 1919, with Austria; of the 27th November, 1919, with Bulgaria; and of the 4th June, 1920, with Hungary.

The other Contracting Powers agree to release Turkey from the debts for which she is liable on this account.

The claims which Turkey has against Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary are also transferred to the aforesaid Contracting Powers.

ARTICLE 63. The Turkish Government, in agreement with the other Contracting Powers, hereby releases the German Government from the obligation incurred by it during the war to accept Turkish Government currency notes at a specified rate of exchange in payment for goods to be exported to Turkey from Germany after the war.

ARTICLE 65. Property, rights and interests which still exist and can be identified in territories remaining Turkish at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, and which belong to persons who on the 29th October, 1914, were Allied nationals, shall be immediately restored to the owners in their existing state.

Reciprocally, property, rights and interests which still exist and can be identified in territories subject to the sovereignty or protectorate of the Allied Powers on the 29th October, 1914, or in territories detached from the Ottoman Empire after the Balkan wars and subject to-day to the sovereignty of any such Power, and which belong to Turkish nationals, shall be immediately restored to the owners in their existing state. The same provision shall apply to property, rights and interests which belong to Turkish nationals in territories detached from the Ottoman Empire under the present Treaty, and which may have been subjected to liquidation or any other exceptional measure whatever on the part of the authorities of the Allied Powers.

All property, rights and interests situated in territory detached from the Ottoman Empire under the present Treaty, which, after having been subjected by the Ottoman Government to an exceptional war measure, are now in the hands of the Contracting Power exercising authority over the said territory, and which can be identified, shall be restored to their legitimate owners, in their existing state. The same provision shall apply to immovable property which may have been liquidated by the Contracting Power exercising authority over the said

territory. All other claims between individuals shall be submitted to the competent local courts.

All disputes relating to the identity or the restitution of property to which a claim is made shall be submitted to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section V of this Part.

ARTICLE 77. Contracts between Allied and Turkish nationals concluded after the 30th October, 1918, remain in force and will be governed by the ordinary law.

Contracts duly concluded with the Constantinople Government between the 30th October, 1918, and the 16th March, 1920, also remain in force and will be governed by the ordinary law.

All contracts and arrangements duly concluded after the 16th March, 1920, with the Constantinople Government concerning territories which remained under the effective control of the said Government, shall be submitted to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey for approval, if the parties concerned make application within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty. Payments made under such contracts shall be duly credited to the party who has made them.

If approval is not granted, the party concerned shall, if the circumstances demand it, be entitled to compensation corresponding to the direct loss which has been actually suffered; such compensation in default of an amicable agreement, shall be fixed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

The provisions of this ARTICLE are not applicable either to concessionary contracts or to transfers of concessions.

ARTICLE 79. All periods whatever of prescription or limitation of right of action, whether they began to run before or after the outbreak of war, shall be treated, in the territory of the High Contracting Parties so far as regards relations between enemies, as having been suspended from the 29th October, 1914, until the expiration of three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty.

This provision applies, in particular, to periods of time allowed for the presentation of interest or dividend coupons, or for the presentation for payment of securities drawn for redemption or repayable on any other ground.

As regards Romania, the above-mentioned periods shall be considered as having been suspended as from the 27th August, 1916.

ARTICLE 84. The High Contracting Parties are in agreement in recognising that debts which were payable before the war or which became payable during the war under contracts entered into before the war, and which remained unpaid owing to the war, must be settled and paid, in accordance with the provisions of the contracts, in the currency agreed upon, at the rate current in its country of origin.

Without prejudice to the provisions of the Annex to Section II of this part, it is agreed that where payments to be made under a pre-war contract are represented by sums collected during the war in whole or in part in a currency other than that mentioned in the said contract, such payments can be made by handing over the sums actually collected, in the currency in which they were collected. This provision shall not affect settlements inconsistent with the foregoing provisions arrived

at by voluntary agreement between the parties before the coming into force of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 85. The Ottoman Public Debt is by general agreement left outside the scope of this Section and of the other Sections of this Part (Economic Clauses).

ARTICLE 86. Subject to the stipulations of the present Treaty, rights of industrial, literary and artistic property as they existed on the 1st August, 1914, in accordance with the law of each of the contracting countries, shall be reestablished or restored as from the coming into force of the present Treaty in the territories of the High Contracting Parties in favour of the persons entitled to the benefit of them at the moment when the state of war commenced, or of their legal representatives. Equally, rights which, but for the war, could have been acquired during the war, by means of an application legally made for the protection of industrial property or of the publication of a literary or artistic work, shall be recognised and established in favour of those persons who would have been entitled thereto, from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Without prejudice to the rights which are required to be restored in accordance with the above provision, all acts (*including* the grant of licenses) done by virtue of the special measures taken during the war by a legislative, executive or administrative authority of an Allied Power in regard to the rights of Turkish nationals in respect of industrial, literary or artistic property shall remain in force and continue to have their full effect. . . .

ARTICLE 92. Within three months from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, a Mixed Arbitral Tribunal shall be established between each of the Allied Powers, on the one hand, and Turkey, on the other hand.

Each of these Tribunals shall be composed of three members, two being appointed respectively by each of the Governments concerned, who shall be entitled to designate several persons from whom, according to the case in question, they will choose one to sit as a member of the Tribunal. The president shall be chosen by agreement between the two Governments concerned.

In case of failure to reach agreement within two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the president shall be appointed, upon the request of one of the Governments concerned, from among nationals of Powers which remained neutral during the war, by the President of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

If within the said period of two months one of the Governments concerned does not appoint a member to represent it on the Tribunal the Council of the League of Nations will have power to proceed to the appointment of such member upon the request of the other Government concerned.

If a member of the Tribunal should die or resign or for any reason become unable to perform his duties, he shall be replaced by the method laid down for his appointment, the above period of two months running from the date of death, resignation or inability as duly verified.

ARTICLE 93. The seat of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals shall be at

Constantinople. If the number and character of the cases justify it, the Governments concerned shall be entitled to create in each Tribunal one or more additional Sections, the seat of which shall be in whatever place may be convenient. Each of these Sections shall be composed of a vice-president and two members appointed as laid down in the second, third, fourth and fifth paragraphs of ARTICLE 92.

Each Government shall appoint one or more agents to represent it before the Tribunal.

If, after three years from the establishment of a Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, or of one of its Sections, such Tribunal or Section has not finished its work, and if the Power on whose territory such Tribunal or Section has its seat so requests, the seat shall be moved from such territory.

ARTICLE 94. The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals established pursuant to ARTICLES 92 and 93 shall decide all questions within their competence under the present Treaty.

Decisions shall be taken by a majority.

The High Contracting Parties agree to regard the decisions of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals as final and conclusive, and to render them binding upon their nationals, and to ensure their enforcement in their respective territories as soon as the decisions of the Tribunals are notified to them, without it being necessary to have them declared executory.

The High Contracting Parties further undertake that their Tribunals and authorities shall directly assist the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals in every way that is in their power, particularly as regards the transmission of notices and the collection of evidence.

ARTICLE 101. Turkey undertakes to adhere to the Convention and to the Statute respecting the Freedom of Transit adopted by the Conference of Barcelona on the 14th April, 1921, as well as to the Convention and the Statute respecting the régime for waterways of international interest adopted by the said Conference on the 19th April, 1921, and to the supplementary Protocol.

Turkey accordingly undertakes to bring into force the provisions of these Conventions, Statutes and Protocol as from the entry into force of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 113. Each of the High Contracting Parties hereby accepts in so far as it is concerned, the abolition of foreign post offices in Turkey.

ARTICLE 114. The Superior Council of Health of Constantinople is abolished. The Turkish Administration is entrusted with the sanitary organization of the coasts and frontiers of Turkey.

ARTICLE 115. A single sanitary tariff, the dues and conditions of which shall be fair, shall be applied to all ships without distinction between the Turkish flag and foreign flags, and to nationals of foreign Powers under the same conditions as to nationals of Turkey.

ARTICLE 116. Turkey undertakes to respect entirely the right of the sanitary employees whose services have been terminated to compensation to be appropriated out of the funds of the former Superior Council of Health of Constantinople, and all other rights acquired by employees or former employees of the Council, or their representatives.

All questions relating to such rights, to the employment of the reserve funds of the former Superior Council of Health of Constantinople or to the final liquidation of the former sanitary administration, as well as all other similar or cognate questions, shall be regulated by a Commission ad hoc which shall be composed of a representative of each of the Powers represented on the Superior Council of Health of Constantinople except Germany, Austria and Hungary. In the event of disagreement between the members of the said Commission on a question relating to the above-mentioned liquidation, or the employment of the funds remaining after that liquidation, every Power represented on the Commission shall have the right to bring the matter to the notice of the Council of the League of Nations, whose decision shall be final.

ARTICLE 128. The Turkish Government undertakes to grant to the Governments of the British Empire, France and Italy respectively and in perpetuity the land within the Turkish territory in which are situated the graves, cemeteries, ossuaries or memorials of their soldiers and sailors who fell in action or died of wounds, accident or diseases, as well as those of prisoners of war and interned civilians who died in captivity.

The Turkish Government will also grant to those Governments the land which the Commissions provided for in ARTICLE 130 shall consider necessary for the establishment of cemeteries for the regrouping of graves, for ossuaries or memorials.

The Turkish Government undertakes further to give free access to these graves, cemeteries, ossuaries and memorials, and if need be to authorise the construction of the necessary roads and pathways.

The Greek Government undertakes to fulfil the same obligations in so far as concerns its territory.

The above provisions shall not affect Turkish or Greek sovereignty over the land thus granted.

ARTICLE 131. The Government in whose favour the grant is made undertakes not to employ the land nor to allow it to be employed for any purpose other than that to which it is dedicated. If this land is situated on the coast, the shore may not be employed by the concessionary Government for any military, marine or commercial purpose of whatever nature. The sites of graves and cemeteries which may no longer be used for that purpose and which are not used for the erection of memorials shall be returned to the Turkish or Greek Government.

ARTICLE 139. Archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and other documents of every kind relating to the civil, judicial or financial administration, or the administration of Wakfs, which are at present in Turkey and are only of interest to the Government of a territory detached from the Ottoman Empire, and reciprocally those in a territory detached from the Ottoman Empire which are only of interest to the Turkish Government, shall reciprocally be restored.

Archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and other documents mentioned above which are considered by the Government in whose possession they are as being also of interest to itself, may be retained by that Government, subject to its furnishing on request photographs or certified copies to the Government concerned.

Archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and other documents which

have been taken away either from Turkey or from detached territories shall reciprocally be restored in original, in so far as they concern exclusively the territories from which they have been taken.

The expense entailed by these operations shall be paid by the Government applying therefor.

The above stipulations apply in the same manner to the registers relating to real estates or Wakfs in the districts of the former Ottoman Empire transferred to Greece after 1912.

No. 37. Declaration of the Turkish Republic.

October 29, 1923.

REFERENCE.—American Department of State, *Statement of the Press*, November 1, 1923.

The American High Commissioner at Constantinople has received a communication from Adnan Bey, Representative of the Angora Government at Constantinople, dated October 30th, of which the following is a translation:

Acting under instructions from my Government, I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in its session the afternoon of October 29, 1923, made the following decisions by a unanimous vote:

(1) The form of the Turkish State is Republican, its religion Moslem and its official language Turkish. The President of the Republic, who is the Chief of State, is elected by the Grand National Assembly from among its members for the period for which the members of the Assembly are elected; and in this quality he presides whenever he judges it necessary over the Assembly and the Council of Ministers. The Prime Minister is chosen from among the members of the Grand National Assembly by the President of the Republic, who chooses as well the other Ministers from among the members of the same Assembly. The Council of Ministers thus constituted is presented by the President of the Republic for the approval of the Assembly. This approval is postponed until a meeting of the Grand National Assembly if the latter is not in session.

(2) His Excellency, Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha has been elected unanimously in the same session President of the Republic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliography contains a comprehensive representative list of periodicals, books and source materials dealing with modern Turkey and published during this period. Practically all works included deal with the past fifteen years although some few are named which deal with previous history, rewritten somewhat from the contemporary viewpoint. The author, as compiler, has adopted the plan of classifying books according to whether they fall within the three periods, 1908-1914, 1915-1918, 1919-1923, since it has become apparent to him that a writer's observations have been usually colored by the date of his labors.

The references are confined to works in the English, French, German, and Italian languages. Most books dealing with military campaigns, and atrocities or other one-sided propaganda, have been excluded.

For a good, brief, general bibliography without respect to dates, the annual *Statesman's Yearbook* is distinctly useful. A valuable record of books dealing with Turkey published prior to 1910 appears in the excellent publication of the New York Public Library, cited in the list of bibliographical sources. This last mentioned section (bibliographical sources) contains both works dealing with the earlier period of Turkish history and references to further bibliographies which may interest the serious student.

In connection with certain books the compiler has made personal comments, not with an idea of undervaluing unannotated works but merely to guide the reader who may feel that he is overwhelmed by the voluminous literature which has been brought to his attention.

PERIODICALS

The following periodicals are among those which have frequently printed valuable articles about modern Turkey:

Published in America: *American Journal of International Law*, *Asia*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Commerce Reports*, *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, *Congregationalist*, *Current History*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Geographical Review*, *Independent*, *International Conciliation*, *International Interpreter*, *International Yearbook*, *Journal of International Relations** (succeeding *Journal of Race Development**), *Literary Digest*, *Moslem World*, *Nation*, *New Armenia*, *New Near East*, *New Republic*, *New York Times*, *Our World*, *Reviews of Reviews*, *Time*, *World's Work*.

Published in England: *Annual Register*, *Asiatic Review*, *Balkan Review**, *Contemporary Review*, *Corporation of Foreign Bondholders* (annual reports), *Economic Review of the Foreign Press*, *Foreign*

Affairs, Fortnightly Review, Geographical Journal, Manchester Guardian (daily and weekly), *Muslim Standard, Nation, Near East, New Europe**, *Nineteenth Century and After, Palestine* (the Organ of the British Palestine Committee), *Parliamentary Debates, Times* (daily and weekly), *Proceedings of the Central Asian Society, Round Table, Statesman's Yearbook.*

Published in France: *Annuaire general de la France et de l'étranger, Bulletin périodique de la presse Turque, Bulletin du comité de l'Asie française, Correspondance d'Orient, L'Economiste Européen, L'Europe nouvelle, L'Europe orientale, L'Economiste Français, L'Exportateur Français, France-Europe Orientale, La Géographie, Journal des Débats, Journal des Economistes, Journal Officiel, Le Matin, Le Temps, Revue des Balkans, Revue des deux-Mondes, La Revue d'Histoire diplomatique, La Revue mondiale, Revue politique et parlementaire.*

Published in Germany: *Balkan-revue, Deutsche Levante-Zeitung, Frankfurter Zeitung, Geographische Zeitschrift, Islamitische Welt, Mittel-Europa, Der Neue Orient, Petermann's Mitteilungen, Der Welt-handel.*

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* Denotes publication has been suspended or discontinued.

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INDEX

In the following index, entries relating to colleges and universities, fuel, lakes, mines and minerals, mountains and hills, rivers, schools, ships and shipping, vehicles, wars, weapons, weights and measures, have been placed under the general title instead of making individual entries, thus enabling the reader to gather up this material with a minimum of research. An exception has been made in the case of petroleum, because of the importance of this question in the Near East, and information concerning this matter will be found under "Petroleum."

Most important abbreviations used in this index

admin.	administration
agric.	agriculture
Amer.	American or Americans
Brit.	British or Britain
coll.	college or colleges
econ.	economic
Ger.	German, Germans or Germany
govt.	government
hosp.	hospital
Ital.	Italian or Italy
mt., mts.	mountain, mountains
Ott.	Ottoman
pop.	population
prov.	province
rdg.	regarding
rept.	report
ry.	railway
terr.	territory
univ.	university or universities

A

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